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Richard the Second

Copied from the Picture (after restoration) now in Westminster Abbey,
by Mr. Leonard Hughes

Chester

in the

Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns

BY

RUPERT H. MORRIS, D.D.

PREBENDARY OF MATHRY IN S. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL, AND
CHAPLAIN AND LIBRARIAN TO THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER, K.G.



Seal of the Principality of Chester
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G. R. GRIFFITH,
"THE CASTLE" PRINTING WORKS,
CHESTER.

AN attempt has been made in the following pages to put in a convenient form gleanings from the Collection of Historical Documents relating to the Plantagenet and Tudor Periods, which are preserved in the Muniment Room of the Corporation of the City of Chester.

“The entire collection,¹ consisting of Charters, Municipal Books, Letters and Corporation Accounts, and upwards of “1,400 sets of filed documents, may be roughly computed to have “in its several divisions more than 200,000 separate writings.” An interesting account is given by Mr. Jeaffreson of the mischances which successively befel these valuable documents: how they were drenched with rain owing to the premature unroofing of the building by workmen during some alterations: how, later, in 1861 they were exposed to fire as well as water—the fire which destroyed the old Town Hall, and the water used to put out the conflagration: how, after being removed to the old City Gaol, they ran quite as serious a risk of destruction from damp and neglect, being placed in a room which was neither dry nor properly ventilated, where they lay in moisture and disorder covered with dust and nursing seeds of slow decay, until the Town Council applied to the Deputy Keeper of Records in 1878 for advice and assistance. This application resulted in the excellent and systematic arrangement of these important Records by Mr. Jeaffreson.

The documents which have been consulted for the present Work may be classified as follows:—

1. The Collection of Charters.

2. The Mayors' Books and the Sheriffs' Books, which date, respectively, from the reign of Richard II. and Henry V. Many of these have suffered so severely from the mischances above-mentioned that too many gaps occur in the series, and a great

¹ Mr. J. C. Jeaffreson in the Appendix to the Eighth Report, Hist. MSS. Com., p. 355.

number of the books are in part illegible or have been reduced to a few detached leaves or fragments of leaves. The Mayors' Books give, besides the names of the Aldermen, Common Councillors, and subordinate officers of the Corporation, a list of the Bakers and Butchers licensed to follow their callings within the city liberties. They also contain entries of verdicts delivered at Assizes of Bread and Ale, reports of pleas in the Portmote and Crownmote Courts, with occasional references to matters of general interest. The Sheriffs' Books preserve a record of the various payments received by the Sheriffs, the fines due from the inhabitants for the privilege of following their trades or practising their arts within the city bounds: the tolls and imposts levied on merchants entering the city from the interior, and the customs received from those coming from the sea and importing merchandise into the city from Ireland and "other foreign parts." The Port Lists often give the names of every ship entering the Port of Chester, the names of the masters and passengers, as well as the sums charged as duty.

3. The "Assembly Book," Vol. I., containing minutes of proceedings at Assemblies of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, for the transaction of municipal business from 1539 to 1624, referred to as **A.O.**, with the number of the order or minute.

4. The Lease Ledger and the Letter Book.

5. The Muragers' and Treasurers' Accounts.

6. The Pentice Chartulary, containing a transcript (often very inaccurate) of Charters and other records, compiled by order of Mr. Henry Hardware (Mayor, 1575), with the aid of an earlier collection made by Mr. Henry Gee, a previous Mayor (1533-1539), and owing its designation to the fact that it was ordered "alwais to remayne in the Inner Pentice" for the purposes of easy reference.

7. Rolls of the several City Courts, Passage, Pentice, Portmote, and Crownmote.

8. A volume containing copies of documents in the original Latin, which were made, as would appear from the water-mark of the paper, in the fifteenth century. This was kindly lent by Mr. Clement Tibbits, and is quoted as "Tib."

9. In addition to these, much valuable material has been gleaned from the Harleian MSS., chiefly those of Randle Holme, in the British Museum, the Cheshire and other Records in the

Record Office, and the Duke of Westminster's Collection of MSS. at Eaton. I desire to put on record my grateful thanks to the officials, both in London and in Chester, for the invariable courtesy shown to me during my lengthened investigations. I would also express my deep obligation to several friends who have generously placed at my disposal engravings of old Chester, and otherwise rendered much valuable assistance. Among these special mention should be made of Mr. Herbert Williams, of Lincoln's Inn, in matters of legal research; Mr. Leonard Hughes, Mr. Arthur Baker, Mr. E. W. Cox, Mr. Hodgkinson, who have added considerably to the interest of the Volume by illustrations from their skilful pencil; Mr. Henry Taylor; Mr. John Murray for the loan of the block of the Durham Sanctuary Knocker; Rev. S. Cooper Scott, Mr. T. Q. Roberts, the Chester Archæological Society, and Messrs. Longman & Co., for other blocks.

A further acknowledgment is due. The Work, which has considerably outgrown its scope as originally projected, and which has become enlarged from the promised 400 pages to 620, would perhaps never have been taken in hand at all but for the warm interest taken in the subject by Mr. Alderman Charles Brown, who offered, with his usual generosity, to undertake the whole expense of publication rather than that the project should fall through. The acceptance of this kind offer was rendered unnecessary by the encouraging response which was made to the circular in which I invited friends in Cheshire and elsewhere, and the great Public Libraries, to subscribe in the usual way for copies of the Book. I trust that the present venture may be fortunate enough to meet with their approval, and that I may count upon their support in publishing, in a further volume, the very interesting and valuable material which is ready at hand relating to the stirring period of the Stuart Sovereigns.

RUPERT H. MORRIS

RIVERSIDE,
ECCLESTON

Corrigenda:

- Page 77, line 14, *read* Olyver
82, line 19, *read* Forgate; l. 20, 24 Eastgate Streete, 12 Watergate
83, line 3, *read* objectors
108, line 3, *read* Alexander de Lavaux' Map
121, line 27, *read* directed
157, line 29, *read* 1346
170, line 21, *read* 47 Edward III.
199, line 9, *read* del Hall; l. 48, Rad'oe
209, line 11, *read* David Dymock
222, line 6, *read* 13 Edward I.
228, line 32; 229, l. 4; 233, l. 16, *read* Randle Holme
256, line 5, *read* Alban
335, line 15, *read* Regis
396, line 27, *add before* Agnes, Ricardus, Johannes
398, fourth line from bottom, *read* Walley
411, line 23, *read* 10 June, 1583; l. 28, 24 Eliz.
432, line 25, *read* John de Brumham or Brunham
452, line 42, and 453, head-line, *read* Saddlers
488, line 30, *read* Amauric
489, last line, *read* Peter de Mauley
573, line 22, *read* Porterwyk

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* By kind permission from Messrs. Longman's Student's History of England.

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* By kind permission from Messrs. Longman's Student's History of England.

CHAPTER I.

The Earls of Chester—Norman, Plantagenet, Tudor



HESTER, the Roman Deva, the British Caerlleon, the Saxon Legeceaster, "Fortress of the Legions," has a chequered history, full of vicissitude. When the Roman legions, to which it owed its name, after an occupation of three centuries and a half, had finally withdrawn, taking with them, doubtless, an undue proportion of the native population, the City on the Dee, with its strong-

built walls, broad well-paved streets, and stately buildings, remained empty and desolate. The Britons were scarcely able to maintain it efficiently. All around there grew

"great tracts of wilderness,
Wherein the beast was ever more and more,
But man was less and less."

The Roman walls continued to stand, more or less, in their entirety for two hundred years more; but, important as the position was, the fortress which had so long kept trusty watch and ward as one member of the British Quadrilateral, holding in subjection the powerful Brigantes of the northern Midlands, and the Deceangi and the Ordovices of North Wales, as well as checking the inroads of the yet wilder piratical tribes from over the sea, was left to desolation and decay.

Nothing is known of this long dark period. The few statements preserved, even of a later time, only serve to illustrate the old heathen rule of wholesale slaughter and reckless devastation.

Thus we are told how, in 605, the Northumbrian king, Ethelfrith, after defeating the Britons under the walls of Chester, put all to the sword; and, with the Saxon dislike to dwelling within stone walls, and with no thought of turning those walls either to peaceful or warlike uses, left the city waste. The Britons, availing themselves of the Northumbrians' negligence, eight years after their defeat, reoccupied Chester, and apparently continued to hold it for two centuries, until they were dispossessed by Egbert in 830. Sixty years later (894), the old fortress sheltered for awhile a different race, this time the marauding Danes, who, taking hasty possession of the city in their retreat before the hot-pursuing English, found the ruined walls strong enough to stand a two-days' siege.

The city was not then untenanted, for a religious house had been established in 875 to watch over the remains of St. Werburga, which had been removed thither from Heanburgh (Hanbury) for greater security. Around it would be settled many a stout Englishman, ready to defend the resting place of the royal Saxon Saint. Its religious associations and strong military position combined to attract Ethelfleda's attention to Chester. The warrior princess with pious duty restored St. Werburgh's, ruined by wars or by the hand of time, and in 907, we read in the Chronicle, "This year was Legeceaster new made."

"The work which had guarded the Roman against the Briton, "and the Briton against the Saxon, which had just shown how well "it could still guard the Dane against the Englishman, was no "longer to be left to form a chance post for any friend or enemy.¹ "The Waste Chester should be a waste Chester no longer: it "should again be a bulwark of England against Briton or Dane "or any other enemy that might come, the foremost haven of "England on the shores and inlets of the north-western sea." The Lady of the Mercians busied herself in raising up from the old ruinous heaps new fortifications, inclosing therein a wider area than that of Roman Deva, to accommodate the settlers who flocked thither.

Henceforward Chester began to recover some of its former glory. Hither, in 975, came Edgar on his imperial voyage round his dominions, to be honoured by his vassal under-kings on the waters of the Dee, and at the Minster of St. John's. Here, as was natural, William of Normandy's conquering progress was stoutly contested. For the same stubborn loyalty, which was so stark in supporting Richard II., the Lancastrian queen Margaret, and, more con-

¹ Freeman in A.J., vol. 43, p. 264.

spicuously than all, Charles I., was not wanting in the last desperate stand against the Norman invader. For was not Harold, their ill-fated king, a Cheshire landowner, and was not Harold's wife, Alitha, grand-daughter to their great Earl, Leofric of Mercia? Thus Chester was the last city in England to hold out for the Saxon king, and, with its capture, William completed the conquest of England.

From this time during many reigns Chester—though the Earldom had its own Baronage, its own Courts of Justice, its own Exchequer, and its own Customs, and was practically all but an independent state—was to continue to bear an intimate and important part in the concerns of the kingdom. Still, as in Roman times, Wales and Ireland were destined to occupy the special and anxious attention of many successive rulers. Still Chester was to have a value, and an increasing value, as a military position, and for 168 years the Earl of Chester was a personage with whom the king of England had to reckon for powerful support or dangerous opposition.

Hugh of Avranches was (after Gherbod) the first of these Norman Earls. He received from his suzerain this earldom, with the sword of dignity (apt emblem of its tenure), which he was to wield with such effect against the turbulent inhabitants of North Wales, and which was always at the service of his Royal Master. Earl Hugh's Cheshire vassals must have had little leisure to devote to peaceful occupations, and to them Chester Castle, much strengthened from the simple burh of Ethelfleda's time, was a valuable bulwark and rallying point. Besides taking part in prolonged campaigns amongst the mountains of Wales (in retaliation for frequent inroads of the Welsh), during which Earl Hugh, succeeding where William Rufus had ignominiously failed, occupied Anglesey, they were called upon, in 1091, to check the daring inroad from the north of Malcolm Canmore, who, profiting by the Red King's difficulties and unpopularity, had penetrated as far as Chester.

Hugh's death in 1101, and his succession by Richard, a boy of seven years, encouraged the Welsh to resume the aggressive. In 1111 especially they overran the whole of Cheshire, and after causing great distress and damage retreated before the king's army into the secure shelter of their mountain fastnesses. Earl Richard himself had a narrow escape whilst on pilgrimage to St. Winifred's Well. Attacked by a strong body of the Welsh, he was driven into the Abbey of Basingwerk, a mile nearer the coast. There he addressed himself in prayer to St. Werburgh, who, as

Chester men capture Stephen

Bradshaw assures us, miraculously raised new sand banks in the River Dee, between Flintshire and Wirral, over which the Constable of Chester, William, Baron of Halton, marched to the relief of his lord, saved only to meet his fate in the White Ship.

"They went into Wales upon the sondes sure
Delivered there lorde from drede and enmite
Brought hym in safe garde agayne to Chestre Cite
And where the host passed over betwix bondes
To this day been called the Constable sondes."—*Bradshaw, p. 189.*

But the Earl of Chester was not to confine himself to his task of keeping peace on the Welsh marches, nor was the immense power which had accrued to him, one third of the kingdom, to be exerted always in support of the king. Loyal as his predecessor had been, Randle Gernons (fourth in descent from Earl Hugh), in accordance with the character given him by Stephen, of "a turbulent ambitious Earl, ready to plot a treason," took a different course. Annoyed at a personal affront which he had received from King Stephen, he joined his father-in-law, Robert Earl of Gloucester, in support of the Empress Maud. Thus the men of Chester and his ill-armed barefooted vassals from Rhyvoniog (Denbigh) and Tygengl (Flint) found themselves, in 1141, at the first battle of Lincoln, marshalled together on the same side against the King of England, whom they succeeded in taking prisoner.



After various negotiations Randle was reconciled to the king. Five years after, by a turn of fortune, on coming to the Court at

Northampton to ask for assistance against "the barbarous Welsh who made great spoil and waste of his lands," he was arrested, but subsequently released on certain conditions.

It was during this arrest that Robert Pincerna, butler to the Earl, founded the Cistercian Abbey of Pulton to pray for the safety and health of his master. The news of the arrest was sufficient to inspire the Welsh in making a fresh raid upon "the province of Chester,"¹ when they were met by Robert de Montalt, the hereditary seneschal of Chester, and lost many thousands in a battle at Nantwich, September 3.

Randle continued after his release to take a more or less active part against Stephen, but died of poison in 1153, under sentence of excommunication, notwithstanding his great liberality to the church in founding St. Mary's Nunnery at Chester, and other religious communities elsewhere.

Hugh Cyveilioc, his son and successor, would be included in the great levy raised by Henry II. for the expedition against Owen Gwynedd, which encamped for awhile on Saltney marsh. He doubtless was present at the eventful battle of Coleshill, Flintshire, 1157, when the king was in such personal peril, and Eustace Fitz-Roger, fourth Baron of Halton, in his honourable but dangerous post as Constable of Chester, was slain with many of his comrades. The royal standard-bearer, on the contrary, Henry of Essex, disgraced himself by flight from the battle field, for which he was reproached in bitter satire by the Welsh bards, who bade him knight his horse, for its speed had alone saved him from capture. Henry made a second expedition into North Wales in 1164-5, when, according to St. Werburgh's Chronicle, "justice was done to the Welsh hostages," the justice consisting of putting out their eyes and otherwise mutilating them. On this occasion, either in 1164 or 1165, Henry spent some time in Chester and the neighbourhood, putting the Flintshire Castles into order. His thoughts were busy elsewhere also, for now commenced his struggle with Becket, and the conquest of Ireland was in contemplation, to be taken in hand by Strongbow in 1169, and by the king himself in 1171.

Meanwhile Earl Hugh appears to have carried on a successful struggle with the Welsh, for in 1170 the Chronicle of St. Werburgh records how he "slew a multitude of Welshmen near the bridge of Baldert [Balderton?], of whose heads one of the mounds at the hospital for the sick outside Chester is formed;"² and in 1177 he "took the whole of Bromfield on Whit-Monday, June 13."

¹ According to Dugdale's Monasticon, in 1153, but in the indorsement on Charter, 1158, which must be wrong.

² The Boughton Hills were levelled in 1557.

Four years before this he had been engaged in France assisting Henry's sons in their unnatural rebellion against their father, but, after being taken prisoner and kept in ward for some time, he was pardoned by the king, and even appointed, with Hugh de Lacy, to assist Prince John in securing his newly-granted "dominion" of Ireland. This delicate and perilous commission, which was bestowed on him perhaps to get him safely out of the way, he was able to decline on the plea of ill-health, and he spent the remaining years of his life peacefully and prosperously within his Earldom of Chester.

Hugh's son, the famous Randle III. (called Blundeville, from the place of his birth, Whitchurch), who succeeded in 1181, exercised for fifty years a dominant influence in English affairs. The trusted counsellor of four kings in succession (Henry II., Richard, John, and Henry III.), he became so distinguished, not only for military prowess, but also for wisdom and prudence, that his fame was celebrated far and wide, even long after his day, by gleemen and harpers at rustic gatherings; and the priest in "*Piers' Plowman*" [V. 401-2], who "can nought perfectly his paternoster can rymes of Robyn Hood and Randolf Erle of Chester." He married February 3, 1188, for his first wife, Constance, widow of Geoffrey, Henry II.'s son, and in right of his wife he added to his titles that of Duke of Brittany, and Earl of Richmond. On his divorce from her in 1200, he renounced the additional titles, and married Clementia, daughter of Ralph de Feugeres.¹

We hear of him, now making good his authority on the Welsh border, awing into temporary quiet, as much by force of character and prudence as by strength of arm, the daring and restless Llewelyn ap Iorwerth; now checking Prince John's traitorous designs against his absent liege, King Richard; afterwards, a close adherent of John as King, urging, in no less faithfulness, the king to grant his subjects' just petition, and sign the Magna Charta of England's liberty; fighting valiantly for the Cross against Saracen and Infidel in the Holy Land; later espousing with characteristic heartiness the cause of John's son, Henry, the nine-year-old monarch, and guiding the counsels of that foolish and false prince. He drives out the French invader, taking a victorious part, like his namesake Randle de Gernons, in a second battle of Lincoln (1217), but unlike him, wielding the sword in defence of his sovereign; yet, withal, driven into opposition and in genuine patriotism stoutly leading the recalcitrant barons in resistance to Henry's oppressive exaction of a subsidy from his vassal lords,

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

boldly setting forth the injustice done them, who, besides rendering personal service, had exhausted their money in that service.

Though ever a liberal benefactor to the Church, and imbued with a deep sense of religion and devotion, he was no less determined in his opposition to papal exactions. He alone in England ventured [1229] to resist the demand of "Peter's pence" made by Pope Innocent's collectors, suffering none within the bounds of his territories to make any such payment, anticipating the spirit of the proud words which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of King John :

"From the mouth of England
Add thus much more,—that no Italian priest
Shall tithe or toll in our dominions.

* * * * *
Though you and all the rest so grossly led
This juggling witchcraft with revenue cherish :
Yet I alone, alone do me oppose
Against the Pope, and count his friends my foes."—*Act iii., i.*

This is no place to enter at length into Randle's career, or to touch upon events in English history further than as they are directly connected with the history of Chester.

The Irish question began at this early period to be a "burning one." In 1185, on the Sunday after Easter, Prince John started for Ireland from Pembroke "with a great band of armed men, and a multitude of ships, to take possession of his dominion," but Chester also partook in the excitement of this important movement, for "200 other justices and nobles of England with their followers commenced their sea-voyage to Ireland at Chester."¹ Later in the year, after Hugh de Lacy, John's viceroy, had been killed in Ireland, John himself came to Chester for the purpose of crossing to Dublin, where he was to be crowned with the crown of peacock's feathers sent by the Pope. The ceremony did not take place, because, whilst waiting for a favourable wind, he was recalled by King Henry in consequence of his brother Geoffrey's death.

The year 1189 saw Chester stirred most deeply by a pageant of a very different character. Archbishop Baldwin, who, two years before, had been an honoured guest for a few days at St. Werburgh on his official visitation as legate, came to Chester on Maundy Thursday, April 14, preaching the Crusade.

Wales, which had suffered for over a century from the harrying of Norman troops, submitted to a peaceful invasion in the cause of religion. After taking the vow of the Cross himself at Bristol, the Archbishop had passed along by Cardiff, through the signory of Gower to St. David's, then northwards by Teivi-side through the

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

wilds of Cardiganshire, still further north along the coast by Carnarvon, Bangor, Conway, St. Asaph, and Basingwerk. We can picture the impressive scene which would present itself to the citizens of Chester, as, headed by the Abbot of St. Werburgh and their clergy, they met the Preacher of the Crusade at Dee Bridge. Archbishop Baldwin, clothed in the gorgeous robes of his high office, and attended by Ranulph de Glanville, the Justiciary, and the keen-eyed, eloquent Gerald de Barri, approached the City in stately procession, with crucifix borne aloft and banner floating in the air, the attendants with swinging censer, solemnly chanting a litany or singing one of the stirring Crusaders' hymns, faint echoes of which we have in the later series, "Jerusalem the Golden," "For thee, O dear, dear Country."

In their train would march a great company of enthusiastic followers who had newly taken upon them the Crusaders' vow. At the High Cross a halt would be made, and under the shadow of the hallowed symbol of the Christian faith the stirring tale would once more be told by lips fired with eloquent indignation, how Jerusalem, the Holy City, was in captivity, the daughter of Zion mourning her shame and degradation, Christian blood poured out like water, and the foulest indignities heaped upon the most venerated places of the Christian faith. Holding aloft the crucifix, the preacher would appeal to every feeling which could move the crowd, "the pride of the warrior, the love of stirring adventure, "the faith of the Christian, the hatred of the profaning unbeliever." He would promise absolution for all sins to those who would take up arms in the sacred cause. He held out the prize of Eternal Life to all who should suffer death in the Holy Land or on the way to it.

We can imagine how the enthusiasm of the hearers was kindled to fever heat, the numbers who would offer themselves for the Holy Cause—some putting aside the remonstrance of anxious mother, or loving wife and sweetheart; others even encouraged by friends, who, fired by the preacher's impassioned appeal, would press forward in eager rivalry to receive the sacred badge. How the crowds of the newly-sworn soldiers of the Cross with their relatives and friends from the city and the villages far and near, unwilling to hold back their dearest ones from the Holy War, would throng the nave and aisles of the spacious Abbey Church, and assist, with intensest feeling, at the Easter Festival, when the great commemorative act of self-sacrifice, which had been completed on Calvary, was set forth in all due solemnity, and deeper significance, if possible, than ever. How full of fevered

excitement the whole city and neighbourhood throughout that day and night, until on the morning of Monday "the Army of God," swelled to larger proportions by the recruits, marched on its way over Dee Bridge for Whitechurch and Oswestry, few of that great multitude ever returning to their home and kin!

Nothing of general interest is recorded in connection with Chester (with the exception of the granting of certain charters) during the period between this Crusade and 1209. King Richard had gone to the Holy Land, using every expedient—the grant of charters and renewal of privileges—to raise the necessary funds, and he had returned home, ransomed for a huge sum, which crippled the country, and could only be raised by the surrender of the gold and silver vessels of the nobles, the rings of bishops and abbots, the ornaments of sacred shrines, valuable crosses and reliquaries from all parts of the kingdom. To this ransom (we may conjecture from the reference in the Chronicle of St. Werburgh) St. John's and St. Werburgh's contributed their choicest treasures, and the worshippers were fain to be content with services shorn of much of their old splendour.

John, when he succeeded his brother on the throne, did not bring "better times" for Chester. He pursued his reckless course

in utter disregard of all honourable feeling, estranging his nobles, contemptuously setting at nought advice given by such faithful servants as Earl Randle, alienating the church, until at length in 1208 the thunderbolt fell, and England was placed under an



King John

(From his Monument in Worcester Cathedral)

interdict. The Palatinate of Chester, despite its almost absolute independence of the English crown, had to share with the rest of the kingdom in the penalties of the king's folly and wickedness. In Chester, as in other towns throughout England, the inhabitants were excluded from visible communion with God, the church bells silent, the pictures of saints covered with black cloth, the relics laid in ashes in the aisles, the voice of prayer and praise hushed, all sacred offices except baptism and the sacrament to the dying withheld, the dead cast like dogs into the nearest ditch, the living debarred their merry-making of processions and other ceremonial. So it continued for six weary years, until after the king had made his shameless surrender in July 1214. St. Werburgh's Abbey, it is true, had received from Pope Clement the special privilege of continuing her services during the interdict on condition of excluding the excommunicate. But even there no bell was to ring, and the sacred offices were to be celebrated in an undertone (*suppressa voce*). All this while the abbey was without a formal head, for Hugh Grylle, who had been elected abbot in 1208 in room of Geoffrey, was not installed owing to the interdict until 30th March, 1214.

The king, meanwhile, had gone on in defiant disregard of the church's attitude. It did not prevent him in 1210 crossing over to Dublin, and there at once destroying the castles of ill-affected nobles, who thought the papal interdict afforded an opportunity for defying the English crown. Llewelyn, John's son-in-law, found the king no less determined to crush opposition in Wales, and was forced to employ the intercession of his wife Joan in pleading for terms at the foot of Snowdon.

John's last visit to Chester was in 1212, when he came in mad passion to exterminate the Welsh who had risen again. Hither, as Matthew Paris tells us, after several warnings which he had disregarded, messengers came to him with letters, intimating in the plainest terms that if he entered upon the proposed expedition he would either be crushed by his nobles or delivered over to the enemy for destruction. He left Chester, therefore, for the North, "an outlaw to all Christendom," to fight his rebellious barons, to surrender his crown into the hands of the Pope's legate, and become the Pope's man; and, after in due course signing that charter which the English were to cherish henceforward as the basis and foundation of their national freedom, unscrupulous to the last to die fighting against the covenant with his people to which he had so solemnly sworn.

We may pause here to refer to the several charters which up to this time had been granted to the City of Chester. The earliest

is that which Henry II. granted (to the annoyance of the City of Bristol who had made the trade with Dublin), not earlier than 1171. This charter, addressed to the bailiffs of Dublin, refers to an early trading connection with Ireland. It announces the king's formal permission to the burgesses of Chester to carry on trade at Dublin with the same rights, liberties, and immunities, which they enjoyed in the time of his grandfather, Henry I. Then follow two other charters by Prince John as "Lord" of Ireland, and a third by him as King of England, in continuation, also addressed to his officers in Ireland, granting safe conduct and protection to the burgesses of Chester trading there. These three charters fall between 1189 and 1201.

Another charter, granted by Walter de Lacy, is given below, the original of which is lost.

Earl Randle also shewed every desire to promote the mercantile interests of his good citizens of Chester, and assist in making the old city the most important trading centre of the north-west coast. Two charters were given by him between 1200 and 1202. They confirm all the liberties and free customs which the city had enjoyed under former earls, and further grant a gild merchant to the citizens. A later charter, between 1208 and 1211, restricts the buying and selling in Chester, except at the two great fairs, to the citizens of Chester.

It was soon after the granting of this charter, in 1217, that the incident occurred which, while it affords us some information about Earl Randle's personal appearance, shows that he would

1202—1231. **Pentice Chartulary 31.**—Galturus de Lasci omnibus hominibus suis & amicis presentibus & futuris ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit salutem. Sciatis me remisisse & quiete clamasse imperpetuum de me & de heredibus meis civibus Cestrie in Civitate Cestrie manentibus duos denarios quos de eis capere solebam creunco bladi in terra mea Hibernie. Concedo quoque & presenti carta mea confirmo predictis civibus in civitate Cestrie manentibus imperpetuum de me & de heredibus meis libertatem eundi & redeundi & emendi omnia genera bladi & brasii & farine ad portum meum de Drochda & ad omnes portus terre mee de Hibernia, & ut libere & quiete & solute naves suas honorent ad predictos portus de quocunque genere bladi brasii & farine voluerint sine aliqua prohibitione & exactione & disturbance & captione de predictis duobus denariis de me aut de meis. Et prohibeo super forisfacturam meam ne aliquis baillivorum aut servientium meorum predictos cives de predicta libertate vexent aut disturbent. Hiis Testibus domino Ranulpho comite Cestrie consanguineo meo, Philippo de Orrebi tunc Justiciario Cestrie, Petro clerico domini comitis Cestrie, Guilelmo Talebot, Eustachio de Gravilla, Roberto Faget, Petro capellano meo, Ricardo de Fahy camerario meo, Guilelmo Hakett, Henrico Labbe, Ricardo clerico de Kagworth, & multis aliis.

not brook being measured by the inches of his bodily stature. The earl was advancing to Lincoln with a strong force to support the claims of his young charge, King Henry, against Louis of France. He arrived some days after the French Prince had been warned to expect him. "The Earl of Perch" (according to Dugdale, *Baronage* i, 41), "observing his stature to be small, said, 'Have we staid all this while for such a little man, such a dwarf?' To which disdainful expression he answered, 'I vow to God and our Lady, whose church this is, that before tomorrow evening I will seem to thee to be stronger and greater and taller than that steeple.'" This threat Randle carried out the next day, slaying the Earl of Perch and many of his followers, and, seizing on Louis in the cathedral, caused him to swear a solemn oath that he would renounce "his claim to the Kingdom of England and speedily hasten out of the realm with all his followers."

The inhabitants of Chester and the County, on the Welsh side especially, found their neighbours ever a thorn in their side. So dangerous had the inroads of the Welsh become, that the monks of Pulton Abbey, six miles from Chester, on the border of Denbighshire, were obliged in 1214 to transfer themselves for safety to *Dieu la Cresse*, near Leek in Staffordshire. The narrow escape of Earl Randle himself, at the end of John's reign, affords a good illustration of the insecurity of the times. The story, oft-repeated, is found in *Leycester's Prolegomena*. "Being distressed by the Welsh and forced to retreat to the castle of Rothelent (*Rhuddlan*) in Flintshire where they besieged him, he presently sent to his Constable of Chester, Roger Lacy, surnamed 'Hell' for his fierce spirit, that he would come with all speed and bring what forces he could towards his relief." It was the time of the great Midsummer Fair when the city was crowded with visitors. Roger having gathered a tumultuous rout of fiddlers, players, cobblers and debauched persons, both men and women, marched immediately to the earl's rescue. The Welsh perceiving a great multitude coming raised the siege and fled. In recompense for this service the earl gave Roger Lacy exclusive authority over all fiddlers and shoemakers and what would now be called loose characters. The constable retained to himself and his heirs the authority over the shoemakers, but conferred the jurisdiction over minstrels and players on his steward, Dutton of Dutton.¹

¹ In answer to a *quo warranto*, 14 Henry VII., Laurence de Dutton sets forth that all minstrels staying in the County of Chester and City of Chester, or exercising their office there, are bound to assemble before him or his seneschal on St. John Baptist's day yearly,

Cheshire was soon after this incident able to enjoy for awhile the unwonted blessing of freedom from molestation. Randle made peace with Llewelyn Prince of North Wales, and this peace he sought in 1222 to establish on a firmer footing by marrying his nephew and heir-presumptive, John le Scot, to Helen, Llewelyn's daughter. Then, seeing the troubles in England terminated, he hastened to fulfil his long-standing vow and departed in Whit-week, 1218, for the Holy Land. After taking part in the capture of Damietta, he "returned to Chester on the morn of the Assumption, August 16, 1220, and was received with the greatest veneration, as well by the clergy as by the laity."¹

He came back, however, to find himself involved in the troubles which arose out of Henry's weakness and partiality to foreign influence. He even joined in open rebellion and took the lead in opposition to Hubert de Burgh, the Justiciar. He is frequently mentioned by King Henry and the Pope Honorius, in the collection of royal letters (Henry III.), as a noble of very great consideration. Henry, writing 1224 to the English proctors at the Court of Rome about the marriage of his sister to explain that it has the approval of the magnates, mentions expressly that the Earl of Chester highly approves of the union.²

In North Wales fresh complications arose from the savage violence of the Earl Marshal. Randle, who in 1223 had brought about the marriage of his nephew John le Scot with Llewelyn's daughter with the express object of making peace, writes in 1224 to Henry, excusing his delay in obeying his summons, that he had made a truce with Llewelyn for a month; that he finds him and several of his nobles greatly disturbed because no compensation

and give him then four bottles of wine and one lance, and pay each person 4½d. Every prostitute paid to him 4s. yearly at the same feast.

Laurens de Ditton [sic] de Ditton clamat quod omnes Ministrelli infra comitatum Cestrie et infra Cestriam manentes vel officia sua ibidem exercentes debent convenire coram ipso vel senescallo suo apud Cestriam ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste annuatim, et dabunt sibi ad dictum festum quatuor lagenas vini et unam lanceam. Et insuper quorum (? quisque) eorum dabit sibi quatuor denarios et obolum ad dictum festum. Et habere de qualibet meretrice infra comitatum Cestrie et infra Cestriam manente vel officium suum exercente quatuor denarios per annum ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, &c.

A yearly Court was kept at Chester on Midsummer day, at which the minstrels' licence was renewed, and the heirs of Dutton or their deputies rode in procession to St. John's Church, attended by all the minstrels of the city and county playing before them on their several instruments and wearing scarves, &c. In view of this charter the Chester minstrels were expressly exempted in the statute of 39 Eliz., cap. 4, which declares "fiddlers" to be rogues.

¹Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

²Cum hæc essent intimata aliis magnatibus, et nominatim Comiti Cestrie qui tunc reversus erat a Terra Sancta, ipse Comes hoc valde approbavit.

had been made for the injuries so frequently inflicted on them. "You want me to come to you without delay. I will come as soon as I have made secure for you these your territories."



Henry III.

(From his Tomb in Westminster Abbey)

In 1229 he was directed by Henry to be at Portsmouth with his knights on October 14, prepared with horses and arms to cross the sea for a campaign in Poitou. The armament was dispersed for want of transport and supplies. The young king, in his mad rage, rushed with drawn sword upon the Justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, charging him with treason and corruption, but was appeased through Randle's intercession, and the expedition deferred for a year, only to prove, in the end, unsuccessful. We have no record of the names of the Cheshire knights who served with Earl Randle in France.

Such ebullitions of temper were not infrequent with Henry, when he spared not even his most trusty adherents. He had a bitter quarrel in 1231 with Randle, who had returned from France to support Henry in his campaign against Llewelyn in South Wales. The incident occurred at the Castle of Pain (Aug. 21), when Randle, deeply offended, left the king and retired to Chester; but afterwards, by the king's command conveyed through his Chancellor, Stephen de Segrave, he returned to the king.¹

Randle died the next year, and was buried (November 3) most appropriately in the Chapter House of the city over which he had exercised for fifty years so beneficent a sway. A few years before his death (1227), a serious disaster befel the City of Chester and the country round, by the entire collapse and ruin of the Dee Bridge.² A similar catastrophe occurred in 1280, when an unusually high tide

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

² Pons Cestrie totus cecidit—*C. of W.*

inundated a large extent of country, doing much damage at Stanlawe and elsewhere, and breaking down and carrying away the bridge. Until its repair, the expense of which was borne by the whole county, traders and others coming to Chester were forced, at some risk and inconvenience and loss, to cross the river by the old ferry.

Having no children, Randle was succeeded in the earldom by his eldest sister's son, John le Scot, Earl of Huntingdon. John's uneventful tenure of five years contrasted markedly with his uncle's long and glorious career. No noteworthy incident is recorded in connection with him, except that at the marriage of Henry III. with Eleanor he carried the state sword called "Curtana," his Constable of Chester attending him and beating back the people with his staff when they pressed disorderly upon him.¹ There was grave suspicion that he was poisoned by his wife Helen, Prince Llewelyn's daughter, whose influence Randle Blundeville had vainly hoped to secure in the direction of peace between English and Welsh.

He gave a charter [No. 8] to the citizens of Chester, confirming to them the liberties and customs and privileges, including the gild merchant, granted by his uncle Randle, and allowing no caption to be made, &c.

With him the line of Norman Earls ended, for at his death without male heirs in 1237 the king took the earldom into his own hands, unwilling that so important a fief should be held by "distaffs." There was the more reason for this as Wales at this time was ruled by the greatest of its princes, a warrior most active in aggression, and remarkably successful in his constant raids upon the marches and English domain, and one who had taken a prominent part in the struggle for Magna Charta.

On the occasion of taking over the Earldom, Henry granted a charter [No. 9] of Insuperimus and Confirmation, in the terms of Randle Blundeville's charter; a second [No. 10], confirming the privileges of gild merchant in charter 3; a third [No. 11], 23 October, 1238, confirming the privileges of trading [No. 2].

For sixteen years Henry retained the earldom in his own hands, taking Chester more than once on his way in his frequent expeditions against the Welsh. Thus August 15, 1241 he passed through for Rhuddlan, where he spent eight days, receiving the

¹ Magnates, quae sua erant ex antiqua consuetudine et jure antiquo in Regum coronationibus exercebant; Comite Cestriae gladium S. Edwardi, qui Curtein dicitur, ante Regem baulante in signum quoddam Comes est Palatii, et Regem, si oberret, habeat de jure potestatem cohibendi, suo sibi, scilicet Cestrensi Constabulario ministrante, et virga populum, cum se inordinate ingereret, subtrahente.—*Matt. Paris.*

homage and submission of David, the son of Llewelyn ap Iorwerth by Joan, King John's daughter. But for all this apparent submission Chester was not to be left long in peace. The old evil broke out again. Mold Castle, recently built by the king to protect the district of Tegeingl, and since Domesday part of the earldom, was taken after a siege by David, and affairs in 1245 assumed such a threatening aspect that on August 13 the king and queen came to Chester with a strong army.¹

In Henry's train were Simon de Montfort, the great Earl of Leicester, and almost all the nobles of the whole of England. This great and splendid retinue stayed in the city until the next Sunday, the king himself remaining in Wales for two months longer, burning towns, laying waste cornfields, but also losing his horse and foot soldiers and very many horses, and making but little progress. From this disastrous expedition he returned to Chester, October 27, and after a six days' stay departed Nov. 3. It is probable that about this time,² owing to the dangerous activity of the Welsh Prince, the order was given to replace the wooden fence round the Bailey of Chester Castle with a stone wall.

In February, 1246, Owen, son of Gryffydd, grandson of the famous Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, after a long imprisonment (*ad pacem regis*) in Chester Castle, escaped into Wales and made arrangements with his brother Llewelyn for a campaign against England. For nearly forty years Llewelyn ap Gryffydd strove to maintain the policy of his famous namesake and grandfather, swooping down, when opportunity offered, from his mountain fastnesses in Snowdonia upon Perveddwlad (the plain country), and then retiring before Henry and Edward's better equipped army, only to reoccupy the same territory on the withdrawal of the English.

This was Prince Edward's painful experience in 1256. He entered Chester July 17 for the first time,¹ and after being welcomed with all due respect (clergy and laity going forth to meet him), and after receiving, during his three days' stay, the homage and fealty as well of the nobles of Cheshire as of the Welsh chiefs, he set out to inspect his lands and castles in North Wales. But three months later (November 1) Llewelyn seized by force upon Englefield (this side Offa's Dyke) and the valley of Mold (a district especially belonging to the Earls of Chester), received homage and fealty from the men of the Lord Edward, and placed those lands under himself as lord; two castles, Disserth and Deganwy, alone holding out for the English Prince. Under such circumstances the

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

² 1246, when John de Grey was Justice of Chester.—*Royal Letters No. 437.*



The Entry of Prince Edward into Chester
From a Cartoon by Mr. E. Frampton

importance of the strongly-fortified City of Chester as a rallying point and a check upon the Welsh marauders cannot be over-rated.

The next year, though Cheshire, in common with the rest of England, suffered from the terrible famine, when the price of wheat rose from 2/- the quarter to 15/- and even 20/-,¹ Henry came to Chester with Prince Edward and many great men, and after staying a fortnight they set out for Wales with no small army; but making little progress, and the business being unsuccessful, they returned to Chester, and each departed to his own home. Two years successively the Welsh broke out in insurrection. In 1256, owing to the dreadful tyranny of Sir Geoffrey Langle, the king's exactor in Wales, they rose and forced their way to Chester, plundering and desolating the country. The next year they came in such numbers, divided into two bodies of 30,000 each, that they forced the Earl of Chester to retire; and it was not until after repeated solicitation that the king was induced to help the barons assembled at Shotwick, and Lord Henry Percy was stationed at Chester with a strong force. Lord Audley carried on the fierce conflict, in which many savage acts of retaliation were committed, "the whole border reduced into an uninhabitable desert, the inhabitants cut off by sword, castles and houses burnt, woods felled, cattle destroyed by famine."²

At length, after an anxious and busy interval of eighteen months, peace was made in 1259 with Wales, attention being concentrated on the struggle between the king and the barons, which culminated in the capture of Henry by Simon de Montfort at Lewes, May 14, 1264. Llewelyn supported the barons against Henry, as his grandfather, Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, had sided with the barons against John in the struggle for Magna Charta. Owing to this alliance of Simon de Montfort with the Welsh, there was a great feeling of insecurity in Chester. The city could not escape being eagerly sought after by both parties as a post of considerable importance, and, as part of the preparations which were made to defend Chester in the interests of the Earl, Prince Edward, against the barons, the buildings of St. Werburgh's Abbey in Baggelane³ were pulled down, the gardens destroyed (March 24) by the direction of William de la Zouche, Justiciary, and Robert Mercer, Sheriff of Chester, and a fosse carried round the north and north-western parts of the city.

A few months afterwards (May 14) was fought the battle of Lewes, so disastrous to the cause of King Henry and Prince Edward, one of the results of which was that Chester, with the castle and

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

² Matt. Paris.

³ Bog lane, near the Kaleyards.

whole county, was granted to Simon de Montfort. De Montfort's eldest son, Henry (January 4, 1264-5), received at Chester in his father's name the fealty and homage of the citizens, and of the nobles and freeholders of the county. Lucas de Taney, an unscrupulous ruler and a man of evil reputation, was appointed Justiciary of Chester. He refused to admit Simon de Albo Monasterio into the Abbacy, taking advantage of the confusion of the times to seize the large revenues, and wasting them in a course of scandalous profligacy. This came to the knowledge of Simon de Montfort, who at once admitted the Abbot, and directed Lucas to make full compensation for his mal-appropriation. This same Abbot Simon, who was one of the most active and successful heads the Abbey ever had, had the good fortune to make his peace, later, with Prince Edward at Beeston Castle, and obtain confirmation from him of his appointment. He was afterwards (1281) able to be of considerable service to the king in his Welsh expeditions, furnishing him with men and carriages for transport. This liberality the king acknowledged by declaring that the Abbey Charters were not to be infringed, and renewing to him the grant of tithe of venison from the Forest de la Mara.



Edward I.

Lucas de Taney continued to hold the city for the Montforts until 1265, sustaining in the castle successfully a siege of ten weeks from James de Audley and Urian de St. Pierre, who had seized Beeston Castle in the name of the Lord Edward. Meanwhile the prince, "with the men of Chester," marched down the Severn and took Gloucester. After his decisive victory at Evesham, Edward besieged Chester Castle on Trinity Sunday, and recovered Chester from Lucas de Taney, who wisely surrendered the castle, and was, after a short imprisonment, pardoned and set at liberty. He is included amongst the

sixteen knights who were drowned in constructing a bridge of boats to Anglesey, in 1282.¹

The Treaty of Shrewsbury, in 1267, by which Llewelyn was recognised as Prince of all Wales, and Edward regained possession

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

of the four Cantreds, gave the county and the city of Chester a much-needed peace, and afforded to Edward the long-wished-for opportunity of taking part in a crusade.

In 1275 the streets of Chester once more resounded with warlike bustle, for Edward, now king, came (September 1) to receive the homage of Llewelyn; but "he denying to come to do his homage, Edward marched into Wales, built the castle of Flint, and strengthened Rhuddlan Castle."¹ The building of Flint Castle did not, however, take place until 1277, when the king personally superintended the work, with Richard Ingeniator, of Chester, as his head engineer.

A large force assembled at Chester in July of that year (1277), under Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, which Edward afterwards led to Basingwerk and Rhuddlan, where he spent several weeks (in July, August, September, and November) carrying on, in the meanwhile, a vigorous campaign against Llewelyn, and having the fleet of the Cinque Ports to support him on the coast and to convey supplies. The expenses of these campaigns were so considerable, that Edward issued a writ calling upon all who had a freehold estate of £20 to take up knighthood or pay a fine. Writs of "Quo Warranto," which involved heavy fines, were also commonly served on nobles, requiring them to show by what right they claimed to hold their privileges and possessions. At last the Welsh Prince on November 11 was starved into submission, which he tendered at Rhuddlan.²

The following year (1280), the *Itinerary* shows Edward to have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Chester. He was at Shotwick, September 5, 15, 16, 17, on his way to and from Rhuddlan and Flint. In May, 1280, a terrible fire broke out which destroyed almost the whole of the city, succeeded in the February following by an unusually high flood-tide in the Dee estuary, when the Dee bridge was broken and carried away. The bridge was so important a means of communication, for military as well as trading necessities, that the king was urgent upon the citizens of Chester to rebuild it at their own charges. The Chronicle adds they were compelled also to accept the common law of England, *contra libertates sibi concessas*.³ Further, to

¹ Taylor's *Flint*, p. 19.

² Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

³ When the bridge was broken down, the passage was watched and toll exacted. In a *Computus* 27 Ed. 3, account del profit del Passage de Dee quand le bridge fuit erupt' the profits of the tolls amounted in the year to £13 5s. 1d, quia pons ibidem dirupt' fuit et non reparat' in toto et non plus quia val' passagii aque de Dee ibidem sufficiens erat pro equitibus et peditibus, et sufficiens transitus erat ultra dictum pontem.—*Harl.* 2083, 605b.

keep open his communications during the Welsh expeditions, he employed an army of pioneers in making broad roads through the dense forests of Cheshire and the English border, carrying them forward as far as to the Conway. These forests formed part of that endless tract of "gloomy woodland" which stretched from above Worcester to Delamere, the impenetrable wood varied only occasionally by a clearing, or a long extent of bog and barren morass. The great Roman roads, substantially made as they were and sufficient to last for centuries, would, through neglect and disuse, have become much overgrown and difficult to follow. In Flintshire and Denbighshire the country was a still wilder and more uncultivated waste, for, as late as the fifteenth century, Denbighland was one immense forest from the Dee to the wilds of Arvon among the Snowdonian Hills.¹

The enforcing of the English system of law, which was so dear to Edward's orderly mind, often carried out as it was with extreme harshness and utter want of consideration, was the cause of renewed troubles in Wales, where the supplanting of the old Welsh laws of Hywel Dda, and subjecting the four Cantreds of Rhos, Rhyvoniog, Tegeingl, and Dyffryn Clwyd to the jurisdiction of the Justice of Chester, was received with the most intense indignation. Sir Geoffrey Langley, Edward's lieutenant in Wales, was, as in 1256, in an especial degree the breeder of discontent, for he treated the Welsh as a thoroughly conquered people, and imposed a poll tax of 15d. a head upon them. These proceedings brought about a reconciliation between Llewelyn and his brother David who had hitherto been a supporter of the English King, with the immediate result that they united to surprise Hawarden Castle, putting the garrison to the sword. Once more the border districts of Cheshire and Shropshire were exposed to the miseries of hostile incursions with fire and sword, and widespread destruction of life and property, right up to the very walls of Chester. To check these inroads Edward spent three weeks (in June 1282) encamped at Newton, near Chester.

At length, after the death of Llewelyn in December, 1282, and the capture of his brother David in the summer following, the rising was crushed effectually. David, as a double-dyed traitor, false by turns to his country and his king, was sentenced at Shrewsbury to be hung, drawn, and quartered.

It is an interesting fact in the history of St. Werburgh's, that there Edward commemorated his subjugation of Wales by taking part in a solemn service of thanksgiving. This was in accordance

¹ Elton, *Origins of English History*, p. 224.

with the king's custom. Edward, who was a man of deep religious feeling, never failed on his return from a long journey, or after deliverance from any danger, to offer up his thanks publicly in one of the great churches of the kingdom. He attended at St Werburgh's, on May 26, 1283, with his Queen Eleanor, presenting as his royal offering a valuable cloth of gold. He then took an oath, as the chronicle of the Abbey is careful to record, to preserve the liberties of St. Werburgh's. He came again to Chester in March, 1284, on his way to Basingwerk and Rhuddlan, where he published the Statute of Wales, declaring the annexation of the Principality. Later in the year (Sept. 10-16) his Queen stayed with him on her way to Carnarvon. Henceforward, with the exception of an occasional revolt, Edward had no difficulty with his Welsh subjects. The rising under Madoc ap Llewelyn¹ in 1294-5 was the most formidable, and Edward, who came in person to quell it, was shut up closely for a while in Conway by Madoc, and reduced to great straits. On his way to Conway, Edward stopped at Chester, Dec. 5, and on St. Nicholas' Day (Dec. 6) attended service at St. Werburgh's.

In 1301 Chester was the scene of a grand ceremony, the formal homage paid by the freeholders of Wales to Prince Edward of Carnarvon, who was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester at the famous Parliament of Lincoln. Amongst the feudal lords taking part in these state proceedings, were—Henry of Lancaster, doing homage for Monmouth; Reginald de Grey, for Ruthin; the great Earl of Lincoln, Henry de Lacy; Robert de Montalt; Llewelyn, Bishop of St. Asaph. A number of other Welsh nobles were in attendance, who would watch wonderingly this peaceful gathering within the walls which had so often defied their assaults, among them Llewelyn ap Ednyfed,² the emblazoning of whose shield and coat armour witnessed silently to the bloody encounters of by-gone years.

It was on this occasion (12 June, 28 Ed.), that the important charter (No. 12) was granted, confirming previous charters, and conceding to the citizens (*a*) the fee farm of the city and liberties, at a fixed annual rent of £100; (*b*) the privilege of electing coroners; (*c*) the power of holding courts of justice; (*d*) exemption from ordinary tolls and duties, and other valuable privileges.

Chester appears to have prospered during the peaceful times which followed upon the annexation of Wales, and the civic

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

² Ancestor of Owain Tudor, son of the Welsh chief, who, in commemoration of his having brought to Prince Llewelyn the gory heads of three English officers, bore on his shield "Three Englishmen's Heads, coupéd argent."

authorities found leisure to commence that long-continued struggle with the Abbot of Chester for freedom from toll and from the regulations of the annual fair, which was finally, after a contest of several generations, decided in favour of the mayor and citizens.



Edward II.

(From his Monument in Gloucester Cathedral)

The reign of Edward II. of Carnarvon (1307-1327), does not contain any matters of special interest to Chester. An incident occurred in connection with Piers Gaveston, the royal favourite. He had been sent away out of the prince's company by his father for divers wanton acts and impertinences, amongst which was that of breaking into the park of the Bishop of Lichfield and Chester, Walter de Langton, the king's friend and trusted adviser. From this banishment Gaveston had been recalled on the death of Edward I.,¹ and, after a second period of splendid exile in Ireland, he was met by Edward II., with open arms at Chester.

It was partly to draw off the attention of the hostile nobles from his favourite that Edward busied himself in 1310 in an expedition against the Scots. For the expenses of this campaign he was driven to various shifts, and made requisitions in all possible directions. The Pentice Chartulary, p. 31, records a demand made on the Mayor of Chester from Berwick-on-Tweed, May 23, 4 Ed. 2 [1311], to supply two ships fully equipped with men and armaments and seven weeks' food for this Scottish expedition, to

be at the rendezvous on the morn of the nativity of St. John Baptist.

¹ 1308, Petrus de Gaveston per proceres Anglie sed contra regis voluntatem exulatus ab sequenti circa nativitatem S. Marie revocatus est, cui occurrit rex apud Cestriam.—*Lel. Coll.*, i. 248.

No charters are preserved or referred to as having been given in this reign. But, in the first year of his boyish successor, an important charter was granted (No. 14) by the regency, on payment of the welcome fine of £10, confirming the franchise and privileges of the citizens of Chester as given by his grandfather, Edward I.

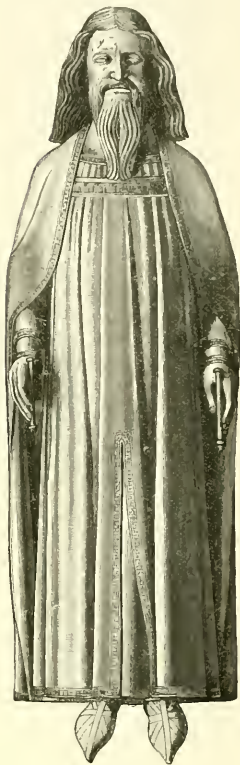
The Chester records are silent as to any part taken by Cheshire in the organised attempt to overthrow the rule of "the gentle Mortimer," though Henry Earl of Lancaster, who was also Baron of Halton, was the leading spirit among the confederate barons.

But in the Hundred Years' War against France many of the citizens of Chester and inhabitants of the County bore their share,

4 Edward II. 1311. *Pentice Chart' 31.*—Edwardus Dei gratia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie & dux Aquitanie Majori Ballivis probis hominibus ac toti com'itati ville sue Cestrie salutem. Quia pro expeditione guerre nostre Scotie contra Robertum de Derne proditorem & inimicum nostrum capitalem ipsiusque complicitos & fautores namum attilie [sic] & apparatu sufficienti & similiter marinariis & aliis hominibus validis & potentibus cum armis competentibus ac etiam victualibus bene munitarum quam plurimum indigemus, nos expeditionem nostram predictam in brevi cum Dei gratia ad finem optatum & felicem perducere spectantes vestro & aliorum fidelium nostrorum subsidio mediante ac de vobis in premissis magnam fiduciam reportantes vos rogamus & requirimus cum affectu quatinus de duabus navibus sufficienti apparatu ac marinariis & aliis hujusmodi hominibus validis & potentibus & armis ipsis competentibus necnon victualibus pro septem septimanis sufficient' vestris sumptibus sine dilacione qualibet velitis ad presens pro expeditione nostra predicta jurialiter? nos innare naves illas sic paratas & munitas usque portum de Wolrakeford prope Knaksargone in Ulton in partibus Hibernie celeriter transmittendo ita quod sint ibidem in crastino Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Bapt' prox' fut' ad ultimum ad proficiscendum exinde in obsequium nostram ad partes Scotie predictas contra inimicos nostros predictos pro expeditione predicta nostra in comitina dilecti & fidelis nostri Johannis de Ergadia cui volumus quod marinarii & homines predicti tanquam admirallo & capitano suo in hac parte pareant & intendant. Et ad hanc requisitionem nostram penes vos cum diligentia proseguendam & efficaciter promovendam mittimus ad vos dilectum clericum Robertum de Marchiaule qui in his que vobis super premissis ducet ex parte nostra fidem credulam probatis[?] & ex opere complicatis. Et hoc sicut nos & honorem nostrum ac nostrorum & regium nostri commodum festivanique & felicem expeditionem guerre nostre predictae diligitis nullatenus omittatis & de eo quod super premissis duxeritis faciend' nobis distincte & aperte per literas vestras & dictum clericum nostrum constare celeriter faciatis. Volumus autem quod hujusmodi auxilium quod nobis ad presens duxeritis faciendum vobis vel heredibus vestris non cedat in prejudicium nec trahat in consequentiam in futurum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Berewicum super Twenam 23 die Maii anno regni nostri 4to. Tarleton. Per Breve de privato sigillo.¹

[From 1333 Berwick-on-Tweed has remained English territory, and is specially mentioned in Acts of Parliament. Several words in this badly-written copy are unintelligible.]

achieving much distinction, as at Crécy in 1346, and later at Poitiers, 1356.¹ At Crécy Sir Thomas Danyers, with the flower of Cheshire chivalry, nobly distinguished himself, and in the most hazardous part of the battle, most probably² when King Edward refused his succours and bade his boy win his spurs and the honour of the day for himself, the said Sir Thomas relieved the banner of his Earl (Prince Edward) and took prisoner the Chamberlain of France, Tankerville.³



Edward III.

(From his Tomb in Westminster Abbey)

In 1349 the Mayor of Chester, Bertram (or Bartholomew) Northworthyn (Northden) was slain by Richard Ditton, apparently in some riot, for several others are mentioned in connection with the murder as having been pardoned. It is characteristic of the times that the murder was atoned for by a fine of 150 marks.

¹ 19 Ed. III. [1345], a precept was issued by Edward the Black Prince to raise 100 [Cheshire] archers for more security of the Realms of England and France, and to be with all things ready at Portsmouth. Again [20 Ed. III.], 200 more archers are ordered to be raised speedily, and to be sent to Sandwich.—*Hartl.* 2074, 2016.

The Welsh Recognisance Rolls record several instances of rewards paid to Cheshire men for these services, *e.g.*, 1357, May 8, Roger de Bosdon made Park-keeper of Peckforton, for services to the Prince of Wales in Gascony and the Battle of Poitiers.

² Ormerod iii. 336.

³ 1397-8, Jan. 4.—Grant to Peter de Legh and Margaret his wife, d. and heiress of Thomas Danyers, Kt., of a place called 'Hauley,' in forest of Macclesfield, to hold at 6d. yearly, in lieu of an annuity of 40 marks granted to the said Thomas by the King's father, for the good service which he had done (tam super captione Camerarii de Tankerville quam super relevacione vexilli dicti patris nostri ad bellum de Crecy) until land to the yearly value of £20 should be provided for him.

It was this Peter who is referred to in the words represented as being addressed by the Cheshire Guard to the King, "Dycun, slep sicury quile we wake, and drede nouzt quile we lyve Seftow: for ziff thow hadst weddet Perkyn daughter of Lye, thow mun well holde a love day with any man in Chestre scire i flaith."—*Chronicle of Kenilwerth*.

The year before, 1348, the whole country had been swept by the Black Death, when the harvest rotted on the land for lack of



Edward, Black Prince

(From his Tomb in Canterbury Cathedral)

reapers. In consequence, a few years later, several statutes relating to labourers¹ were passed to check the lawlessness of sturdy beggars wandering in search of work. It was but the beginning of the social revolution which attained such serious dimensions in Richard II.'s reign. At first sight it would appear that this did not affect the City of Chester. The fee-farm of the City and issues of the Dee Mills were sufficient to furnish the valuable grant for life of £200 made Nov. 11, 1351, to Richard, Earl of Arundel, by the Black Prince as Earl of Chester.

The spirit of insubordination and discontent, however, certainly had reached Chester in 1353, for there was a general uprising directed against the Justices in Eyre, most probably in connection with the great scarcity of provisions and the heavy taxation. Edward the Black Prince, Henry Duke of Lancaster, the Earls of Warwick and Stafford, came into the city with an armed force for the protection of the justices, and opened an inquisition of "Trailbaston."²

In connexion with this rising, it is interesting to note that in 1354-5 (28 Ed. III.) was granted the Black Prince's Charter, confirming previous charters and for the first time precisely defining the limits of the city liberties.

¹ The Statute of Labourers, requiring labourers to work for the same wages as before the plague, and providing penalties for demanding or granting more, and a later ordinance forbidding labourers to migrate to different parts of the country in search of higher wages.

² Knighton, c. 2606. The Recog. Rolls, 26, 27, Ed. III., m. 4 (2) record that "An Eyre having been summoned by Edward Prince of Wales to be held at Chester, on Monday next after the Feast of the Assumption of St. Mary, the commonalty stated that the holding

Two years later, the great dearth, which increased the difficulty arising from the scarcity of labourers, had given place to a corresponding cheapness, for a fat ox was sold for 6/8, a fat sheep for 6d., while a quarter of wheat could be bought for 2/-, and a fat goose and a pig for a penny a piece; labourer's wages being then 6d. a day. Langland's *Piers Plowman* reflects the gloom and discontent of the time (*Passus VII.*) He tells how the labourers strike for higher wages, wasting and shirking hard work; how they threaten life and property, and at length are reduced to subordination by sharp hunger. Hunger seizes

“The waster by the maw,
And wrung him so by the womb (belly) that both his eyen watered.”
“He buffeted the Britoner about the cheeks,
That he looked like a lantern all his life after.”

Under hunger's stern compulsion “vagabonds flew into the barns and flapt with their flails from morn till even for a potful of pease. A heap of hermits seized spades and cut short their long cloaks, making them short jackets,”

“And went as workmen, with spades and with shovels,
And delled and digged to drive away hunger.
Blind and bedridden were bettered a thousand,
That sat to beg silver, soon were they healed;
They were well content to have pease and horse-bread for their food.”

Then came a brief spell of prosperity, when these labourers and quondam beggars would no bread but of the best, “coket and clerematyn” (best white bread). No halfpenny ale for them,

“But of the best and of the brownest that in borough is to sell.
Labourers that have no land to live on but their hands
Deigned nought to dine a-day night-old wortes;
No piece of bacon, but fresh flesh, or fish fried or baked.”

With this came widespread discontent:

“He grieveth him against God, and grudgeth against reason;
And then curseth he the king, and all his counsell after,
Such laws to look, labourers to grieve.”

William Langland utters a warning prophecy of troubles to come by flood and bad seasons, pestilence and plague:

“Workmen should work while they may, for hunger hitherward
hasteth him fast; then Pestilence. When Pestilence withdraws, Famine
shall then be judge, and Dawe the ditcher shall die for hunger, unless
God grant a truce.”

of the same would be contrary to their laws, and on payment of a fine of 5,000 marks the holding of the Eyre was respited for thirty years.” “Trailbaston” was an inquiry into cases of mau-rauding and robbery with violence.

Numerous references occur in the Public Records to the efforts made to enforce the Statute of Labourers.¹ All classes of artisans are brought under the penalty.²

The air was full of trouble. The struggle between labour and capital was being carried on vigorously in town and country. It was intensified by the return of soldiers from the French wars, thrown in excessive numbers upon the labour market, disinclined from their previous life to work in any settled occupation, and ready to take part in any tumultuous rising. Wandering friars and Lollard preachers, passing from village to village, mischievously inflamed the passions of the poorer inhabitants by their irresponsible teaching, and bitter denunciation of the wealthy classes. The towns with abbeys and other religious establishments endeavoured to resist, more or less successfully, the overweening power and extensive privileges of the abbot and his ecclesiastical brethren. The commonalty objected to being forced to grind their corn at the abbot's mill, to waste their time in attendance at the abbot's court, to pay the many tolls and imposts on buying and selling, which fell all the more heavily upon them as the exemptions of the abbey's dependants were so numerous; and in Chester there were, in addition to the Abbey, the Friaries, the Nunnery, the Hospital, all claiming to be exempt from scot and lot.

Heavy taxes, imposed to defray the extravagant expenses of the king's household, and the rumours of the great license and luxury prevalent at court added to the general discontent. It was one of the well-grounded complaints against Richard's government that the country was allowed to be overrun with armed bands, who

¹ In 1362, Dec. 22, Rd. de Eston, Steward of the Lordship of Hopedale, is appointed by Edward, Prince of Wales, to inquire into infringements of the Charter of Edward III., regulating the wages of artisans; and in 1390, Dec. 15, Thomas Fitton of Gouseworth, Peter de Legh, Matthew de Sotheworth, Robert Pygot, Robert de Staneley, and Robert del Donnes have a like commission.

33 Ed. III. Johannes preposterus de Coton indicted quod conduxit messoros et alios operarios nimis excessive ad opus Abbatis Cestrie contra statutum, 32 E. 3. Several other names follow of persons indicted for the same cause. The Abbot's bailiff was not allowed (however anxious to get his crops harvested) to raise the price of the labourers' market.

1362, June 2. Proclamation is issued forbidding anyone to move abroad armed, the Prince having heard that bodies of armed men travelled the country committing felonies and trespasses in contempt of a former enactment made by the Prince when last in Chester.—Welsh R.R., 35-6, Ed. III.

² Thus an Inquisition in 1381 records—"Item dicunt quod Joh'es le Plumer capit salar' excessive contra statutum.

"Item quod omnes fabri (loksmithes) capiunt salar' excessive contra statutum factum.

"Item quod omnes coupeurs et cartewrightes capiunt salarium excessive &c.

"Item quod Joh'es le Braban et omnes alii et alie textores et textrices lince capiunt salar' excessive contra statutum pro labore et artificio suo."

went about despoiling people of their property, and committing many enormities; carrying off young maidens, whom they released only after the payment of heavy ransoms. As the king's writs did not run in the Palatine County of Chester, these freebooters, when hard pressed, retreated thither as to a safe sanctuary. Richard found it quite as difficult as his grandfather, Edward III. [35-6 Ed. 3], to put an end to this scandal, but he continued to issue commissions for that purpose.

The evil continued after his deposition, for in 1399, Nov. 21 and December 9, similar orders were given.

This is, however, an anticipation.

In 1388 Richard, who was still under the control of his uncle Gloucester, made an effort to throw off the yoke, and at his request¹ Sir Thomas Molyneux, Constable of Chester Castle, with

1392, April 3. Edward de Carrington, Robert de Masey of Hale, Hamo de Asshelegh, and Hugh de Masey, com^d by King to arrest certain disturbers of the peace, who, wandered armed about the County of Chester to the terror of the inhabitants.

1393-4, Feb. 4. Comⁿ to Sheriff of Chester to arrest all disturbers of the peace, the King having been informed that bodies of armed men were accustomed to meet in an insurrectionary manner, and to the terror of the people.

1395, Aug. 5. Letters of King to Sheriff of County, commanding him to arrest all disturbers of the peace in the said county, of whom there were a great number who committed felonies innumerable, and were the more bold to do so, inasmuch as no just punishment had followed them.

1399, Nov. 21. King's writ to Hugh Browe Kt., Rd de Cholmondeley, Philip de Egerton, David de Malpas, Ralph de Eggerton, Urian de Egerton, W^m & Thomas le Bellewe, W^m & Thomas de Lawton, John del Lee of Egge, John de Eton, David Dod of Egge, Ughtred de Huxley, William de Canrdyn, W^m de Mulneton, sen. & jun., Hamo de Masey, David de Bostock of Cristelton, Randal de Cotegreve, Rob^t Godemon, sen., W^m de Warde of Bykerton, W^m le Warde of Horton, John son of William de Golburn, David de Shoklache, and the other hereditary gentlemen & yeomen of the hundred of Broxon—setting forth that complaints had reached him from the people of Shropshire & Flintshire of those who had committed robberies in those counties finding refuge in the said hundred, & commanding the said Hugh Browe, & others mentioned in King Richard's letters appointing them conservators of the peace in the said hundred, to take measures to remove all cause of complaint for the future.

1399, Dec. 9. Writ of Henry P. of Wales to Sheriff of County, setting forth that complaints had reached him from people of Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire of bodies of armed men (after the last parliament) entering the said counties from the county of Chester, & after having committed great robberies, returning into the said county with their booty, & commanding proclamation to be made forbidding such practices.

¹ De conniventia Regis, iterum Dux Hiberniæ in partibus Cestriæ et Walliæ magnam turbam collegerat. Quorum ductor erat Cestriæ Constabularius, dictus Thomas Molyneus (al. Molyneus), vir utique dives et audax, cujus nutum tota illa provincia expectabat.—*Vita Ric. II.* 94.

the Sheriff, Sir Richard Vernon, and Sir David Ratcliffe, raised a force of 5,000 men in Cheshire, with which he advanced to support the king's favourite, De Vere, Duke of Ireland, against the Duke of Gloucester. The two armies engaged near Radcote bridge, in Oxfordshire, where Molyneux was slain, and his troops routed. De Vere escaped into the Low Countries, but his movables in Cheshire were seized by order of Gloucester, and lodged in Chester Castle.

Ten years after [1398], the king ordered 3,000 marks of gold to be distributed amongst those of the people of Chester who had suffered in this affair.

A great riot took place in St. Werburgh's Abbey on the Friday next following the feast of St. James the Apostle [July 25, 1393] and on four following days, when Sir Baldwyn of Radyngton, at the head of an armed body of men, stormed the abbey and wasted the goods found there, illtreating and killing one of the sheriffs of Chester who came with the mayor to the rescue. Further, on Thursday next before the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula [August 1], the same Baldwyn, with Sir John Stanley of Lathom and 800 armed men and archers of Lancaster, rode "in manner of warre with basnettes & speares within the countie of Chester by 5 leykes [leagues] from the city."¹ The Duke of

¹ 18 RIC. II.—JUR' dicunt q'd Baldewynus de Radyngton' chivaler, Joh'es Hert, Will'us Hert, Will'us Lapham, Gruffith Reynald, Rogerus del Hall cum tota familia sua venerunt vi & armis cum gladiis, peltis, arcubus & sagittis & aliis armaturis die veneris prox' ante festum S. Jacobi Apostoli anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xviii^{mo}. ad Abbathiam Cestrie & quoddam hostium celeri vocat' Wynseler, hostium interioris aule, hostium camere persone de Asteabury, ac pluria alia hostia divers' camer' Abbatis Cestrie infra abbathiam predictam, manu forti & contra pacem Domini Regis cum gladiis, [and formes & ladders] nequiter & malitiose frugerunt iii olia vini vascoign ibidem inventa ceperunt & devastaverunt, similiter lecta domestica, hernisia, quampluria ipsius Abbatis hominum & servientium ejusdem Abbatis in cameris illis existentibus & armis expulserunt & . . . serunt & pluria alia enormia violentia dampna & gravamina ibidem quatuor dies perpetraverunt, viz. Johannem de Dokynton, & Thomam Banastre glover, ceperunt & eos captivos in arta custodia infra dictam Abbathiam sine causa rationabili illa vice imprisonaverunt exercendo quamplures extortiones, oppressiones, & gravamina infrangendo domos & clausas & de eisdem vi & armis ceperunt capones, pulletes, herbas, utensilia & victualia sine licentia & auctoritate sua, & nichil pacando ministro Domini Regis & alios . . . clamando ad deferendum & portandum super equis suis victualia sua ad dictam Abbathiam & alibi aliquos verberand' & violand'. Et cum scientia pervenit ad Joh'em Larmerer, majorem Cestrie quod dicti Joh'es Dokynton & Thomas Banastre fuerunt taliter imprisonati, accessit ad eandem Abbathiam pro ipsis deliberandis, & cum idem major extitit infra

Lancaster, John of Gaunt, taxed the Earl of Arundel in parliament with having connived at this rising.²

In 1392 Ireland begins to claim attention. The king issues his commission ordering ships to be in readiness to attend at the

Abbatiam illam ad tractandum cum dicto Baldewyno pro deliberacione illa instanter tota familia ipsius Baldewyni . . . cum bresteplates, basenettes & aliis armaturis diversis modis modo gwerrino armati. Et cum dicti malefactores videbantur taliter armati quidam malitiosi quorum nomina ignorantur [imagining] discordiam & dissensionem esse factam, levaverunt hutesium & clamorem per totam civitatem facientes ut communis vox extiterit quod Major Cestrie interfectus fuerit infra Abbatiam predictam & in periculo mortis: causa cujus clamoris communis campana pulsabatur, & super hoc cives dicte civitatis se collegerunt? ad dictam Abbatiam intentione sciendi quo statu & periculo major suus hac vice steterit, & petierunt deliberationem majoris sui & in medietate super hoc venerunt vi & armis predicti Baldewynus cum tota familia sua modo gwerrino & expectatione premeditata predictus Baldewynus cepit & arestavit Thomam Pigot, alterum vic' dicte civitatis per pectus suum ipsumque vic' verberaverunt & vulneraverunt & male tractaverunt, ita quod de vita ejus desperabatur. Item dicunt quod Johannes Hoo, armiger, venit vi & armis & cum gladio evaginato & insultum fecit eidem vic' & pluribus aliis circumstantibus, & sic in principio & insultu supradicti Johannis Hoo ipse fuit interfectus per quem nec per quos predicti Jur' ignorant. Et quam . . . major suus extramissus fuerit de Abbatia predicta predicti cives conduxerunt majorem ad suam domum, & sic transiverunt unusquisque ad domum suam, & postea die Jovis prox' ante festum S. Petri ad vincula, anno xviii. predicto, predictus Baldewynus ymaginavit qualiter ipse possit destruere & nocere comitate Cestrie, congregavit per quatuor dies Johannem de Stanley chivaler, & maximam multitudinem hominum armatorum & sagittariorum de com' Lancast' numero . . . DCCC. insurgentium & equitantium modo gwerrino contra pacem Domini Regis cum bassenettes & speres infra com' Cestr per quinque leucas a civitate predicta in terrorem populi & contemptum Domini Regis.¹—*Tib. MS., Pent. Chart., 37a.*

¹ Thomas Pygot of Chester was indicted for the death of Thomas [sic] Hoo, late the king's yeoman. King issued a writ Aug. 4, 1394, to John Larmerer, mayor, to make further inquest touching his goods. John de Moldesdale was indicted for the same murder and produced a charter of pardon from the King de omnimodis felonis, transgressionibus mesprisonibus ignorancis quecunque per ipsum Joh'em antea perpetrata. [sic]

² Stubbs, ii., 533; An. Ric., p. 162, 166; Wals. ii., 214.

This Sir Baldwyn, their leader, was certainly one of the king's faithful adherents. He obtained [October 1, 1387], as controller of the household, a grant of an annuity for life of 50 marks, to be received at the exchequer of Chester [W.R.R.] He was appointed by Richard in 1392 keeper or guardian of the City of London, in succession to Sir Edward de Dalingrig (who proved to be too mild a guardian), when he imprisoned the lord mayor, abolished the office of mayor, and annulled the city charters. The king treated the citizens with great rigour for several months, and only relented on the intercession of his queen, and on payment of a fine of £10,000, paying a visit of reconciliation on 29 August, 1393.—*Pol. Poems, lxxvii.*

port of Chester, 1 July, for the passage of Thomas Duke of Gloucester and his retinue to Ireland.

In 1394 the king himself engaged in a campaign in Ireland. On June 23 he ordered John Drax, his sergeant-at-arms, to ascertain what ships and sailors could be had in the County of Chester for the transport of his forces;¹ and again on August 13 he directed John Belham and Edward Duy to seize vessels of 10 tons and upwards in the ports of places between 'le Holehede' in Wales and 'Forneux' in Lancashire, with the necessary seamen, and to convey them to the ports of Chester and Conway for the passage to Ireland of Roger de Mortimer and his retinue.²

On his way to Ireland, in September, Richard was entertained at Chester in company with the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March, Salisbury, Arundel, Nottingham, and Rutland, being met and escorted into the city by the mayor in procession.



Richard II.

(Showing the White Hart and Rising Sun)

On this occasion the sword of state was presented by the king to the city.³

In 1397, Richard, who had taken the precaution of raising a strong body guard of 2,000 Cheshire archers, arrested the Duke of Gloucester. These archers wore the king's livery of the stag or

1392. Thomas Duke of Gloucester—Commission by King to John Lopham & John Orwell, Duke's sergeants at arms to take within the ports of Wales, Ireland, & counties of Lancaster & Chester, as well within the liberties as without, such vessels and mariners as should be needful for the passage of the said Duke with his retinue to Ireland & to hold the same in readiness at the port of Chester by 1 July, 1392.

¹ C. A. J. iii., 135.

² W. R. R.

³ Ormerod i., 195.

white hart, and proclamation was made (August 19) that no archer was to engage himself to anyone until 2,300 should be secured for the king's service. All the knights and esquires of the livery of the stag were directed by proclamation (August 24) to assemble, armed, at Kingston-on-Thames, on Saturday morning next before the feast of St. Lambert to ride towards London. The names of these archers, and yeomen "*sagittarii de corona*," are preserved in the Welsh Recognizance Rolls. They received as pay 6d. a day during pleasure, and several members of a family were enrolled at the same time.

It was at this time that the earldom of Chester, which is called once in these Rolls a Duchy, was advanced to the dignity of a Principality, "*ob amorem populi Cestriæ*."

In 1398-9, Feb. 24, William de Brereton with several others was commissioned to raise archers for the king's service, and with Richard de Venables of Kinderton and Thomas le Grosvenor appointed to go to Ireland in the king's train. They were to muster on the road outside the Watergate, Chester, on the morn of the Ascension, 1399, and thence to Wirrall for shipment.¹

This year the king was present² at the installation of Bishop John Brighill (previously Bishop of Bangor and the king's confessor) in St. John's, Chester,³ when he entertained a large company of nobility. This has been doubted, but the king was certainly at Chester 19 July in this year, when he granted Charter 22, sealed with the seal of the Principality.

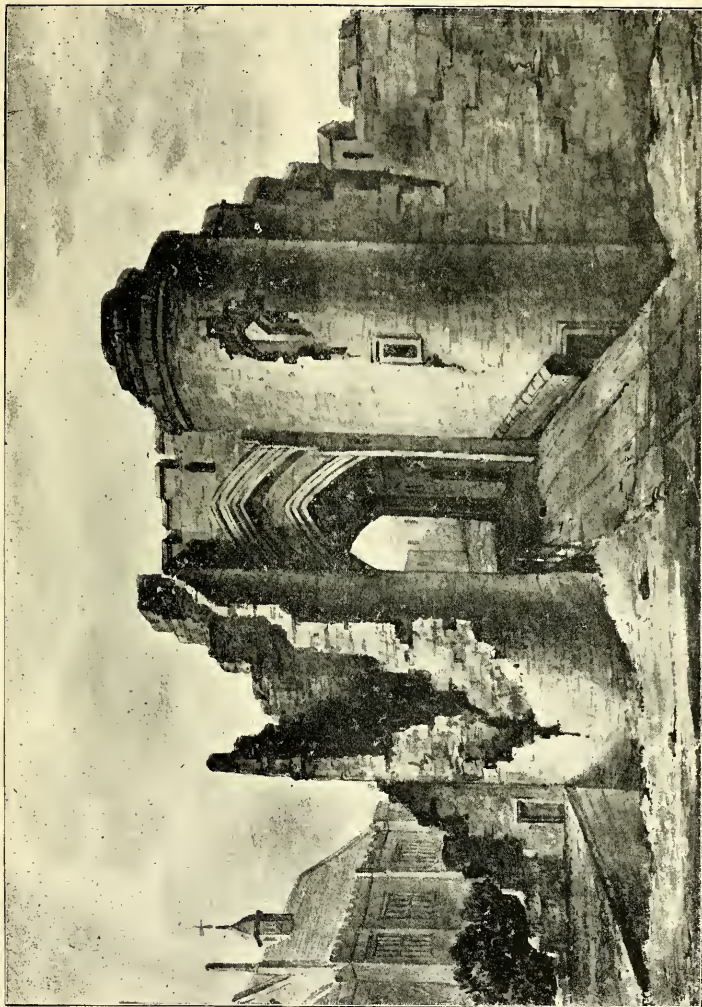
Earlier in the year, on Thursday, at the Corpus Christi festival, a considerable riot had taken place, a number of walkers, websters, challoners, and master weavers having assembled, armed with pole-axes baslards and staves, in front of St. Peter's Church, and attacked a number of their journeymen, to the great alarm of the town's people.

1397-8. John de Hulgrave, armiger, petition to have a grant of the livery of the stag with 100/- yearly, and having heard that the king was desirous to be served by his lieges of Chester, and the said John being anxious to serve him, prays to be admitted to his service, he having been in the army for twenty-two years and at Berwick, where he was in the service of Sir Henry Percy.—Granted March 12, 1397-8—King retaining John in his service for life.—*H. R. R.*

¹ Welsh Recognizance Rolls.

² Cowper's MSS.

³ St. John Baptist was Richard's favorite Saint, and in an old picture belonging to the Earl of Pembroke, St. John the Baptist, Edward the Confessor, and Edmund the Martyr stand by the kneeling king.

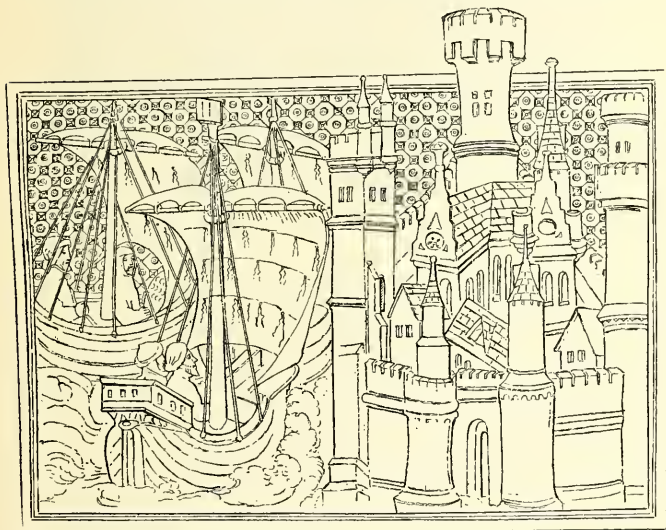


Chester Castle.—The Entrance with the Great Sbir Hall to the left
From an old Water-colour Sketch.

In September of this same year, Henry Bolingbroke was banished the realm, and in 1399, at the end of May, Richard left for Ireland, from which he was to return two months later to give his

“Jewels for a set of beads,
His gay apparel for an almsman's gown,
His sceptre for a palmer's walking staff,
And his large kingdom for a little grave;
A little, little grave, an obscure grave.”

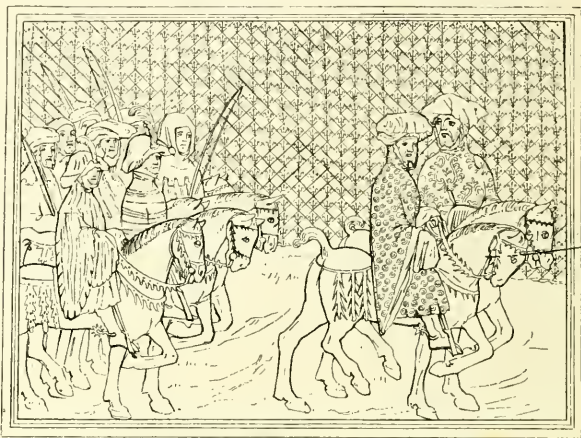
While he was thus engaged with indifferent success, the ill-news arrived (with a tardiness falsifying the proverb) that Bolingbroke had returned from exile, and was at the head of a powerful army, and in possession of the principal towns and fortresses. By the advice of the Duke of Albemarle, abandoning his first purpose



Earl of Salisbury and Créton arrive at Conway Castle

of returning at once, the king committed the fatal mistake of sending on in advance the Earl of Salisbury (appointed July 19 Governor of the Principality of Chester) to meet Henry, instead of at once proceeding himself to Chester. The Earl went to Conway, where he summoned all the king's lieges in North Wales and Cheshire to an immediate muster. The long delay of the king and

Bolingbroke's unchecked success caused the Welsh to disperse.¹ At last the king, after having wasted most valuable days in Ireland, landed at Milford Haven, pushed on with all speed for North Wales disguised in the dress of a friar. Riding with a small retinue, he came first to Harlech Castle (with which the "Barkloughly Castle" of Shakspeare has been identified) reaching Conway Castle possibly on Sunday at daybreak. He at once



Dukes of Exeter and Surrey on their way to Chester.

despatched his half-brother John de Holand, Duke of Exeter, and Thomas Holand, Duke of Surrey, to negotiate with Henry Bolingbroke who was now at Chester. He himself, in the interval of waiting, removed for greater security first to Beaumaris Castle, then to Carnarvon Castle, returning finally to Conway.

Henry had by this time obtained possession of Chester by crafty representation of his purpose, employing in the negotiations Sir Robert Legh² and his brother John, both Cheshire men, who had received special marks of favour from Richard.

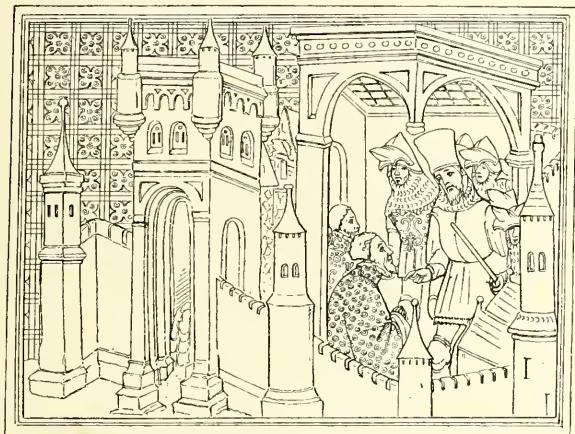
Henry entered the city on August 8th, being received in great state with a procession of all the religious orders,³ and at once

¹ The bay trees withered, which the superstition of the Celtic mind regarded as an evil omen.

² Sheriff of Cheshire (21 Ric. II.) and Constable of Oswestry Castle.

³ Morabatur ibi (Cestrie) per dies aliquot, ubi demonstravit se et militiam suam magnifice coram civitate, et tunc venerunt ei obviam cum solemnī processione omnes viri religiosi civitatis.—*Vita Ric. II.*, p. 154.

proclaimed peace at the High Cross. The next day, however, he seized Peter Legh, of Lyme, brother of Sir Robert Legh, who, unlike his brother, remained staunch in loyalty to his king in misfortune,¹ and beheaded him, placing his head on the Eastgate, where it remained until the following year, when it was taken down and buried in the same grave with his body in the Church of the Carmelite Friars.



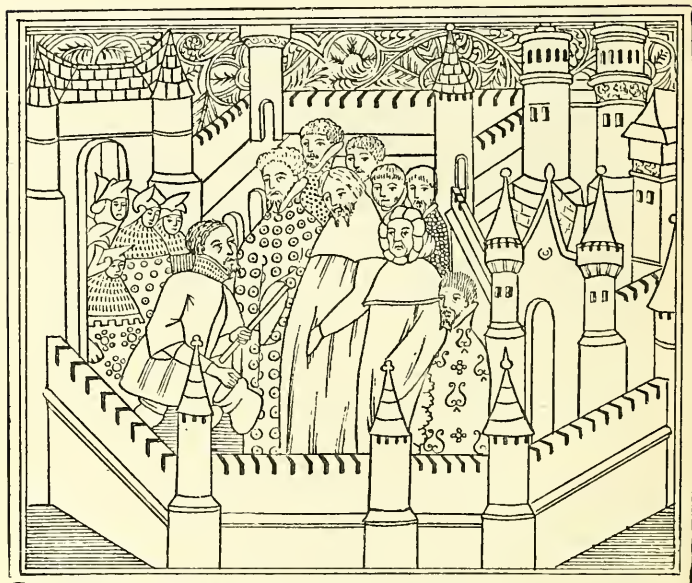
Dukes of Exeter and Surrey at Chester Castle

The Dukes of Exeter and Surrey had meanwhile hurried on to do their errand, travelling early and late. "When they got into Chester, a great number of persons were with them who thought they were changing the service of the king, and came to sue for mercy to Henry Duke of Lancaster. They were straightway led to Duke Henry in the Castle, which is a regular building. The Duke of Exeter bent one knee on the ground in reverence, and then, being asked what news he brought, told his message, urging [on Lancaster] the disgrace it would be to break his fidelity to his lord, and a scandal to his lineage for ever; that his possessions would be restored and the king's pardon freely granted."² Bolingbroke

¹ "Nor thou, magnanimous
Legh, must not be left
In darkness, for thy rare fidelity
To save thy faith, content to lose thy head,
That reverent head, of good men honoured." — *Drayton*.

² Créton.

would not give them an immediate answer to take back, but detained the two nobles, keeping Exeter about his person, and shutting up Surrey in the Castle. He sent Northumberland to meet the king at Conway, with instructions to bring the king to Chester. Richard was induced to leave Conway Castle for Flint Castle, realising on the way thither how completely he had been tricked and how helpless he was. The messenger who brought



Bolingbroke meets Richard at Flint Castle

Bolingbroke the tidings of the king's capture reached Chester just at break of day. Bolingbroke was overjoyed—"his whole force was encamped about Chester and took up much of the country," numbering, according to Créton, upwards of 100,000 men.

They set out for Flint on Tuesday, August 22, attended with a band of musicians, probably some of the Chester minstrels. Here took place the meeting which is described so vividly by Shakspeare. Créton's engraving shows Henry approaching with deep reverence,

and cap in hand,¹ whilst the king, wearing still the friar's dress, has round him the faithful few—the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, Sir Stephen Scrope, Ferriby, and Janico d'Artois.² Then mounted on two sorry hacks, the king and Salisbury, at two o'clock, started for Chester. Here Richard was received by the common people with "shouting as it were in mockery." Bolingbroke led him straight to the castle, and caused him to be lodged in the donjon, or, as the Cowper MSS. state, in a tower over the great outer gateway, opposite Gloverstone, with Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle and the two knights, but kept from communication with anyone else. On the fourth day after the king's seizure, Bolingbroke took him on through Nantwich, Lichfield (where he made an unsuccessful attempt to escape), Northampton, St. Albans, to London, where he was lodged in the Tower.

On Wednesday, September 30, Parliament was summoned³ to receive the king's abdication. The lords spiritual and temporal occupied their places, while representatives of counties and boroughs crowded the hall. The throne stood empty, covered with cloth of gold. The long list of "articles of accusation" was read out, and then followed the formal resignation so graphically described in the great drama:

"I give this heavy weight from off my head
And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,
With mine own hands I give away my crown,

¹ Statim ut Dux vidit Regem, honoravit eum, propiusque accedens, iterum honoravit eum inclinando, et cum ad eum pervenisset, tertio eum honoravit genuflectendo.—*Vita Ric. II.*, 155.

² Amongst the faithful few who remained staunch in their fidelity to King Richard was a Gascon, Janico d'Artois. He, had been for several years in Richard's service. In Ireland he showed himself a brave and enterprising officer. At Flint he stoutly refused to submit to the Duke of Lancaster's command to lay aside his master's badge of the white hart, and was, in consequence, imprisoned at Chester. Henry, however, admiring his faithful attachment, after Richard's resignation brought him over to his side and employed him in several matters. In 5 Henry IV. he was made Admiral of Ireland and fought successfully (1409 and 1413) against the Irish. His name occurs in the Roll of Henry V.'s army assembled at Southampton before the battle of Agincourt.

1399. Aug. 20. James Dartey, Thomas Grey, Kt., and John de Stanley give sureties in £200 that James Dartey, imprisoned in the Castle of Chester by command of Henry Duke of Lancaster, would not escape out of the walls of Chester. This was cancelled because the said James was liberated by warrant of the Duke of Lancaster, directed to Henry Percy, Justice of Chester, and by warrant of the said Justice to Nicholas de Rygby, Constable of the Castle.

³ The writs for this Parliament were issued from Chester, August 19, the first writ being addressed to Arundel as Archbishop, and attested by the king himself and the council.—*Stubbs ii.* 548.

Cheshire "a den of robbers"

With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,
 With mine own breath release all duty's rites ;
 All pomp and majesty I do forswear,
 My manors, rents, revenues I forego ;
 My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny ;
 God pardon all oaths that are broke to me !"—*Act II.*, 1, 204.



Abdication of Richard II.

Henry did not find that the object of his ambition was securely attained with Richard's abdication and formal act of deposition. "Cheshire had long been denounced by its neighbours as a den of "robbers" [*spelunca latronum*] "from which murderers and cut-throats issued for nightly raids upon the persons and cattle of "their peaceful inhabitants, claiming the immunities of a County "Palatine to defy the king's officers of justice." But this lawless state of things was not entirely confined to Cheshire. Lords in other counties encouraged the formation of bands of men, who, calling themselves vassals and wearing the livery or badge of their respective lords, were no better than companies of robbers and outlaws. "They lay in wait in the woods for the lives of those "whose lands were threatened, so that they could not till their "lands, or attend their parish churches, or go about any business, "unless accompanied by armed followers. Their houses were "burnt, their tenants and servants beaten and robbed. Riotous "bands attended at fairs and markets, or plundered peaceful "travellers on the high roads. Various partial measures were "passed to counteract this evil, but ineffectually, and tailors,

"drapers, souters, tanners, pisceners (fishmongers), butchers, and "artificers wore liveries or badges for maintenance."¹

Henry's first parliament passed an act forbidding any subject of whatever rank to use or give any livery or badge of company within the realm. This Act was to take effect from the Feast of the Purification (February 2, 1400), but not to apply to the livery of the menials or others living in the households of the great lords. Henry had grave reason for procuring such an order. The turbulent spirits of Cheshire were only too ready to uphold the deposed king's rights, especially when they were reminded of Richard's openly avowed affection for Cheshire men. The Welsh too, who had been warmly attached to him, assumed a threatening attitude. The danger of this system of liveries was amply shown at Chester. On Saturday next after the Epiphany, January 10, 1400, a number of persons, twenty-eight in number, of various trades and occupations (masons, cuttellers, taylliours, websters, skinnners, glovers, shermen, goldsmynths, cooks, mercers, corvysers) assembled in the market place,² and after some seditious speeches, placed badges of leather, paper, and cloth, sewn with white thread (the cognizance of Richard, the White Hart), and thus ornamented passed from street to street, making their way to Chester Castle, the surrender of which they demanded. This being refused, they moved on to the Eastgate and took down the head of Peter de Legh, which had been fixed up there by Henry's order, and marched with it through the city, compelling many others to join their ranks. They obtained possession of the keys of the city gates, made proclamations in the name and on the part of the deposed king, summoning on pain of death all able-bodied men to take up arms for him. They then advanced upon the Castle, which was successfully defended for several days by John Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph, Chamberlain of Chester,³ John de Massy of Potyntou, Kt., Sheriff of Chester, Wm. de Venables, Constable, and others. The insurgents shot several arrows against the Castle; on the following Sunday they received reinforcements (amongst them being John

¹ Wylie, Hen. 4, p. 69.

² Foro pleno et mercato.

³ He it was who pronounced sentence of deposition on King Richard, and was sent as ambassador to Spain to justify the actions of Henry. Glyndwr retaliated by burning down St. Asaph Cathedral, and the Bishop's Palace. Henry's reward is given in the following extracts from the Recognizance Rolls:—

1399-1400, Feb. 1. Warrant to forester of Mara to deliver two does to John Bp. St. Asaph, and Wm. de Venables of Kinderton, Constable of Chester Castle, in recompense of their zeal in the munition and safe custody of the Castle.

1400. Warrant to keeper of park of Lloytcote for delivery to said John [Bp.] of two oaks for building.

1401-3. John, Bp. of St. Asaph, lieutenant of N. Wales and Connty of Chester.

Leche of Malpas, John and Adam Hesketh), and on Monday, John del Legh and Thomas de Holford, with others, wearing the badge of the white hart repeated the proclamation in the name of Richard. The document in the Record office is silent as to the punishment of these insurgents.

Henry, with great policy, took care to win as many as possible to the side of law and order. January 23, 1400, a writ was issued by Henry Prince of Wales to the bailiffs of the hundred of Nantwich, to make proclamation of pardon to all those who had through fear joined the rebels, on their returning to their homes. The same was repeated on February 12, and orders given that "the poor should not be frightened."¹

But this measure was not sufficient to secure peace, and meanwhile trouble threatened from the north as well. The Scots, elated by the memory of Otterbourne, were eager to take advantage of the unsettled state of England, and were reported (February 9, 1400) to be burning and raiding on the Border, and preparing to invade the north, with the help of the King of France.²

Forces were being levied in Cheshire, as elsewhere, to meet the invasion of the Scots,³ which claimed Henry's exclusive

¹ Henry IV., 29 Jan., 1400. *Henricus filius illustris regis Anglie & Frauncie primogenitus, princeps Wallie, Dux Aquitanie Lancastrie & Cornubie, Comes Cestrie, majori & vic' civitatis Cestrie salutem. Precepimus vobis quod statim visis presentibus in locis in balliva vestra ubi melius expedire videritis publice proclamari fac' quod omnes & singuli fideles ligei & tenentes nostri Com' nostri Cestrie qui custodiam super muros civitatis nostre predictae seu servitium aliquod infra eandem civitatem tempore guerre juxta tenuram hereditatum suarum sive partis earundem hereditatum nobis facere deberent se ad civitatem predictam pro eisdem serviis suis nobis ibidem faciend' cum omni festinacione parere festinent sub pena que incumbit viz. quilibet eorum juxta modum tenure sue predictae competenter armatus: & quid in hoc feceritis sciri nobis fac' in scaccario nostro Cestrie apud Cestriam hac instanti die lune jam prox' futur' hoc breve nobis remittentes. Dat' apud Cestriam xxix die Januar' anno regni dicti patris nostri regis Henrici iv post conquestum primo.—**Tib.* 13.

¹ Welsh Recognizance Rolls.

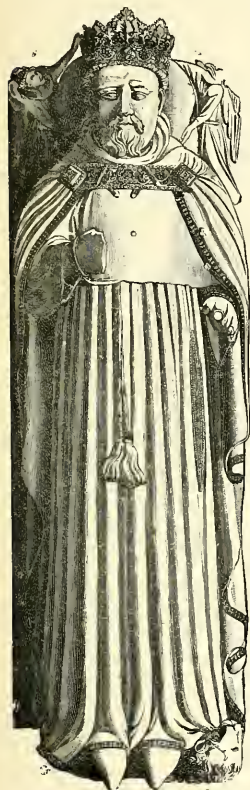
² 1399-1400, March 15. Henry Prince of Wales orders the Mayor and Sheriffs of Chester to make proclamation that all governors of castles or fortresses in the counties of Chester, Flint, N. Wales, S. Wales, and elsewhere throughout the power of the Prince, should within fifteen days after the proclamation enter upon the personal custody of the same, the Prince having heard of evil designs on the part of his enemies, as well those of Scotland as those of France, and having consideration to the rebellions commenced by some of the County of Chester.

³ 1400, July 1. Richard de Bromley and Wm. le Roter commanded by Henry Prince of Wales to elect 15 archers of the hundred of Edisbury for whom they would answer, and to repair with them to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, there to be on Monday next after the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, to resist a threatened invasion of the Scots, their wages to be satisfied immediately on their arrival in the said town.

attention, though disturbance and lawlessness had commenced on the Welsh border.¹ Owen Glyndwr, whose rebellion was at a later

period to attain such formidable dimensions, had become involved in disputes with Reginald Lord Grey of Ruthin, and was further irritated through being unjustly denounced by the English lord for not obeying the king's summons to follow him to the north. The Welsh, under Owen's leadership, attacked the English towns on the border, plundering, burning, and killing. The king, who at first disregarded the urgent appeals for aid, was obliged at length to take measures personally for checking these raids, and on Sept. 30, 1400, the mayor and sheriffs of Chester were directed to furnish provisions for the king and the prince, on their departure for North Wales to put down the rebels; again, Oct. 1, to provide 20 archers for the safe conduct of the provisions, which the prince's officers had been commanded to furnish in the same city, and to convey them to Denbigh. Other provisions were imported from Ireland.²

One grisly evidence of Henry's success was set up before the eyes of the citizens of Chester, for after Grenow ap Tudor had been hung and quartered at Shrewsbury as a traitor, one of the four quarters of his body was sent to be fixed on the Chester gate, the remaining portions being fixed up in like fashion on the gates of Bristol, Hereford, and Ludlow.



Henry IV.

¹ At a court held before Henry de Percy, Justice of Chester, at Christleton, die martis in festo exalt' S Crucis (Sept. 14) 1 Henry IV., Ieuan Gogh is indicted for lying in wait, with several other persons unknown, at Pulton, near the Chapel, to do some bodily harm to Thomas Quythod.—*Ind. Roll.* 9, m. 2.

² Oct. 14, 1400. Henry Prince of Wales sends letters to John de Stanley, Kt., Lieutenant of Ireland, for the exportation from Ireland to North Wales of 100 quarters of wheat, 60 quarters of oats, and 30 quarters of peas, as well for the provisioning of the castles of North Wales as for the relief of the county, great dearth of grain prevailing in these parts.—*W.R.R.*

The Welsh rebellion continued for some years to exhaust the resources of the king, causing widespread distress and inconvenience, especially in the marches, and interfering in a marked degree with the trade of the City of Chester.

The frequent entries in the Recognizance Rolls show that special care was taken and heavy sureties exacted that the insurgents should not be directly or indirectly assisted by victuals or anything else bought at Chester and sold again to them.¹

This condition bore hardly on some traders, and was made the occasion of oppression and exaction. John de Eton, who in excess of zeal had seized the goods of Thomas Strange on suspicion that he had sold them to Thomas Joyce, a mercer at Ruthin, is ordered by Prince Henry's precept to restore the property.

How vividly does this piece of yellow parchment call up before us the troublous times when it was drawn up! Owen Glyndwr, regarded by many on the borders as the rod of God's anger, is making his name a terror along the marches. Handbridge, now a peaceful suburb of Chester, was then known as Treboeth, "the burnt town," because it was so frequently destroyed by fire and sword. The barefooted Welsh swarm over the border, burning houses, wasting the crops, capturing and killing the peasants, and

¹ 1402-3, Feb. 3. Richard de Strangeways, surety that Mogant le Trannter of Burton, near Merton Mulne, John de Gresford of Gresford, Dyo Bagh [Bach=little] of Merford, and David le Traunter of Burton, and Iollyn ap Gron' ap Eign', Traunters, would not sell the beer bought by them at Chester to the rebels.

1402-3, Jan. 26. Thomas Bron of Denbigh, surety that Gruff' ap Ienan ap Meiler, tenant of Hugh del Bussches of Denbigh, would not dispose of the corn bought by him in Chester to the rebels.

1402-3, March 24. John Bykair of Denbigh mainprises that three loads of fish bought by him in City of Chester for soldiers in Denbigh Castle should not be sold to the rebels.

1403-4, Jan. 27. Writ of Henry Prince of Wales to Bailiffs of Hundred of Broxton to make proclamation against the carrying out of County of Chester into other parts of Wales, of any goods and merchandize, the prince having heard that great numbers of horses and cattle and quantities of merchandize were carried to the fairs and markets of Bromfield Yale, Deffren Cloyt, and elsewhere, and sold to the rebels.

1404, July 17. Writ of Henry Prince of Wales to mayor and sheriffs, prohibiting the sale of arms and merchandize to the rebels, and the exportation of same to the town of Malpas, or any foreign market at which the said rebels assembled.

1404, June 11. Thomas and John Aleyn, commission as keepers of all the passes between the City of Chester and Haselwall in Wirral Hundred, to prevent traffic with rebels.

1406, Oct. 25. Thomas Aleyn of Chester, to Earl of Chester, recognizance in £4 to answer for certain cattle of Gruff' ap Bellyn ap Wyllym.

1404, Sept. 12. Walter Beeston, John Bondon, Geoffrey de Wyberlegh, merchants of Denbigh, license to purchase goods and merchandize in Chester for use of people of Denbigh, the said goods not to be sold to the rebels.

1406, July 6. Peter de Bulkeley of Cheadle, Richard Payn, bailiff, of Aldeford, and Robert de Lanton, commission to seize all merchandize passing through hundred of Broxton for the purpose of being sold to rebels.

then retreat to their simple entrenchments among the mountains, or disperse among the wild and inaccessible valleys of their native land, where, when they are pursued, tempestuous weather, blinding hail, fire that ran along the ground, and driving snow, seem to fight for them, giving ground for the belief that their leader, Glyndwr, was in very truth a magician, able to call at his will "the spirits" of the air "from the vasty deep."

While trade in Chester was restricted with the rebellious Welsh, the city was in a degree compensated by the large stock of goods which were requisitioned for the maintenance of the king's troops and provisioning of his castles.¹

Owen Glyndwr, whose followers were full of enthusiasm for one who had been foretold in Welsh prophecy as a man "not in the roll of common men," the Golden Dragon who should drive out the tyrant Sassenach, was gaining strength daily, appearing now in South Wales, now in the North like a flaming meteor. Harlech Castle was only saved from capture, Dec. 14, 1401, by the prompt despatch from Chester of 100 men-at-arms and 400 archers. The Scottish cruisers too were threatening Carnarvon and Beaumaris, and the City of Chester was called upon to take part in the equipping of a small fleet for the protection of the North Wales coast, while every owner of property of £20 yearly value was summoned to assist in the defence of the city.²

Henry Percy, who had been made Justice of North Wales and Constable of the Castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, Denbigh, and Carnarvon, had shown himself specially active on Henry's behalf. At length, in anger at Mortimer's treatment by Henry, passing from the position of a loyal and trusted servant of the Crown to a hot and dangerous rebel, he joined Glyndwr's movement. Advancing southwards through Yorkshire and Lancashire, he reached Chester on Monday, July 9, stopping at the house of Petronilla Clark.³ He met with an enthusiastic reception, and was joined by many from Wales. The parsons of Pulford, Dodleston, Hanley, Hawarden, and many of the noblest in Cheshire took part in the rising.

¹ 1402-3, March 12. License to Henry le Clerk to purchase grain in Chester, to be sold to inhabitants of Town and Castle of Carnarvon, who were in great need.

1403-4, March 5. John le Spyer commission to provision Carnarvon, which was in great need. Edmund le Glover, license to buy merchandise for use of garrison.

² 1402, July 7. Thomas Capenhurst and John de Mollington, appointed governors and chief admirals of a fleet fitted out by the mayor and citizens of Chester, of the barge called "Trinity," of Chester, and of other three small vessels fully armed, in which the mayor and sheriffs were about to put to sea in the service as well of the king as of the prince. [2, 3 Hen. IV.]—*H.R.R.*

³ Pat. 4 Hen. IV., 3-11.

The report had gone abroad that Richard was still alive, and that those who were loyal to their rightful king might join the muster at Chester, where they would see him at the Castle, or meet him at Sandiway, near Delamere Forest on July 17. Hotspur marched on to a plain about two miles to the north-west of Shrewsbury, "the fields around yet ripening with their crops and "many acres covered with tangled peas and vetches."¹ His army consisted (according to Waurin) of 24,000 archers and 2,000 lances; the lowest computation being 14,000 men. The Cheshire archers were reckoned the flower of the force.



The Battle of Shrewsbury:

From the Life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick
(Drawn by John Rous about 1485)

The battle commenced early on Saturday, July 21, with a furious discharge from the Cheshire archers, which broke the royal lines. It raged fiercely till nightfall. Prince Henry was wounded in the face; Percy and the Earl of Stafford were killed; the Earls of Douglas and Worcester ("Ill-spirited Worcester," Hotspur's uncle), Sir Richard Venables, Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, Baron of Shipbrooke, were taken prisoners. The Chester

¹ Wylie, Henry IV., p. 359.

men, who had begun the battle so well, were cut to pieces, and "night fell upon one of the wyrste bataylys that ever came to "Inglande and unkyndyst."¹

The bodies of the dead, which are stated to have numbered between 7,000 and 8,000 (2,000 being knights and gentlemen), covered a space of over three miles.²

Percy's body, which was at first buried, was afterwards quartered, the head fixed over the gates of York, and the four parts sent to be hung above the gates of Chester, Bristol, Newcastle, and London. There they remained until the widow piously collected and buried them at York. The Earl of Worcester, Sir Richard Venables, and Sir Richard Vernon, were forthwith beheaded, and their heads set upon London Bridge.

Henry, following his usual sagacious policy of conciliation, granted (3 Nov., 5, Hen. 4), "on the supplication of his most dear "son, Henry Prince of Wales," a pardon to all the king's lieges of the town of Chester for the part they had taken in Henry Percy's insurrection, with remission of all outlawries and forfeitures. With this pardon, however, was coupled a fine of 300 marks (the county fine was 3,000 marks) and a requisition to supply shipping and provisions for the transport of men going in the king's service to the rescue of Beaumaris Castle.³ These conditions were fulfilled without delay, for Dec. 31, 1403, testimony was given to that effect.⁴

Before this, on Sep. 4, 1403, Henry had taken the severe measure of precaution to direct that all manner of Welsh persons and of Welsh sympathies should be expelled from the city; that none should enter the City before sunrise or tarry in it after sunset under pain of decapitation; or carry arms about him, except

¹ Gregory Chron., 103.

² Wyntown, 2, 409.

³ 1403, Nov. 3. General pardon to people of county (excepting the mayor and commonalty of city) who took part in the insurrection of Henry Percy, with remission of forfeitures on payment by the said people of a fine of 3,000 marks.

1403, Nov. 3. The mayor and commonalty were pardoned on payment by them of a fine of 300 marks, or on their finding shipping and provisions for the transport of the men going in the king's retinue to the rescue of the Castle of Beaumaris.

⁴ 1403, Nov. 4. Warrant of Henry Prince of Wales to Roger Brescy, Vice-Chamberlain of Chester, to receive into his custody the above charters of pardon to be delivered to him by Ralph Pope, and when required by Sir John de Polle, and Richard de Manley, pursuers of the said charters, to read them to the people of the county and the mayor and commonalty of the city, but to retain them in their custody until the fulfilment of the conditions.

1403, Dec. 31. Memorandum of appearance of Robert Castell before Roger Brescy to testify to the fulfilment by the said mayor and commonalty of the conditions in their charter of pardon, touching the rescue of the Castle of Beaumaris, and of the delivery of the charter to Ralph de Hatton, mayor, and Jchu de Arwe and John del Hall, sheriffs, and John de Eulowe, citizen of Chester.

a knife for cutting his dinner; or meet together three in number, &c.¹

Instances occur in the Records of sureties being given for the good conduct of certain Welshmen.²

Henry did not relax his military precautions. Orders were issued to the great land-owners on the marches to keep watch and ward against Owen Glyndwr.³ Archers and lances were raised in

¹ Henry, son of the illustrious King of England and France, Prince of Wales, &c., and Earl of Chester, to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of the City of Chester, greeting.

For certain reasons which specially concern the safe custody of our city aforesaid and with the consent of our council, we order that forthwith on sight of these presents, you cause to be driven without the walls of the city aforesaid all manner of Welshmen of either sex, male as well as female: in such sort that they be thoroughly driven forth of the said city, and that no Welshman, or any person of Welsh extraction or sympathies, of whatsoever state or condition, remain within the walls of the said city, or enter into the same before sunrise on any day on any excuse, or tarry in the same after sunset, under pain of decapitation, and on no day whatsoever journey or presume to enter the said city with arms upon him, under pain of forfeiture of the said arms, saving only a knife for cutting his dinner. And that they enter into no wine or beer tavern in the same city, and that they hold no meetings or assemblies in the same, and that three of the same Welshmen meet not together within the walls aforesaid; which thing if they do, they shall be forthwith taken for rebels against the peace, and be committed to our gaol of the city aforesaid, there to remain until we take order about their liberation. And if it happen that any strangers, Welshmen, to wit of our county of Flynt or other parts whatsoever of our dominions of Wales shall be plaintiffs at the aforesaid city, then, having left their weapons and harness without the gate by which they are about to enter into the city aforesaid, they shall enter into the same unarmed for the doing of their business in the same. So that they in no wise pass the night within the walls, under the direst pains we command that you cause such guard to be ordered, set, and maintained at each gate of the city aforesaid, with watches upon the walls and elsewhere in the same city by night and day; for which guard and watches ye shall be prepared to answer. And that you cause the articles of this brief, referring to the arresting Welshmen in the city aforesaid and as to their not remaining in the same, to be proclaimed publicly in your bailiwick for the informing of the people concerning these ordinances on our part. And ye shall carry out this to the utmost of your power, and under pain of forfeiture, and be ready to answer should anything happen other than well to our said city.

Given at Chester the 4th day of Sept., in the 4th year of the reign of our said lord and father, King Henry the Fourth.—By the Council.—*Welsh Recog. Rolls.*

² 1406-7, Feb. 23. Rd. de Cockerham and Ith' ap Gruff' ap Gron' mainprise Ren' ap Eign' ap David, arrested for passing over the walls of the City of Chester.

Proverbial sayings of the Welsh testify to the importance of Chester as a frontier fortress and the vigilance of the citizens. "Mwy nag un bwa yw Ynghaer" (More than one yew bow in Chester; "Codi cyn cwn Caer." (Up before the dogs of Chester!)

³ 1403-4. Wm. de Brereton, Kt., is commanded by Prince Henry to hasten to his possessions on the marches of Wales, to make defence against the coming of Owain Glendower, according to an order in Council, that on the occasion of war being moved against the king and kingdom of England, all those holding possessions on the marches nearest the enemy should reside on the same for the defence of the realm. Thomas le Grosvenor, Kt., is directed likewise to hasten to his possessions at Pulford, Church en Heth and elsewhere.

The same order is issued, 1406, June 18, to the above with Adam de Bostok, Hugh de Cotton, Randal le Maynwaring, Thomas de Wylbram, and Rd. de Rode.

In 1403-4, Jan. 26, John Bryd of Chorleton, with Rd. de Cholmondeley, Philip de Egerton, Thos. de Brexton, Urian de Egerton, John de Lee of Egge, are directed to overlook the watches in Broxton Hundred so that no danger may happen through defect of the same, and to see that beacons are erected in the accustomed places to warn the country of the enemy's coming.—*H.R.R.*

the Hundreds of Edisbury, Northwich, Nantwich, Macclesfield, and Bucklow to serve within the Hundred of Broxton against the rebels.¹ Ships were requisitioned for the transport of men-at-arms and archers to Anglesey and to cruise on the North Wales coast.²

The constant watch ("chek wache") which had to be maintained on the walls of Chester was a very considerable tax upon the citizens' time and resources. The fine imposed by the mayor (10 Hen. IV.) for absence or for neglect of this duty was 3s. 4d. for each default.

Connected with these preparations was the order of Henry, Prince of Wales (5 March, 8 Hen. IV., Charter 25) renewing the grant of murage for five years. It was stipulated that one-half should be expended on the walls, the other moiety upon completing the tower on Dee Bridge, which was begun in the reign of Richard II. This grant was renewed (20 May, 10 Hen. IV. Charter 25*a*) at pleasure, "*quam diu nobis placuerit.*"

Notwithstanding his severe edict against Welsh residents and others likely to sympathise with Glyndwr's rebellion, and the strict precautions taken in the city against the rebels, the king was obliged in 1409 to remove the mayor, John de Ewlowe, from office for alleged want of loyalty and tampering with the rebels. He exacted the heavy surety of 1,000 marks, and appointed Sir William Brereton guardian in his place.³ Three years later, disturbances arose in the city in connection with the election to the mayoralty, which was interfered with by an organised band of conspirators.⁴

¹ Edisbury 2 lances, 30 archers; Northwich 4 lances, 40 archers; Nantwich 4 lances, 40 archers; Macclesfield 4 lances, 50 archers; Bucklow 6 lances, 60 archers.—*W.R.R.*

² 1406, May 7. Ralph de Barton, armiger, commissioned by Henry, Prince of Wales, to take such vessels in Dee and Mersey as he should deem requisite for the transport of his men-at-arms and archers to the island of Anglesey, where for its safe custody he was ordered to remain.

1407. Hugh de Multon, Thomas de Mukelfen, John Bron, and John de Acton, as admirals and governors of the fleet fitted out by the mayor and citizens, and in which they were about to proceed to sea against the king's enemies.

1409-10, Mar. 4. Rd. de Aston, Kt., comd. to cruise at sea with John William, mariner, of Dartmouth, Hugh de Multon of Chester, and Thomas de Cotyngham of Chester, to seize such vessels with their equipment as should be necessary to the said Richard and John, whom the king had appointed to cruise between the coasts of Wales and Ireland, to oppose all rebels and enemies, and especially for the safety of the Lordship of Anglesey.

³ Wm. de Brereton, Kt., Keeper and Governor of Chester, to govern according to the laws and customs of the city, the Prince having for certain reasons exonerated for a time John Ewlowe from the office of mayor.—*W.R.R.*

⁴ 1412, Oct. 12. John Walshe [Mayor 1411-12], Peter Dutton, Kt., Wm. de Stanley, Kt., Roger le Potter [Mayor 1410], John de Preston [Mayor 1404, 1409, *loc. ten.*], John de Whitmore [Mayor 1412], John Manley, and Arthur de Troghford, commissioned by Henry, Prince of Wales to elect a mayor for the city, the prince having been informed that divers of the commonalty of the said city were banded together forcibly to disturb the free election of a mayor.—*W.R.R.*

Soon, however, all interest was to be concentrated on the new king's claim to the kingdom of France. Money was being raised by various expedients and troops marshalled in every county in the realm. July 12, 1415, the Sheriff of the County of Chester is bidden to summon all knights, esquires, and yeomen who had received wages for the king's service across the sea to assemble arrayed for war at Castle-under-Lyme and thence proceed on the same day to the king at Southampton. These Cheshire men had no inconsiderable share in the victory of Agincourt (Oct. 25), and once more the deadly hail of the cloth-yard shafts which had been so effective on English ground at Shrewsbury proved irresistible to the disdainful chivalry of France.

But the troubles at home were not settled. Henry, before leaving England on his French expedition, had taken the precaution of securing the safety of the marches against the Welsh rebels. Their leader, Owen Glyndwr, who had been hitherto expressly excepted from the amnesty offered to the rebels, was now included in the offer of pardon.

The disaffected, however, were still dangerous to the peace of the Palatine City, and several riots took place. In 1416, John of Ewlowe, who had been deposed from the mayoralty for suspected disloyalty, with Edmund his son, his retainers, Ithel Gogh of Ewlowe "Walsshman," Robyn le "Walsshman," Gilliam, servant of Ithel, "Frenshman," David ap Ithel "Walsshman," John de Merton, Thomas de Mykelfield, Roger de Bernesshawe, and a number of tradesmen and artizans, smiths, hatters, "cotelers," souters, glovers, websters, spurriours, of malice prepense, assaulted

12 Hen. IV. Inquisitio capta apud Cestriam coram Rogero le Potter majore, &c. . . . Dicunt super sacramentum suum q'd Rogerus le Potter major dicte Civitatis personaliter venit ad Joh'em de Dawe, nnum aldermannorum civitatis pred' et ei precepit ex parte domini Principis & Comitis Cestrie sub pena centum solidorum et libertatis sue secum equitare apud Northwich cum aliis de xxiii^{or} aldermannis ejusdem Civitatis *super quendam diem amoris* inter majorem et com'itatem ex una parte et Will^m. le Venables de Kynderton et homines de libertate sua ex altera parte per Joh'em Stanley chivaler nuper captum pro diversis libertatibus, gravaminibus, transgressionibus, oppressionibus, quampluribus hominibus dicte Civitatis multotociens perpetratis et factis, ac etiam pro arduis negotiis, causis, articulis eidem com'itati specialiter tangentibus, viz., eo q'd die veneris prox' post festum S. Dionisii . . . que est dies electionis majoris, vic', coronatoris ac aliorum officiariorum in dicta civitate a tempore quo non extat memoria, Rob'tus le Chamberlyn, Ric'us le Masey, et alii . . . venerunt vi et armis viz. cum pollaxis, gladiis et armaturis aliis modo guerrino perturbare liberam electionem offic'.

John le Bruyn¹ at night in Eastgate Street, and wounded him, leaving him *in periculo mortis*.² Later, Edmund de Ewloe, son of John de Ewloe, a native Welshman (*integer Wallicus natus*), at the head of a large body of Welshmen, came from Wich Malbank to Chester, broke into and plundered the mansion of John Hope of Chester, and insulted his wife Katharine. The same year, a number of persons, aided and abetted by William de Hawardyn, mayor, attacked and severely wounded Thomas le Spenser and Richard Davyson. For this the mayor and his accomplices were arrested and committed to the custody of the constable in Chester Castle, "to the saving of the lives of very many citizens of Chester."

Iorwerth ap David Crew, with several other persons unknown [8 Oct., 4 Hen. V.], lay in wait for Gruff' ap Yollyn, "bochour," maltreated and wounded him so severely with their swords that his life was despaired of. Thirteen other cases of serious assaults by armed parties, chiefly at night, are reported in the same year. These ruffians assembled at houses of ill-fame, and one Isabella de Loflone [Love lane], "chyder,"³ is prosecuted [5 Hen. V.] for keeping a common brothel near St. John's Church, and receiving there continually, night after night, many malefactors and disturbers of the peace, to the great damage, scandal and injury of the Dean and Chapter of St. John's and the whole city.

The civic authorities were fully awake to the serious injury done by these riotous persons, and made repeated efforts to check the scandal. At an Assembly [9 Hen. V.] they re-enacted, amongst other orders, that "no one, saving the officers of the Earl of Chester, should go night or day armed within the city, or carry pointed staves, or other armour, except at the time of the Watch, under penalty of imprisonment and a fine of 6s. 8d."

The same penalty was imposed on any stranger vagabond (*extraneus vagabundus*) who should go by night or day within the city for three days, unless he presented himself first before the mayor and sheriffs and showed reasonable cause for his coming to the city.

The danger from their Welsh neighbours passed away towards the close of Henry V.'s reign, only to be succeeded by a worse evil arising from the feuds and murderous quarrels between "the gentlemen of Cheshire," indirectly fostered by the want of firm

¹ He was bound in £100 (Aug. 1, 1416) to keep the peace to Hugh de Dutton, Aug. 17, again bound in £100 to abide the award of Peter de Dutton, Kt., John Savage, Kt., and William de Brereton, Kt., touching all plaints between him and Hugh de Dutton. Sept. 25 and Dec. 10, in £200, to keep peace towards William de Venables of Kinderton and John de Ewlowe.

² Ind. Roll 11.

³ Scold.

government. The Welsh, after being for a time excluded from the city, began to resort once more to Chester, and attained in many cases to high positions and considerable influence among their fellow citizens.

The first year of Henry VI.'s long reign was marked at Chester with much disturbance and riot. The mayor, John de Hatton, and the two sheriffs, Hugh Wodekoc, ironmonger, and Richard de Weston, weaver, supported by William de Hawardyn (mayor in 1416, 1418), and a large number of tradesmen, 300 in number, chiefly hosiers (3), drapers (3), weavers (20), tailors (6), walkers (4), skimmers (2), bakers (2), butchers (2), chaloners (7), hewsters (4), glasiars (3), corvisers (2), glovers, scriveners, smiths, carpenters, cardmakers, broderers, souters, dossers, waterleaders, and shermen, assembled themselves in riotous fashion, armed, on the festival of Corpus Christi, to the great alarm of their fellow citizens, so that they did not venture to leave their houses. They bound themselves by an agreement to support one another in their personal quarrel. Later in the day the same persons made a murderous attack upon John del Dedwode, deputy of the chamberlain, and Richard Bolde, clerk to the justice and keeper of the rolls, took a purse with five marks and 10s., a ring valued at 26s. 8d. belonging to John del Dedwode, and the key of the chest in which the Exchequer seal was kept, and carried off the king's money.

Ind. 12, 2 Hen. VI. Item dicunt q'd Joh'es fil Rad'i del Hatton de Cestr. major Civ. Cestr. Hugo Wodekoc Irenmonger unus vic' et Ric'us de Weston wever alter vic', Will' de Hawardyn sen. Ed. Halkyn Tailliour, Joh'es Trevor draper [besides several from Hawardyn], venerunt festo Corporis Christi, 2 Hen. 6, vi et armis cum quampluribus aliis ignotis ad numerum 300 armati et modo guerrino arraiati insimul se apud Cestr' congregaverunt in diversas conventiculas et riotas se proponend' et inter se dicend' q'd si aliquis versus eos aut eorum aliquem in aliqua adversitate fuerit q'd ipsum verberare voluerunt occasione quorum occasione congregaconis et riotæ omnes ligei Domini Regis in Civ. Cestr' existentes turbati vexati et affraiati fuerunt et quamplures cives dictæ civit' scilicet Joh'es de Overton Thomas Spenser Will' Stanmere et alii non ausi fuerunt palam ire sive propaciare illa die infra civitatem ob metum mortis pro predictis [the persons named in the indictment.] Et etiam dicunt q'd [the same] eodem die post nonam ad hospicium magistri David Pryse Arch'i Cestr' infra collegium S^t. Joh'is Cestr' apud Cestr' cum diversis et quampluribus secum ibidem existent' ad numerum CC hominum modo supradicto arraiat' iverunt vi et armis &c. et inter se confederaverunt obligaverunt et juraverunt q'd quilibet eorum esset cum altero eorum in qualibet querela sua versus quoscunque et q'd querela unius eorum esset querela alterius eorum et eorum cujuslibet et q'd ipsi insimul se juraverunt q'd ipsi querelas illas manutenerent unanimi assensu et custagiis. Et q'd predicti Joh'es, &c., &c., in festo Corporis Christi 2^o Hen. 6 ex malitia precogitata

This riot appears to be one of the results of the abuse of "liveries and maintenance," which had become so prominent in Richard II.'s reign as to call for the prohibitory statute 1 Ric. II. 7,¹ and drawn up as much for the protection of private individuals against intimidation as for the support of the crown against too powerful nobles. The great lords, and men of lesser substance in imitation, gathered round them a body of retainers, in lieu of the vassals of an earlier period, who undertook to be ready to fight for their lord and patron at all times and in all causes. In return for this service the lord supplied his retainers with coats, called liveries, marked with his badge, and undertook to "maintain" them against all men either by open force or in the courts of law. Henry IV. passed several statutes (in the first, second, eighth, and thirteenth years of his reign) confirming those of his predecessor against this usage. But the evil had grown until it assumed dangerous proportions, with the result that private wars, riot, open highway robbery, murder, abduction, armed resistance to the law, prevailed on a scale that had been unknown since the troublous times of Edward the Second.

Cheshire, though under the direct rule of the king's justiciary, suffered equally with other parts of England. The Indictment Rolls of this reign contain numerous presentments of this offence. Thus John de Hawardyn of Chester, "gentilman," is indicted for giving at Eton (5 Hen. VI.) liveries of woollen cloth of green and silver to certain persons in Chester;² John de Kingsley and John de Honford are indicted for giving liveries of red; John Hope, mayor of Chester, gives liveries of black and red; Thomas Grosvenor of Hulme, "chivaler," supplies red liveries.³

cum quampluribus aliis ignotis ad numerum C hominum armat' et modo guerrino arraiat' venerunt a domo Rog'i de Derby de Cestr' apud Cestr' usque domum Joh'is del Dedwode in qua idem Joh'es moram suam trahit et ibidem in quodam loco vocato le Castelloneende juxta le Stounceplace que quondam fuit Petri de Thornton Chivaler in predictum Joh'em del Dedwode locumtenentem Camerar' D'ni Regis et Ric'um Bolde Clericum Justic' Cestr' ac Custodem Rotulorum et Brevium D'ni Regis in officio justic' predicti ibidem insultum fecerunt et ipsos verberaverunt vulneraverunt et maletractaverunt ita quod eorum vita desperabatur et quandam bursam et 5 marcas et x. sol. et quendam annulum precii 26 /8^a ipsius Joh'is del Dedwode et quendam clavem d'ni Regis de quadam cista in qua sigillum D'ni Regis scaccarii Cestr' et aurum ibidem invent' vi et armis ceperunt et asportaverunt, &c.

¹ Re-enacted in the 13th, 16th, and 20th years of the same reign.

² William de Staynesburie, 'yomon'; Thomas Botiller, hatter; John Bradshaw, weaver; John Medewall, cutler; Thomas Swartbrigge and Richard de Hawarden, weavers; John Woday of Holt, and John de Rixton of Sonkey, 'yomen.'

³ To Roger Paye of Wich Malbruck, 'yomon'; John Tomkynson of Knotteford, 'yomon'; and John Parler of Hulme, 'yomon.'—*Ind. Roll* 12.

Another membrane of the same roll informs us how these retainers were employed. John de Kyngesley, armiger, comes with a body of three hundred persons fully armed to Chester,¹ alarming the citizens to such a degree that the proceedings in court ("Placita Com' Cestriæ") were adjourned by Peter Pole, the deputy of the justiciary, Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, to the Tuesday after the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr. The same John de Kyngesley is the instigator of other riotous proceedings. Thus (5 Hen. VI.) on Saturday after the Feast of St. Ceddæ, a large number of men, Adam de Bostok and others, mostly yeomen and knaves, came "per preceptum Joh'is de Kyngeslegh," armed, at night, to the house of William del Hall, insulted him and broke down two doors of his house.

John de Kyngesley has a powerful faction opposed to him. He has a feud with Sir John Savage, Kt., of Clyfton, who, according to Ormerod, was knighted at Agincourt. Thomas de Wetenhall of Alraham, "gentilman," and Thomas de Davenport come (1 Hen. VI.) with forty armed men to Swetenham, break open the house of Thomas de Swetenham at night, seize the master, and force him to swear that he will not support Sir John Savage and John, son of Peter de Dutton, in any matter touching John de Kyngesley and themselves. They are charged with a similar offence against Robert Danyell de Rydley. So, in turn, John, son of Sir Robert Savage of Clyfton, is indicted (5 Hen. VI.) for coming with sixty men to Alraham, imprisoning Thomas Wetenhall and others, and forcing them to swear not to support John de Kyngesley; on another occasion with sixteen armed followers they visit the house of Thomas Corke of Haselynton, shooting at the house with arrows and catapults, ill-treating his wife, and frightening the husband so that he lost his memory.

The aforesaid Sir John Savage does not scruple to use the power thus illegally maintained in extorting money. From Thomas [Erdeley], Abbot of Chester, he exacts £20 on the threat of interfering in certain actions before the Justiciary's Court at Chester. The Abbot of Dieulacresse gives him £40 not to indict him for hunting in Macclesfield Forest; Roger Venables, *persona de Ecclesia* Rouesthorn, pays him 100 marks on the same compulsion. John, son of Sir Peter de Dutton, acts in the same high-handed way. With John Savage, jun., of Brereton, and many others unknown, he breaks open the house of Geoffrey de Littelay, in Aston, and would have murdered him. He makes a similar raid into the house of Richard Stark of Stretton.

¹ Die Martis prox' post festum S. Trinitatis, 1 Hen., VI.—*Ind. Roll* 12, m. 3.

These armed bands spared neither great ecclesiastic nor State officer. Henry de Weryngton, abbot of Vale Royal, was attacked by George de Wever at the head of twenty-four armed men, in Bradford Wood, Tuesday before Pentecost.¹ Robert Pryket gave him a deep wound in the right shoulder with a sword, John Bamford struck him with an iron bill, George Wever then pierced him twice through the middle of his body with his sword, pinning him to the earth; Richard de Astull, vicar of the church of Over, struck him with a sword through the middle of the neck, in the throat and in the face. Having completed their ghastly work, the murderers fled to Holt Castle. The abbey of Vale Royal was for a long succession of years involved in disputes with tenants and neighbours;² and it is noteworthy that the abbot, Henry de Weryngton (*al.* Henry Arosmith), who was murdered in this pitiless fashion, had been indicted five years before (10 Hen. VI.) for having ravished Margaret Heton at Over on Monday after All Saints' day.

It is quite possible (the juxta-position of the two indictments in the Roll is in favour of the surmise) that the assault committed in Chester Castle on George Wever is in connection with the above murder. Thomas Venables of Stretton, Hugo de Ravenscroft of Middlewich, Thomas de Croxton, John Cokker, late of Kynderton, are indicted for assaulting George de Wever, on Tuesday after the feast of St. Lawrence (15 Hen. 6.) Thomas Venables drew his sword upon him near Gloverstone, in front of the Castle Gate, and chased him within the ward of the castle.

The Sheriff of Cheshire, John de Huxley, is attacked by Thomas de Stathum, who, with many others (16 Hen. VI.) lay in wait in a wood to kill him, broke into his house and wounded him, leaving him for dead. This violence was, very probably, provoked by unjust administration of the sheriff's office. A former sheriff of Cheshire, Ranulph Brereton, had been guilty of several acts of oppression and cruelty for which he was indicted.³ His followers made an attack (12 Hen. VI.) upon Cecilia, wife of Robert Pfyton, came to Farndon and assaulted Hugh de Dutton, his sons, tenants and retainers, and the charge against the sheriff was that he supported them knowingly, and used his office "extortionately and unjustly to the prejudice of the king, and "against the dignity of the sword of the County of Chester."

There was then ample justification for the commission issued by the king in 1434, May 1, to the chamberlain and vice-chamberlain of the County of Chester. The object of it was to unite the inhabitants of the county in the suppression of these disorderly proceedings.

¹ Indictment Roll 12, m. 35.

² Ormerod ii.

³ Ind. Roll 12.

In 1444, Aug. 4, King Henry was at Chester when he granted to the citizens a remission of £50 for 50 years of the fee-farm due to the crown, in consideration of the depression of the city consequent upon the silting up of the river channel and destruction of the port, and withdrawals of merchants and traders owing to the Welsh rebellion [charter 27.]

Two years before, 1442, Eleanor Cobham had been convicted of having practised against the king's life, and after doing penance through the streets of London with lighted taper in hand,

"Led along
Mailed up in shame with papers on her back
And followed with a rabble that rejoice
To see her tears and hear her deep-fet groans,"

was sent away to be imprisoned for life in the Isle of Man.

The duchess was kept for some months in Chester Castle, where, some few years before, her husband, "good Duke Humphrey," the patron of literature and art, had held his court as justice of Chester. A warrant was made out, Jan. 21, 1442, to the clerk of the mills of Dee for the payment of 100 marks yearly for her support. On Feb. 10 of the same year she was delivered¹ to the custody of Sir Thomas Stanley. Her immediate jailer was John Glegge, who was janitor of Flint Castle.²

The streets of Chester were continually disturbed by assaults of armed men, and in 1452 the lawlessness was so daring that

1434, May 1 (13 Henry VI.) Commission to Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain of the County of Chester, to swear the inhabitants of the county to the fulfilment of an article passed in the "last parliament," viz.:—Yat no lorde nor non other p'sone, of what astate, degree or condicion yat he shall be, wetyngly resceyve, cherissh, holde in housald, ne mayntene pilours, robburs, opp'ssours of people, mansleers, felouns, outlawes, ravysshers of women ayenst ye lawe, unlawfull hunters of forestes, parkes, or waresnes, or any other opyn misdoers, or any openly named or famed for such, till his innocence be declared. And yat neether be colour or occasion of feffement or of yeft of goode moeble passed be dede noe oder wyse any of the said lordes ne non other shall take any other mennes cause, or quarell, in favour, supportacion, or mayntenaunce as be worde, be wryting, nor be message to officer, jugge, jurre, or to partie or be yeft of his clothynge, or livere, or takynge in to his s'vice the partie, nor conceyve agayne any jugge or officer indignacione or displeaunce for doing of his office in fourme of lawe. And yat ye shall kape yis not all only in her awein p'sones, but yat ye see yat all oder in her countrees as much as in hem is, & thair s'vants, & all other such as be under hem of lesse estate do the same. And yf thai do the countarie make em withouten delay leve hit or elles put hem a way fro hem.

¹ By John Stanley, doorward of the king's chamber; Thomas Wesenham, sergeant of the pantry; Thomas Pulford, yeoman doorward of the king's chamber; James Grysacre, yeoman of the king's chamber.

² W. R. Rolls. Shakspeare gives the name of her keeper as Sir John Stanley.

several men employed by Adam Lokkes, the locksmith, carried away 10 stones from the city walls, a theft the possibility of which shews not only the laxity of vigilance, but that the walls must have been in a very ruinous condition.

In 1453-4 riotous assemblies of armed men occur, accompanied by the burning of houses and murderous attacks, at Ladmore near Newhall, Church Lawton, Buglawton, "Pulton in Wallesse." At Chester,¹ "the commonalty rose, but were suppressed and committed to the Northgate prison, and then to the Castle." This was, doubtless, a consequence of the visit paid the previous year by Margaret of Anjou, when she "came upon progresse with manye great lordes and ladyes, and was graciously received by the mayor and citizens." This popularity Queen Margaret found of great service, when in 1459 she called out her friends to arrest the Earl of Salisbury. All the knighthood of Cheshire and Shropshire flocked to Lord Audley's standard, and received from the queen the livery of the silver swan. With his force of 10,000 men, Lord Audley expected to win an easy victory over the Earl of Salisbury's much smaller army. They met on Sept. 23, at Bloreheath, a mile from Market Drayton. After several hours of fierce fighting, Salisbury, who had placed some of his men in ambuscade, feigned retreat, and succeeded in defeating Audley, who was killed with 2,400 of his followers. Amongst them were representatives of the noblest Cheshire families, Sir Robert Booth of Dunham, Sir H. Calveley, Sir J. Done, Sir Thomas Dutton, Peter his eldest son, John Dutton of Halton, Sir J. Egerton, Sir J. Legh, Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, Sir W. Troutbeck of Dunham, Sir H. Venables, all wearing the livery of the silver swan, slain under the eye of the unhappy queen, who watched the battle from the tower of Mucelstone Church. Drayton's well-known lines, describing men of the same name and lineage fighting against each other, misrepresent the attitude of Cheshire men.

"There Dutton Dutton kills; a Done doth kill a Done,
A Booth a Booth; and Leigh by Leigh is overthrowne;
A Venables against a Venables doth stand;
And Troutbeck fighteth with a Troutbeck hand to hand;
There Molyneux doth make a Molyneux to die,
And Egerton the strength of Egerton doth trie.
O Cheshire wert thou mad, of thine own native gore
So much untill this day thou never shedd'st before
Above two thousand men upon the earth were throwne,
Of which the greatest part were naturally thine owne."—

Polyolbion, Song xxii.

31 Hen. VI. [1452]. Item q'd Adam Lokkes de Cestr le lokkesmyth cepit cum diversis suis hominibus propriis et asportavit decem lapides ad valenciam sex solidorum et octo denar' a muro civitatis predicte.

¹ The friars seem to have been specially prominent in these riotous proceedings; the mayor's books record two indictments against them in 33 Hen. VI. [1454-5.]

Though the result of the battle was so disastrous to Margaret's cause, two of Salisbury's sons, who had been severely wounded, Sir John and Sir Thomas Neville, brothers of the "King-maker," were taken prisoners by her troops and carried to Chester Castle. Here they remained until July 13, 1460, when they were delivered to Lord Stanley, whom the king had commissioned to receive them.¹

The City of Chester must have watched anxiously for news of this battle. The inhabitants were deeply interested in Queen Margaret and her handsome son, whom she was careful to present to the people on public occasions. He had distributed little silver swans to all who had pressed forward to look at him, and in the summer preceding the battle of Blore Heath she had come to Chester on her progress, and kept there open and royal house, gaining by her liberality and affability the hearts of the gentry.²

Whilst flying from the field to Chester, she was captured with her son by John Cleger, one of Lord Stanley's servants, and spoiled of all her jewels; but while they were rifling her baggage, she seized the opportunity to escape with the prince, and succeeded in reaching Harlech Castle.

Then followed in quick succession the bloody battles of Wakefield, St. Albans (for the second time), and that terrible carnage on Palm Sunday, 1461, when the thickly falling snow, driven by the wind in the faces of the Lancastrians, was dyed crimson as it lay, and

Wharfe ran red with slaughter
On the day of Towcester's field,
Gathering in its guilty flood
The carnage and the ill-spilt blood
That 40,000 lives could yield.

It has been stated that the bloodshed and ruin were confined to the feudal lords and their retainers, and that the towns-people stood aloof from the struggle, and gave themselves up to commerce. But the books of the mayor and sheriffs of Chester at this time contain painful record of frequent assaults by armed men, and roaming of such persons at night-time to the grave disquietude and danger of peaceful citizens. We have also in the Indictment Rolls portrayed with ample detail a vivid picture of these riotous assemblies, which grew more threatening after the withdrawal of the English from France. Thus at Dodleston on the Sunday after Easter (1 Ed. IV.), Jenkyn Tervyn, late of Over-Kynarton, attacked and inflicted a dangerous wound on Richard Hyndeley, near the church, about two o'clock. Then on the same day at five

¹ W. R. R.

² Harl. MSS., 2111.

o'clock, coming with one hundred men on foot and on horse-back, most of whom were Welshmen armed with various weapons, he broke into the house of the aforesaid Hyndeley, and, as he lay wounded in bed, again assaulted him so severely that he died.

The mayor's book for 1 Ed. IV. [1461] contains the entry of a payment of vi^s. viii^d. to Richard Chatterton, for carrying a letter from the mayor of Chester, on the part of the commonalty, to the king in London, setting forth to the king certain rumours about the state of feeling in Wales.

Queen Margaret's restless intriguing spirit was a constant danger to the newly-made King Edward. She was busy stirring up enemies against him in France, on the Welsh Marches, and in Scotland. Jan. 15, 1461-2, proclamation was made throughout the county for the arrest of all persons who were with Henry, late king of England, or Margaret his queen or any other of the king's adversaries. More than once (June 7, 1463, Oct. 10, 1466) the sheriff is directed to array the men of the county against a threatened irruption of English and Welsh rebels.¹

The livery of the White Swan had not been bestowed in vain. The Cheshire men did not come forward heartily in the usurper's cause. Sir William Stanley, Knight, Peter Stanley, Esquire, and Randall Bolde are appointed, Feb. 10, 1462-3, to arrest all persons in Cheshire who in disobedience to the proclamation had failed to join King Edward in his expedition to Scotland. They, like their neighbours in Flintshire, had doubtless pleaded poverty as an excuse for not contributing to the king's exchequer. The same commissioners had been required a month earlier to "inquire into "the alleged poverty of the inhabitants of the County of Flint, and "their inability to pay the debts due from them to the king, on "account of the continued riot and rebellion prevailing there *and in "the adjacent parts.*"¹

Pennant in his account of a calamity which befell the citizens of Chester affords a good specimen of the ruthless cruelty of these terrible times. "During the war of the Roses, this place" [Tower near Mold] "was inhabited by Reinalt ap Gryffydd "ap Bleyddyn, one of the six gallant captains who defended Harlech "Castle on the part of Henry VI. He and his people were in "continual feud with the citizens of Chester. In 1465 a considerable "number of the latter came to Mold fair; a fray ensued between the "two parties. A dreadful slaughter was made on both sides; but "Reinalt obtained the victory, took prisoner Robert Bryne, linen "draper, and mayor of Chester in 1461, whom he led to his tower

¹ W. R. R.

“and hung on the staple in his great hall. An attempt was made
 “afterwards to seize Reinallt, and two hundred tall men sallied
 “from Chester for that purpose. He retired from his house to a
 “neighbouring wood, permitted part of his enemies to enter the
 “building, then rushing from his cover fastened the door, and
 “setting fire to the place, burned them without mercy; he then
 “attacked the rest and pursued them to the sea-side, where those
 “who escaped the sword perished in the Channel. Reinallt
 “received his pardon from Thomas Lord Stanley, lord of the
 “council of Wales, which was afterwards confirmed under the great
 “seal by Edward IV. His actions were celebrated at the time by
 “Lewis Glyn Cothi, who was anxious to obtain Reinallt's assistance
 “in avenging himself upon Chester. Lewis had married a widow
 “of Chester, against the consent of the inhabitants, who spoiled
 “him of all his household furniture. This whetted the poet's satire.
 “He summons the ministry of angels and devils to his assist-
 “ance, and pours a profusion of curses on Caerlleon and its people.
 “He wishes water to drown, fire to burn, and air to infect the hated
 “place; grass to grow in every part except the sacred edifices of
 “this habitation of the seven deadly sins.”¹

The bard it appears did not petition Reinallt in vain, for Yorke (in his “*Royal Tribes of Wales*”) says, “Reinallt, being ripe for the enterprise, collected his people, went to Chester, and put the citizens, as many as fell into his hands, to the sword.”

The city authorities had renewed the old struggle with the Abbot of St. Werburgh's, which was to end, after various vicissitudes, some 60 years after, in the complete defeat of the ecclesiastical power. Richard Oldon, 22nd Abbot, who had been indicted in the Portnote Court for encroachments and removing the city boundaries about the Northgate, was in 1461 (May 30) a prisoner in Chester Castle, bound to the Constable of the Castle in 1,000 marks not to escape out of the castle ward. Five years later (1466, Dec. 14) a similar recognisance for the very heavy sum of £2,000 is given and renewed, March 3, 1467, for the Abbot's appearance.

¹ Tour in Wales ii., 43. The following is a translation of a few of the stanzas in which Lewis extolls the bravery of Reinallt :—

“Reinallt ap Gryffydd ap Bleddyn
 Possesses a sword, which is sharp upon the skin;
 For fear of it, whilst it attacks at once a hundred men,
 The puny city and its inhabitants tremble.
 Chester and its inhabitants trembled for fear of Reinallt
 As far as the extreme edge of Vel allt (Beeston);
 They trembled whilst they fled towards Wenallt,
 Trembled all over, their skin and hair.”—*Arch. Camb.* i., 59.

In this fashion the miserable years went by, stained with bloodshed and violence. Documents, in the uncertainty about the rightful ruler, date the year from Henry VIth's. accession.¹ "Might" was too often "right"; an Englishman's house, his castle in very truth, had to be defended anxiously by moat and armed force; cattle lifting was no longer confined to the Scotch and Welsh borderers, and varied frequently by the carrying off of rich householders, who were detained in close confinement until an ample ransom had been paid. This continued long after Queen Margaret's troublous spirit had, at last, been laid to rest.

Edward of York was secure on his throne by the murder of Prince Edward in the "Bloody Meadow," by Tewkesbury. In 1475, his eldest son (the Edward, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, who was murdered by his uncle Richard in the Tower) came to Chester before Christmas, and was conveyed to the castle in triumph. The city was still in an unprosperous condition, unable to pay the fee-farm to the earl, owing to the destruction of the port, and the general distress of the population. In 1444 Henry VI. had released the citizens for 50 years of half the Annual rent of £100, for the same reasons; but five years after he had resumed into his hands 25 marks of this remission. This yearly sum, which had not been paid for seven years, Henry, in 1456 (the year of the riotous uprising of the commonalty), pardoned to the several sheriffs responsible, and on Sept. 1, 1461, and Jan. 15, 1471, Edward likewise pardons all arrears of the same payments.

An effort was made to revive the shipping business at Chester,

¹ Henry recovered possession of his throne in October, 1470, and the documents for the short period remaining are dated after this fashion, "anno ab inchoatione regni Regis Henrici sexti quadragesimo nono et a redeptione sue regie potestatis anno primo."

10 Ed. IV. Thursday before feast of ———, 400 persons of Wich Malbank, armed, attacked Sir Wm. Stanley, Chamberlain of Chester, and shot arrows, hooting at him, and crying and howling in English [quoddam hutesium super ipsum levaverunt clamand' et ululand'] "Kyng Henry! Prince Edward! A Warrewik! A Warrewik!" declaring that Wm. Stanley would be a traitor. They then beat Wm. Stanley and his following, and took away from them several jewels and horses and trappings, &c., to the value of £1,000, and one of the company, John Conway, esquire, they took and imprisoned until he paid a fine for his redemption.

13 Ed. IV. David ap Ieuan ap Eden, nuper de Ffoulewiche in com' Fflynt, yoman, John ap Ieuan ap Eden, Rob. Eddo, Rad. Eddo, Will. Eddo, Eddo ap Ieuan ap Gruff' and Ior' ap Ieuan ap Eden at Wichebalgh, stole a horse belonging to Mad' Yalc, seized Mad' and carried him to a wood called Old Castell Wood, and kept him prisoner until he paid a fine of £8 for his freedom.—*Ind. Roll* 15, m. 23.

19 Ed. IV. Rad. Davenport, with Thomas, Robert, and Richard Davenport, Ralph Tattou, John Talliour of Swetenham, Wm., David, and John Childerley, and others, attacked Thomas Swetenham, carried him to Macclesfield, and there kept him prisoner for eight days, until he paid a fine to them of 40s. for his freedom.

and arrest further decay of the Port, by a warrant, April 15, 1481, to the sheriff of the county, directing him to arrest all ships attempting to discharge their merchandise at Runcorn or any other place within the palatinate than the Port of Chester; and orders were issued, under the privy seal of Edward Earl of Chester, to the mayor and aldermen of Dublin and Drogheda, requesting them to publish a notice to this effect.

But whatever lightening of their burden was granted in this respect was more than counterbalanced by the heavy demands in benevolences, and the requisitions issued in 1480 and 1481 for the array of the fencible men in the several hundreds of Cheshire, between the ages of 16 and 60, to take part in the expedition against Scotland.¹

In addition to all this trouble, the citizens, meanwhile, were not at peace with one another, as is indicated by the frequent recognizances given. The Abbot of St. Werburgh's, Richard Oldon, on Sept. 22, 1478 and Dec. 8, 1479, was bound under the enormous sum of £1,000 to keep the peace to the mayor, John Sotheworthe. The abbot had a strong following of the gentlemen of the county, for he was able to produce Sir William Brereton, Peter Dutton, senior, Hugh Davenport, Hugh Donne, Sir John Donne, William Venables of Kinderton, as his sureties.

21 Ed. IV. Temp. Joh'is Sotheworth. Edwarde, of my most dreade Lorde & Fader Edwarde the Fourthe . . . Kyng of Englande & of Fraunce & Lord of Ireland first-begotten son, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall . . . Erle of Chester, of Marche, & of Pembroke, To our trusty & wellbelovede the Maire & [Corporation] of the Citie of Dublyn & to every of theym greting: For as myche as we of late for certen causes & considerations us severally moving have geven straitly in command to the shireff of our Countie Palatyne of Chester that if any merchannts with shipp or shippes of the londe of Irelande or of eny other place bene chargett with godes & merchandizes & entende to arive at Runcorne or at eny other place or creke within our saide countie ther to utter the same withoute they come with their saide shippes godes & merchandises to our porte and havyn at our Citie of Chester & there to discharge & recharge it that he shall putt under areste all suche merchaunts shippes godes & theyme so attached to remayn in sure keepyng unto the tyme he have otherwise from us in commandement. Wherfore we desire & hertely pray you that incontinent upon the sight of thes oure lettres as far as the liberties & franchises of the citie of Dublyn extendyn' ye woll make opon proclamacon, & publishe the premisses unto all thinhabitaunts of the same to thentent they may understand this oure commandement for a monicion & warnyng in that behalf. Not fayling therof as oure speciall trust is in youe—yeven under oure signet at the Castell of Ludlowe the xv day of Aprill the xxi yere of my most dred Lorde & Fadres reigne.

The same order, the same date, to the Maire & aldermen of the Towne of Drogheda.

¹ Pro viagio patris nostri versus partes Scociæ proficiendo.

The decay of the city due to the silting up of the port, and the consequent difficulty of access to any ship of burden is referred to at length in the charter [No. 18] signed by Richard III. in person at Chester, 10 April, 1484, in which the king grants for 10 years remission of the yearly payment of £73 10s. 1½d., part of the farm and custom due.¹

The charter [No. 29] granted by Henry VII. in person, when he was at Chester in the first year of his reign, also speaks of the extreme poverty of the city, describing it as "one of the ancient cities of our realm, constructed for the safeguard of the Marches, almost a fourth part of which is said to be in a state of destruction and desolation, and the walls in ruin."

It was, however, at this time that the able and active Simon Ripley commenced the work of restoring St. Werburgh's Abbey. The seven busy years of his abbacy, 1485-1492, contrasted favourably with the thirty troublous years of his ill-conducted predecessor. During this time he was able to rebuild the nave, the transept and the tower, and commence the great plan of alterations and improvements which were interrupted so disastrously by the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

Chester does not appear to have been concerned in any way with Lambert Simnel's imposture, but there were riotous gatherings of armed men at Church Minshull and Middlewich, 1489, which may have been in connection with the subsidy of one-tenth of a penny then being raised for the war in Brittany, and resisted in many parts of the kingdom, especially in the north. Soon after this came the more serious trouble connected with the pretended claims of Perkin Warbeck. The Welsh were supporters of the pretender, and a commission was issued to the "Mayor and Sheriffs" and Aldermen to expell all Welshmen and Welshwomen out of the

¹ This charter is assigned by Mr. Jefferson to Richard II., but the seal with a Boar as supporter, and an entry under date April 10, 1484, in the Welsh Recognizance Rolls, clearly fix it as a charter of Richard III.

The boar as Richard's cognisance was the subject of satire on more than one occasion. "He [Richard III.] must extend his bloodie furie against a poore gentleman called Collingborne, for making a small rime of thre of his unfortunate counsellors, which were lord Lovell, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, his mischievous minion, and Sir William Catesbie, his secret seducer,—which meeter or rime was thus framed :

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell our Dog,
Rule all England under an Hog.

Meaning by an hog, the dreadfull wild boare, which was the king's cognisance. But because the first line ended in dog, the metrician could not (observing the regiments of meeter) end the second verse in boare, but called the boare an hog. This poetical schoole-maister, corrector of breefs and songs, caused Collingborne to be abbreviated shorter by the head, and to be divided into four quarters."—*Holinshe* 1746 b.

"City of Chester, and to certyfye unto the Exchequer the number
"of all harnessed men within the citty, under payne of £500."¹

The mayor was further directed (Nov. 21, 1491) to search all vessels in every haven and creek within his franchise, and "to
"make suer that no boates convey any passenger beyond sea into
"Ireland but known merchants with licence; and that if any be
"taken to keepe them and the masters and owners of the vessels
"in which they shall be found in saiffy, until he shall have further
"comandment from the Councell of Prince Arthur."¹

In 1493 a large assemblage of more than two hundred armed rioters gathered at Church-en-Heath, four miles from Chester, on Thursday, in the first week of Lent, under Robert Masey of Golborne Belowe, William Masey and the Alderseys. The rioters, chiefly yeomen and labourers, came from all the villages in a large circuit within a few miles of Chester:—"Hanley, Tilston, Aldersey, Clutton, Codyngton, Farnedon, Crue-juxta-Farnedon, Shottlache, Chorleton, Overton, Betterton, Egge, Milton, Barusley." They carried off cattle and attacked different persons. Another great "routa" of one thousand armed men, on Monday before the feast of St. Margaret (July 20, 1493), took place at Wilmeslow; whilst other smaller risings are mentioned at Thurstanton, Budworth, Lymme, Malpas, Little Salghall, Pillton, and Stockport, &c.

A riotous gathering of a smaller number of men, about forty, took place at Eccleston, near Chester, on Tuesday after the Festival of Corpus Christi, 9 Hen. VII., when the rioters, armed with bows and arrows, clubs, &c., attacked the house of Robert Grosvenor in Eccleston, between four and five in the morning, and ploughed up the land around with ploughs, shouting the while and terrifying the king's lieges. At their head was Thomas Legh, Esquire, of Adlyngton, and with him a number of yeomen from Adlyngton, whose names are given in the roll.²

In this plot against the throne, Henry's trusted chamberlain, Sir William Stanley, brother of the Earl of Derby, who had so materially contributed to his success at Bosworth, was involved. He was impeached about Christmas time, 1494, by Sir Robert Clifford for having used treasonable words about Warbeck,³ and executed on Tower Hill in the February following.

The citizens of Chester would necessarily be deeply concerned and shocked at the fate of one who stood so high in the king's

¹ W.R.R. Harl. MSS. 2009, 176. ² Eaton MSS.

³ "That if he were sure the young man (Warbeck) was King Edward's son he would never bear arms against him,"—*Bacon*.

favour, and was so well known in the Palatinate. They had, earlier in that same year, on Midsummer Day, experienced a calamity in a destructive fire which broke out in Northgate Street.

On July 18, 1493, according to Pennant, Henry, with his mother and the queen, came to Chester with a great retinue and passed on to Hawarden, attended by the Earl of Derby and a number of Chester gallants.¹

Henry VII. appears to have been as well disposed to Chester as Edward I. or Richard II., and refers specially in the Great Charter to the great services rendered by the citizens. He was certainly indebted, in a considerable degree, to Cheshire men for his success on Bosworth Field. Sir John Savage, Kt., son of Sir John Savage of Clifton, and mayor of Chester, had charge of the left wing in that battle, and he and his eight brothers were made freemen of Chester during their father's mayoralty. He was made a Knight of the Garter by Henry, who in the letters-patent refers in most complimentary terms to the important services rendered by him "in conjunction with the copious multitude of his brothers, kinsmen, servants and friends, at great cost and personal risk in the battle against King Richard."²



Henry VII.

(From an Original Picture in the National Portrait Gallery)

In 1497 occurred that triumph of peace which brought such glory to Henry's name, the voyage of John Cabot and sons, and which resulted in the discovery of Labrador. Chester shared in the encouragement which the king so wisely gave to maritime enterprise. He gave licence to the commonalty of Chester to

¹ 1495, Ormerod; 1424, Webb. The earlier date is much more likely than the year when Henry put the Earl of Derby's brother to death.

² "Memoria reducens diutina et laudabilia servitia nec non probitatem actusque strenuos intimi dilecti militis nostri Joh'is Savage jun. quem tam in armis quam in moribus et consilio florere dinoscebantur; qualiterque idem Johannes cum multitudine copiosa suorum fratrum, consanguineorum, servientium amicorum benevolorum ad sua grandia costus et onera personeque sue pericula multimoda in servitio nostro in conflictu et praelio contra magnum adversarium nostrum Ricardum tertium quam contra alios rebelles et proditores nostros contra nos hostiliter guerram levantes &c."—Ormerod i, 527.

import wines from Gascony and elsewhere in *foreign* vessels, having no vessels of their own in which they could import wine; and it is no detraction from this merit that it is added "*pro consolatione nostri et præcarissimi filii principis.*"¹

This Prince Arthur came to Chester on August 4, 1498, continuing his visit to Sept. 9, being entertained, after the fashion of the day, with the play of "The Assumption" (one of the Chester Mystery Plays) before the Abbey gate.

It was on this occasion that the prince presented the silver medal still preserved by the company of smiths. It is about three



Silver Medal presented by Prince
Arthur to the Smiths' Company

inches across, weighs about four ounces, and had a thin silver chain attached. In the company's books the gift is recorded in these words:—"Thomas Edyan, smith to Prince Arthur, being att the Castle of Chester in the 14th yeare of the reigne of Henrie the Seventh, his father then beinge King of England. And att the same tyme, Prince Arthur gave unto the sayd Edyan a crown of silver guilt, a hammer with horseshoe and pincers, the arms of smiths, to them and theire successors for ever."

In 1506 (6 April) the great charter was granted by the king at Chester, out of pure affection in consideration of the good conduct and great expenses incurred by the citizens, and the gratuitous services repeatedly rendered against the king's adversaries and rebellious subjects. The city was constituted a county of itself, to be governed by a mayor, aldermen, and common councillors, two sheriffs, with courts, a recorder, coroners, and muragers for the repair of the walls. The mayor was to have the special privilege of having the sword carried with point erect before him, and to the citizens was granted the whole City of Chester, with all lands and profits, &c., at an annual rent of £20, instead of the former £100.

The year following (1507), "the sweating sickness was very sore in Chester, for in three days there died ninety-one householders, and but four or five women."² It appeared again in 1506, 1517, 1528.

¹ W. R. R.

² Harl. MSS., 2825, 206. Dr. Caius gives the following description of this malady:—"In 1484 there chanced a disease which for the sudden sharpness and unwonted cruelness passed the pestilence. For this commonly giveth in four, often seven, sometimes nine, sometimes eleven, sometimes fourteen days' respite to whom it vexeth. But that,

It commenced with a fever, followed by strong internal struggles of nature causing sweat; attended with sharp pains in back, shoulders, and extremities, and then attacked the liver; pains in head followed by oppression of heart and drowsiness, the whole body becoming inactive and lumpish. Men of middle age and sanguine complexion were most liable to its ravages. Laboring and "thin-dieted" men generally escaped it.

Ten years later (1517) there was a second visitation, which began at Lammes and continued until December—"A great plague, many cityzens and others dyed, and many fled, soe that the grasse did growe a foote heigh neere to the Hie Crosse and in the streetes for want of trade to this citty, and so in other places and streets by reason of the said plague."¹ In 1521 the whole kingdom suffered from a great pestilence which there is no reason to think the City of Chester escaped,¹ and in 1550, the sweating sickness again made its appearance at Chester, carrying off the mayor, Edmund Gee, on 13 June, after a few hours illness. "He came in health from the Pentice and dyed on night, and dyvers others dyed of it, forty in one day and night."¹

In 1510 arose a violent dissension between the Abbot of St. Werburgh's, John Birchenshaw, and the mayor and citizens, which ended the following year in the deposition of the abbot. It was in connection with this dispute that Peter Dutton, Esquire, of Hatton, was committed to the Castle at the instance of the abbot, but he escaped.

In 1512, "There was a greate discorde and fallinge out betwixte the gentlemen of the shire and the cittizens of Chester. The comenaltye thought that Mr. Maior took the countre gent parte. By which means the citizens thought good and put Sir Pearce out of his mayoraltye and choose by free election John Raborne in his place."²

Though the result of the battle of Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513, was favourable to the English, and thousands of Scotsmen—all

immediately, killed some in opening their windows, some in playing with children in their street doors; some in one hour, many in two it destroyed; and at the longest, to them that merrily dined it gave a sorrowful supper. As it found them, so it took them; some in slepe, some in wake, some in mirth, some in ease, some fasting and some full, some busy and some idle, and in one house sometime three, sometime five or more, sometime all, of the which if the half in every town escaped, it was thought great favour. This disease, because it most did stand in sweating from the beginning till the ending, was called here the "Sweating Sickness," and, because it first began in England, it was named in other countries the English sweat, "*Sudor Anglicus*."—*Brewer, Hen. VIII.*

¹ Harl. MSS.

² Harl. MSS., 2125, 206. This Sir Piers Dutton was commissioner in Cheshire for the Dissolution of the Monasteries. His deputy as mayor was Thomas Thornton.

Scotland's bravest nobles and Scotland's king—lay dead on the field, the day has no glorious memories for Cheshire. The northern contingent of the English army, "1,000 Cheshire and 500 Lancashire and many Yorkshire men, on the right wing under Sir Edmund Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey, were defeated. "The Lord Chamberlain of Scotland set upon him, and the "Cheshire and Lancashire men never abode stroke, and few of the "gentlemen of Yorkshire abode, but fled."¹ The glory of Cheshire archery had departed. The fortune of the day was only determined by Stanley's brilliant attack. But all the Cheshire men did not prove recreant, the greatest part of the Macclesfield contingent, with Sir Edward Savage, their mayor, being left dead on the field. Two Cheshire officers, Ralph Brereton and Richard Done, are mentioned by Holinshed as taking part in the battle, and in a scarce poem² the Baron of Kinderton, Thomas Venables, and Christopher Savage, son of Sir John Savage of Clifton, and one of nine brothers made free of the city on the same day [1484], are included amongst the slain.

A fray arose "on Holy Rode Eve [Sept. 14] 1515, betwixte "some citizens of Chester and diverse Waylshe gents at St. "Werburgh's lane end, but lyttle hurte doune because the Welsh- "men fled."³ Though disorder was by no means so frequent as in earlier reigns, there was still need for the strong hand of repression. An instance of this is given in a letter written by William Frankelyn to the Bishop of Durham, 25th June, 1518, in which he remarks that "Monday last Lord Lumley caused six of his servants to cut off a poor man's ears in Chester." The writer "hopes that he and they will be indicted for it at the next sessions."⁴

In 1522 the city of Chester, as well as the county of Chester,

¹ State Papers, Vol. iv., 1, Surrey's despatch.

² The Scottish Field, written c. 1570, found in the Muniment Room at Lyme :

There was a gürding furth of gunnes, With many greate stones,
Archers uttered out their arrowes, And egerlie they shotten;
They proched us with speires, And put many over.
There were swinging out of swordes, And swapping of heddes,
We blancked them with billes, Through all their bright armor,
That all the dale dynned Of their derffie strokes!
Then betide a chekke That Cheshire men feldow,
In wyng with those wees Was my Lord Dacars,
He fled at the first brade, And they followed after;
When their captain was away Their comfort was gone.
They were wont at all warres To wait upon the Standles;
They never fayled at no forward, That tyme that they were.
The Barne of Kinderton full kenely [Thomas Venables] Was killed them beside;
Fullsewise full fell— Was fallen to the grounde.
Christopher Savadge was downecaste That kere might he never.

³ Harl. MSS. 2125, 206.

⁴ Brewer, Henry VIII.

was called upon to take part in an expedition to check the hostile movement which, by the intrigues of Francis, had been stirred up on the borders of Scotland. George, Earl of Shrewsbury, who held the sergeantry of Bridge Street and custody of the Bridge Gate, is commissioned to array the forces in Cheshire, and "Mr. Mayor on election daye, by consent of the citizens, freely "made out of this cittye sixty men souldiers to serve the Earle of "Surrey towards one of the marches of Scotia." But the Cheshire men had no opportunity of recovering their lost prestige, "they "never fought: the Scotts fled."¹

We have nothing of special interest to Chester in the years while events of deep moment were taking place elsewhere in England. The great Cardinal had fallen, and Thomas Cromwell was rising on his master's ruin. Anne Boleyn had been made queen, and, after a short but brilliant period of three years, beheaded, drawing down with her in her ruin Henry's favorite groom of the Chamber, Sir William Brereton, chamberlain of Chester, who, being implicated in the alleged intrigue which cost the queen her life, was executed on Tower Hill. The separation from Rome had taken place. All these events, of course, excited deep interest in a city which was especially the appanage of the king, as Earl of Chester, in default of male issue.

Henry's need of money had driven him to the very unpopular method of "benevolences." The lesser monastic houses had been suppressed in 1536, and proved one of the causes of the "Pilgrimage of Grace." This rising of the disaffected in the northern counties obtained some support in Cheshire, but was checked by the vigorous action of the Sheriff, Sir Piers Dutton. On August 3, 1536, he writes to Cromwell that he had "taken the bodies of the "Abbot of Norton, and some of his servants; Randal Brereton, "baron of the King's Exchequer at Chester, and John Hall, of "Chester, merchant, and had them in his custody and keeping." These prisoners were afterwards transferred to Chester Castle,² and very possibly hanged. The suppression of the greater monasteries took place three years later [1539]. This is considered in a subsequent chapter.

The special privileges which hitherto had distinguished Cheshire as a County Palatine from other English counties were gradually withdrawn. Henry, by an Act, 1535, the preamble to which stated that justice had not been equally dealt in the county of Chester, directed that for the future justices of the peace should be appointed in Cheshire and Wales as in other parts of the kingdom.

¹ Harl MSS., 2125. ² Ormerod, i., 502.

Five years later, the county and the city, which until this time had sent up no representatives to parliament, were allowed to return respectively two Knights of the Shire, and two Burgesses.

In the fourteenth year of his reign Henry finds it necessary to maintain a sufficient force on guard at Chester, and therefore directs that none of the inhabitants are to be withdrawn for service in other parts of England.

Meanwhile the struggle to establish an effective rule in Ireland which had been commenced in Henry VII.'s reign had been brought to an end, and by 1542 the power of the King of England was acknowledged throughout Ireland. This important result was indicated by the assumption by Henry of "*Rex Hiberniæ*" instead of "*Dominus*," which had been the style used since Prince John had received it from his father. The Chester Charters bear witness to this important change, for in Charter 33 (30 Hen. VIII.) Henry is styled "Kyng of England and of Ffraunce, Lord of Ireland": which changes in Charter 34 (38 Hen. VIII.) to "Henricus Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex."

A requisition appears to have been made for ships of transport, for—21 June, 32 Hen. VIII. (1540)—John Ruse of Ebato, Martin Perows of Eloya, with Adam and Ralph Godeman, merchants of Chester, enter into recognisance before the sheriffs, each in £500 sterling, for the provision of certain ships.¹

A.O. 26. Henry Theight by the grace of God of England & of Fraunce defender of the faith & lorde of Ireland to the mayre of oure citie of Weschester [sic] & to all other our officers mynisters & subjects of what estate degre or condition soever they be theise our letters herynge or seynge & to every of them greetinge. We signife unto you that for as mouch as our said citie of Weschester standyth open in danger of enymyes y^t y^s thought to ns & our counsaile convenient that y^s inhabytants of y^e said citie shall remayne & abyde still within the same for y^e better defence thereof, wherfore we will & commaund you y^e said mayre of our said citie that ye in no wyse suffer eny maner person or persons by our letteres placard [sic] hertofore passed us or hereafter to pas us to take eny of the said inhabytants from hensforth at eny tyme onelesse then our especiall pleasure be notified & declarid unto you in writing of the revocation of this our commaundymment not fayling thus to do as y^e intend to please us. Geven under our signyett at our manor of Richmount the xxixth day of Marche in y^e xliiith yere of our reign. Copia vera concord' cum original' per me Johannem Hewshall clericum Penticii (—) 78a.

¹ The condition of this recognisance is suche that if the above namyd John Ruse & Marten Perows nor ther maryners nor servaunts, nor eny other in there names nor by there procurement consent nor knowlege do not remove nor take away ii shipps called the Barbara de Aleketn & the Nicholas de Aleketu, nor eny of theym frome the roode of the Redd Bank nor Heswall, unto suche tyme and tymes as our soveraigne lord the king shal be fully served in and for the transportyng of his sodiours with there horses and bagage into his domynyon of Ireland, or elles that they be otherwise licenced by the maire of the Citie of Chester or his depute in that office for the tyme beyng, that then, &c.

In the two following years, important steps were taken towards freeing the city from undesirable inhabitants, by the suppression of the right of sanctuary, and the putting down of stews and brothels by the king's command.

In 1544 Scotland was invaded by an English force under the Earl of Hertford, when Leith and Edinburgh were taken and sacked, both towns partially burnt, and the country for seven miles round laid waste. Of the fifty-eight English officers knighted at Leith, no less than nineteen were Cheshire men, three at least of whom were connected with Chester—Laurence Smith¹ of Hough, Edmund Savage,² and Hugh Cholmley.³

Once more, in 1546, Chester took part in the fighting on the Scottish border. "Three knights and three hundred soldiers went out of Chester to the warr (Musleborow)."⁴

This evidently refers to Hertford's invasion, which ended in the defeat of the Scots at Pinkie Cleugh, Sept. 10, 1547.

The same chronicler records under 1547, "Great pestilence in London; all Images taken out of the churches in London and the Rode with all Images out of St. Paul's Church broken in pieces. Masse and latten service taken away, and public prayers in England sayd about Whit-sontyd." This was attended with insurrections in various parts of England, notably, in the south-west and (though the causes were then social rather than religious) in the eastern counties under Robert Ket the tanner.

Chester also was at this time in much commotion, for on the evening of St. James' day [July 25, 1549], "a fray arose betwixte the cittyzens of Chester and 500 Irishmen called Kernes."—"Of the Kernes, which came from Bullen [Boulogne] out of France, were divers hurte, and of the cittyzens but one. Mr. Mayor, at the turninge of the mylke shops, in seekinge to make peace amongst them, was in danger of his lyfe, by his stoute valour, in pressinge amongst them, but had no hurte, blessed be God. But the rumour spred abroad so that divers came at midnight to the citty

¹ Son of Thomas Smith more than once mayor of Chester, and grandson of another Thomas Smith also mayor, and himself four times mayor, in 1540, 1558, 1563, 1570. Of him the chronologer in Harl. MSS., 2125, observes—"This worshipfull knight was courteouse and lovinge to wardes all people, kept a good plentefull howse, ruled very uprightly, and was good unto the poore."

² Brother of Sir John Savage, junr., of Clifton, K.G., and nephew of Thomas Lord Stanley. He fought at Bosworth for Henry VII., and with his brother one of nine gallant brethren admitted into the freedom of Chester (2 Ric. III., 1484), when his father, Sir John Savage, senr., was mayor. His brother Christopher fell at Flodden.

³ Owned Cholmeley House in Chester, and in 1557 furnished, at his own expense, one hundred men, who marched against the Scots under the Earl of Derby to relieve Berwick.

⁴ Harl. MSS., 2145.

"with their men, because the heard divers cittyzens were slayne
"and came to help them."¹

In 1551 a great flood in the Dee caused considerable damage, drowning "many cattall and sheep on Saltney marsh, and Foulk "Ducker with six children at Bretton (near Harden) in their bedds. "Trees and other tymbers were cast upon Dee Bridge by the "violence of the waters."¹

A writ, of which a copy only is preserved in the Assembly Book, p. 78*a*, gives indication of troubles apprehended from secret conspiracies. The writ was apparently that sent 5 Ed. VI., July 7, from Greenwich, under cover to the mayor and sheriffs, with orders "not to break the seal until the morning of the 9th instant, "and to do it within the county mentioned in the libel of the writ. "They or their under-sheriff are to take testimony at the day to see "them break up the seal. They are then to follow the terms of "the writ circumspectly, and not to disclose the terms of it or of "the cedula annexed until the time of publication, except to the "under-sheriff or other minister who shall execute the writ, when "they are to swear to follow the terms thereof."²

The Cholmeley MSS. contain a letter from "Mary, the Quene," to the mayor and inhabitants of West Chester, dated Friday, July 12, Kenninghall, six days after her brother's death. She states that on the death of her brother she caused herself to be proclaimed queen in Norfolk, Suffolk, and elsewhere; that it has come to her knowledge that John Dudley, calling himself Duke of

A.O. 27. Edwardus Sextus Dei gratia Anglie Frauncie & Hibernie regis fidei defensoris et in terra ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput dilectis & fidelibus suis Rad' Godeman maiori civitatis Cestrie, Roberto Townshend militi, Resio Maunsell militi, Johanni Price militi, Thome Venables militi, Ricardo Hassall, Ricardo Gernayn, Johanni Birkenhed, & Willelmo Glaseor salutem. Sciatis quod assignavimus vos, octo, septem, sex, quinque, quatuor, tres, unum, quorum aliquis vestrum vos prefati maior Roberte, Ricarde Hassall, Ricarde Gernayn, & Johannes Birkenhed duos esse volumus justiciarios nostros ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum & legalium hominum de civitate vestra Cestrie ac aliis viis modis & . . . quibus melius sciveritis aut poteritis tam infra libertates quam extra per quos rei veritas sciri poterit de quibuscunque predictionibus inspicionibus predictorum insurrectionibus illicitis, verborum prelationibus, illicitis congregationibus & conventualibus, considerationibus, conspirationibus, extortionibus, oppressionibus concellamentis . . . necnon de aliis transgressuris malefactis offensis & . . . quibuscunque infra civitatem predict' tam per quoscunque & qualicumque fact' perpetrat' sive commissis & per quos vel per quecunque vel quibus, quando, qualiter, & quo modo ac de aliis articulis & circumstanciis. 78*a*.

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

² Hist. MSS., Report v., 343.

Northumberland, with a few complices, has proclaimed "one Lady Jane, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, for queene of our said realm, which he hath married to one Gulforde, his soone, whom he entendeth to make king"; and that he intends to lead a force against her. She commands them to raise as great a force as they can and repair to her at Kenninghall, or elsewhere in the county of Norfolk. "Wherefore [ryght] trustie and well beloved, as y^e true Inglysshemenne fail y^e not, &c."¹



The Burning of George Marsh, at Westchester,
April 24th, 1555.

The only other events recorded in the reign of Mary are a visitation of "the plague called Stubbes' bile,"² of which "few died, though many fled to escape the same," and the martyrdom of George Marsh.

George Marsh was a native of Dean, near Bolton, Lancashire, and ordained about 1542. He was arrested for his Protestant teaching at Smithells Hall, near Bolton, and sent to Lathom House to be tried by the Earl of Derby. He was committed to Lancaster Gaol, but afterwards removed to Chester, where he was examined for the second time, in the

¹ The word "ryght" has been struck through with a pen, and the words in italics have been inserted by a different hand in a space left between the words *y^e* and *fail*.

Indorsed "Received on the 22nd and proclaimed the same day."

3 and 4 Phil. and Mary, 26 June, Palace of Westminster. Philipp and Marye the Queene, "to the mayor and aldermen of the City of Chester, are sending Sir Henry Syduey with a convoy of treasure and munition to Ireland. After noticing a proclamation of the war and license by another proclamation to all their subjects to go to the seas and take their vantage upon the enemye, and not doubting that they (the mayor and aldermen) have furnished such ships as they were able for keeping the seas quiet and annoying the enemy—require them to see Sir H. Sydney and the treasure and munition safely conveyed over the seas."—*Hist. MSS.*, 5 Report, p. 243, *Condoover Collection*.

² Harl. MSS., 2125.

Lady Chapel of the cathedral, on the charge of heretical and blasphemous preaching against the Pope's authority and the Church of Rome. He was burned at the Spital, Boughton, "constantly enduring his martyrdom with such patience as was wonderful."¹ His sufferings were augmented by a barrel of pitch being placed over his head.

Marsh refused the pardon offered by the vice-chamberlain, Mr. Vaudrey, on condition of recanting, and the bystanders then, moved by the sight of his sufferings so patiently borne, attempted a rescue. They were headed by Mr. John Cowper, one of the sheriffs, but they were beaten off by the other sheriff, Mr. Amery. Cooper made his escape over Holt Bridge into Wales, where he remained an outlaw, and his estates confiscated, until the death of Queen Mary. Marsh's ashes were collected by sympathisers and buried in the burial ground of the chapel of St. Giles, at Boughton. The date of this is given in Harl. MSS. as 1554, but by other authorities as April 24, 1555. After his execution, Bishop Cotes preached a sermon in the cathedral, affirming that he was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

Nathaniel Hawthorne refers to the tradition that Marsh, "being examined before the occupants of Smithells Hall, stamped "his foot in earnest protest against the injustice with which he was "treated. Blood issued from his foot, which slid along the stone "pavement, leaving a long footmark printed in blood. And there "it has remained ever since, in spite of the scrubblings of all "succeeding generations, covered with a carpet."² This legend Hawthorne has worked into his story, "Septimius Felton."³

One other incident connected with the Marian persecution is related in most histories of Chester. In 1558, Dr. Henry Cole, dean of St. Paul's, was sent by Queen Mary with a special commission to the Privy Council of Ireland, for the suppression of heresy. He stopped one night on his way at the "Blue Posts," Chester, on the east side of Bridge Street, then kept by a Mrs. Elizabeth Mottershed.⁴ The mayor called upon Dr. Cole, who, in explaining his errand, brought out of his cloak-bag a leathern box, saying, "Here is what will lash the heretics of Ireland." The landlady overhearing this and fearing for the safety of her brother, John Edmunds, who lived in Dublin, took the opportunity, while Dr. Cole was conducting the mayor down stairs, to remove the warrant from the box, placing in its stead a package of similar bulk and weight. Dr. Cole on reaching Dublin (7 Oct., 1588)

¹ Cowper MSS.

² Works, vii., 562.

³ Works, xi., 327.

⁴ Hanshall gives the name Elizabeth Edmunds; which was probably her maiden name.

delivered the box to the Lord Deputy, Lord Fitzwalter, at the Castle. Great was the consternation of the council to find that the box contained only a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs¹ uppermost. The Lord Deputy said, "Let us have another commission, and we will meanwhile shuffle the cards." The cards were indeed "shuffled." For though Dr. Cole was immediately sent to England and obtained a new commission, while staying for a wind at the waterside he received intelligence that Queen Mary was dead and was succeeded by the "Protestant Queen."² The landlady was rewarded for her ingenuity and zeal with a pension of £40 a year. Though the Blue Posts has long been divided into shops, the card room, an oak panelled apartment with fine ceiling, still remains untouched.

The Chester records contain nothing of political interest in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign. They are silent about the troubles in connection with Mary Queen of Scots, and the insurrection in the provinces of Ireland in 1565 and 1569. No hint is given of the feeling of the citizens about the excommunication of their queen by Pius V. in 1570 and its attendant intrigues, or the terrible massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, the news of which sent a thrill of fear and abhorrence through all English hearts.

The citizens of Chester were, the while, much more interested in maintaining their charter privileges which had been invaded by a member of their own body—an alderman—William Glaseor, Vice-Chamberlain of Chester. He disputed the jurisdiction of the city officers who claimed exemption from the authority of the Exchequer. The dispute arose in 1560, when Mr. Glaseor refused to obey the direction of the lord treasurer about the subsidy of tonnage which he claimed to levy against the citizens, who maintained that it belonged to them as murage for the repair of the walls and streets. A deputation went up with the city charters to the queen at Westminster, when the dispute was settled in favour of the citizens.

Serious differences developed afterwards between them and the officers of the exchequer. One leading citizen was disfranchised and put in prison for entering a suit before the exchequer. The mayor and sheriffs were then fined for contempt. Inquiry was

¹ Dr. Cole was especially obnoxious to the Reformation party, for after complying with the ecclesiastical changes in the reign of Henry VIII., and showing himself zealous for the Reformation in the earlier part of Edward VI.'s reign, he threw off the mask on Mary's accession. He was one of the disputants against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, preached a most uncharitable sermon at the burning of Cranmer, and was officially present at the burning of Bucer.

² Cox's Hist. of Ireland.

ordered to find out by what trick the clause in the charter "Præterea," upon which the citizens relied for exemption from jurisdiction, was obtained, which is alleged to have been fraudulently procured to the abuse of Her Majesty.¹ This was the charter granted by the queen in the fifth year of her reign, confirming Henry VII.'s charter. The lords of the privy council ordered this charter to be surrendered for amendment, and warned the mayor and citizens against a repetition of their contempt.

Under the date 1573, Harl. MSS. 2125 has "Mr. Mayor [Richard Dutton] brought down new charter [No. 36] to great charges of the cittyzens, soe that Mr. Mayor leased out the citty's lands and toke great fynes: he made all sortes of men free of this citty, viz., as husbandmen, mariners, myllners, carriers, and all that woulde give money was made free for small somes, and such as were never prentices."²

"Election Day" in Chester did not always pass off peacefully, and in 1562 a fierce quarrel arose between the company of glovers and one Thomas Howard, merchant. "Upon that day had like to have happened great mischiefe in the Comon Hall, touching which discorde divers of the company of glovers were called before the Counsell at the Marches, and Wm. Aldersey, their alderman, was called before the Counsell concerning the sayd controversy."³ Two years later (1564, 29 Aug.) the city suffered serious loss in a great fire in Northgate Street without the Northgate, "very ragious by reason of a great wynde, which burned 33 dwellinge houses besides diverse back houses [bakeries] and barnes: the fyre did drive from one syde of the streete to the other soe fiercely, beginning in a baker's howse about 1 of the clocke in the after-noone, and burned those buildings in fouer houres."³

In 1565 another alarming fire broke out in Handbridge, which burned "2 dwelling houses, a barne full of corne; 1 cow was burnt to death, and 4 oxen were much to do to save their lives." These frequent fires at last called for special regulations, and in 1569, in the mayoralty of Sir John Savage, orders were given for the provision by individual citizens of a certain number of buckets.⁴

An entry under 1569 records an unpleasant dispute between the two sheriffs, who "foughte and brake there white staves, for which they were committed and fyned in £10 towards the buyldinge of a peece of the walls of the citty that was fallen betweene the New Tower and the Watergate."³

Four years later the city was violently disturbed by an affray

¹ Harl. MSS. 2009. ² According to Ormerod, the date of this was 22 June, 1574.

³ Harl. MSS. 2125. ⁴ See Assembly Book, 123a.

(recalling the conflicts of the Wars of the Roses) between the retainers of Sir George Calveley, Kt., of Lea, and his brother-in-law, John Dutton of Dutton. "The common bell range that the mayor and most of the citizens rose to kepe them in peace—it was the assize week, and greate partes were taken by gents on both sydes, and many comitted to prison." Several persons were wounded, and John Tylston, steward of Dutton, was wounded and died 31 Dec., 1574.¹

The Letter Book contains evidence that the city was at this time in such an unprosperous condition that appeal was made to the chamberlain of Chester, the Earl of Leicester, who thereupon issued a letter² ordering a conference with the mayor. In 1571 the commissioners make their report.³

This poverty was somewhat lessened by good business which came into the hands of the Chester merchants the following year. The city, as the port of embarkation for Ireland, was brought indirectly into connection with the ill-fated expedition so romantically undertaken by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in 1573, for the settlement of the North of Ireland, the expense of which, though half was borne by the queen, completely ruined him. It was a little ominous that the earl's special agent, sent on in advance to Ireland, should have been subject to an action for debt, and that his personal luggage "three shirtes," should have been attached.⁴

¹ Harl. MSS. 2125.

² 14 Maye, 1569. After my verey hartie comendacions you shall understande that I have received of late letters frome the mayor and citizens of Chester advertisinge me that they be of late growen to greate decaye, and if some meane of helpp be not speedely provided not unlike but shortlye to fall to utter Ruyne, which as I wolde be sorie sholde come to passe as well for that the same ys a citie of greate antiquitie as also necessarie for many respects to be upholden and mainteigned, so have I thoughte good to desire you at youre beste conveniente leasure to repaire thyther And to bestowe some tyme in conferringe with the mayor and his brethren touching the surmised decaye. R. LEYCESTER.
To Sir Hughe Cholmondeley, Kt., Vice-President of Wales;

Sir John Throckmorton, Kt., Justice of Chester; and 2 others.

³ 27 April, 1571. The Commissioners report to the Earl of Leicester that the citizens in tymes past have bene in great welth and habilitie, and at this present are in great and pytifull decay, and without help will assuredly groe to utter ruine and beggery, and because the same is a cytie of great Antiquitie well bulded and enhabited and heretofore well countenaunced with great and welthy merchants, in our syply opinions your Lordship shall woorke an honorable and charitable deed to help to reforme their decaye and thereby preventing the desolation therof, &c.—*Letters* 9.

⁴ 1573. Mem. That wheare Rob. Poole comensed his accon of debt against Thomas Wright, gent, in the Pentice Court of the Cittie of Chester, and wheare also the saide Robert Poole caused one Roger Hale to attach the saide Thomas Wright by his goods, viz., by three shirtes, and in discharge thereof he hath preferred a certificate the tenor of which foloweth in these words, viz.:—"Wee grete you well: Wheras this bearer,

The force of 1,200 men which Essex raised was to sail in August, ships being impressed for the purpose on the West Coast, and provisions collected.¹

A soldiers' muster which was held in Chester about the same time, 15 June, 1573, affords some information of the military strength of the city.² This muster was not in view of Essex'

Thomas Wright, gent, repairth from London to Westchester, and so from thence into the realme of Irelande aboute waightie causes and affaires of the right honourable the Erle of Essex: These shalbe to will and comande you and every of you in the quenes majesties name, peaceblie and quietlie to permit and suffer the said Thomas Wright to passe by yew without anie maner your lett staie molestacon, vexacon or trouble, as you and every of you tender your duties for the advancement of service and will aunswere to the contrarie at your uttermoste peril. Yeven at the Court at Grenewich, the xxist of June, 1573.—Signed E. Lyncolne, F. Sussex, Arnedell, F. Knowles, James Croste, T. Smith.

Amongst other things which would be purchased at Chester, lead is especially mentioned in a letter of Sir Robert Constable to Sir F. Walsingham (May 3, 1589) as "accustomed to be provided at West Chester for saving of carriage for ready money."—*Hist. MSS., Com. Report.*—*Hatfield MSS.*

¹ Forasmuch as I have appointed this bearer, Richard Aston, as well to imprest, levy, and take up shippes and barkes convenient for the transportation of the army under my leadinge, as also to make certen provisions of victualls and other thinges meete for this service. I will and require you and every of you, and nevertheles in the queenes majesties name, streightlie chardge and comannd yon to aide and assiste the said Richard in levyinge and impressing all such shippinge till the whole army be transported, and also that you furnish him and his guyde of sufficient and able post horses from place to place and from tyme to tyme, at prices ordinary and accustomed. And hereof faile you not, as you do tender her majesties service and will answer to the contrary at your peril. From Liverpole the xvth of Auguste, 1573.—W. Essex.

To all maiors, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and to all other the queenes majesties officers to whom it may appertaine.

² 1573. Souldiers Munster—Saynt Marten's Ward. Mr. Pole, Alderman: the names of all the persons, beyug men for xvi yerres of age to lx yerres, taken the xvth day of June, 1573.

William Cloughe, a buff Jarken, a halbert, and bow and arrowes	Randell Leche, a payre of almon Rebetts. a sallett, and a byll
o Thomas Swetnam	Roger Hanum, bis servant a harquebus
Walter Fox, a corselet for a footeman, a harquebus, and [a murren ?]	Mr. William Hanmet, Aldn. a payre whyt harnes with the furneture
Robart Evans, bowe and arrowes, and a Jack as well	Hamnett Moores, a gonn
Richard Lane, a gonne	Mr. Shereff Hyll, towe corselets and theyr furneture
.	John Loyd, John Thropp, } His prentices,
Richard Waller, a Jacke, and a glevior	Rye Hill, Edward Ellam, } a gonn
with bowe and arrows	Ric' Poole, Aldn. ii paires of whit harnes
. . . . Chamberlyn, a pole axe, bowe and arrows	Richard Rabon, a corselet for a footeman, a harquebus, ii sallets, a stele cote, a halbert, and a pyke
John a laborer	o John Rabon } a gonn
. . . Rogerson, ii paire whyte harnes	John Riffyth } a gonn
Raffe Smythe, a murren and harquebus	Thomas Fysssher, butcher, a byll and sallet, and bowe and arrowes
Rys Harford, a bill	Robert Hatton, his prentyce, bowe and arrowes
. bowe and arrowes	
Jam'es Battiche, a byll, a sallett, and bowe and arrowes	

expedition, but in obedience to the Act for National Defence passed in 1557 for "the having of horse, armour, and weapons"; all persons with an income of £5 being required to find one coat of plate, one bill or halbert, one long bow, a sheaf of arrows, and one steel cap. In 3 Eliz. [1561] above one hundred citizens were

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| <p>Wyllyam Massie, bowe and arrowes, a murren and a halbert</p> <p>o Rychard Rabon, his prentyce, a hargebus</p> <p>o Frances Bambell, a jacke and sallet and a polax</p> <p>Adam Johnson, bowe and arrowes, Jack, splent [sallet ?] and</p> <p>o John Burton, his servant, bowe & arrows</p> <p>Mr. Olyncr Smyth, a payre of whyte harness, sallet and a pollax</p> <p>Salemon, with his sonne, bowe & arrowes and bill</p> <p>George Buckley, usher of y^e Free scole, lyeng at Mrs. Clyffs, bowe, &c.</p> <p>o Mr. John Fysssher, lawyer, a stele cote, a hargebus, and a pollax</p> <p>John Fysssher } his ii. sonnes, with</p> <p>Peter Fysssher } bowes and arrowes</p> <p>o John Swarley, his servant, bowe and arrowes</p> <p>o Peter Newall, merchant, bowe & arrowes</p> <p>+ Thomas Wever, sergeant</p> <p>o Rye' Wever } his ii sonnes, with bowes</p> <p>o Raffe Wever } and arrowes</p> <p>Rychard Bebbenton, a pollax and bowe and arrowes</p> <p>John Bebbenton, bowe and arrowes and a bill</p> <p>o William Moores, ys beyond y^e sayes</p> <p>o John Wrighton</p> <p>Ranffe Hand, a labourer</p> <p>o Peter Wryght, skynner, not at whom</p> <p>John Barowe, joyner, bowe and arrowes, a bill, a sargent</p> <p>John Shawe, a payre of white harness and all furneture for same</p> <p>Wyllyam Ratclyf, legers at John Sbawes</p> <p>Robert Ratclyf } with their hargebusses</p> <p>and bowes & arrowes *</p> <p>o Nyccollas Whyte, a stele cote, a calever, and a murren</p> <p>o Robart Parrye, his sonne, a hargebus and bowe and arrowes</p> <p>o Thomas Phyllypps, his prentyce, a hargebus</p> <p>Thomas Fytcher, m'ryn' (mariner)</p> <p>Wyllyam Davyes, m'ryn', beyond ye sayes with bowe and arrowes</p> | <p>Mr. Foulke Aldersey, paire whyt harness with theyr furneture</p> <p>Thomas Aldersey, his servant, with his calever</p> <p>Hughe David, alias baghe [bach=little] bowe and arrowes</p> <p>Davyd Collyes, m'ryn', a gunner</p> <p>o Thomas Hyll, m'ryn'</p> <p>o Richard Woods, conper</p> <p>o Wyllyam Barber, carpenter, a byll</p> <p>o Wyllyam Morgayne, m'ryn', beyond ye sayes, with bowe and arrowes</p> <p>o Thomas Pentencey, bowe and arrowes</p> <p>Rychard Cowley, sherman, bowe and arrowes, and a byll</p> <p>o Thomas Collyes, maryner</p> <p>Adam Oneg, maryner, bowe and arrowes</p> <p>Robert Wotes, a black byll</p> <p>o Wyllyam Bryge, sawyer</p> <p>Dannold Stole, maryner, a Jack, sallet & a bill</p> <p>John Johnson, cowper, a scolle & bowe and arrowes</p> <p>John Collis, thelder, maryner, a pyke</p> <p>John Collys, his sonne, not at whom, a calever</p> <p>John Ottye, mylner, bowe and arrowes</p> <p>John Kynley, maryner, a bill</p> <p>Owen ap Wyllyams, a bill</p> <p>Thomas Lewis, mason, a laborer</p> <p>o Thomas Thropp, sergeant, bowe & arrowes and a balbert</p> <p>o John Walley, maryner, beyond seys, a payre whyt harness and a scolle</p> <p>o Wyllyam Hyll, maryner, bowe & arrowes</p> <p>o Dennes Flemyng, maryner, beyond seis</p> <p>o Wyllyam Horson</p> <p>o John Reis, maryner, bowe and arrowes</p> <p>o Wyllyam Jensen, carryer</p> <p>o John Cande, glover</p> <p>Wyllyam Ryse, maryner, not at whom</p> <p>Rychard Rystic, maryner, beyond seis</p> <p>Randell Buckley, a gonner, bowe and arrowes, a pollax, and a sallet</p> <p>Rychard Grasmowe, webster, a Jack, a byll and a sallet</p> <p>Harry Ffynemon, his servant, bowe and arrowes</p> |
|--|---|

"presented for lack of bowes and arrowes, and fined in xii^d. a peece."¹

The lists of inhabitants or householders assessed towards the providing of armour afford information as to the population of the city at this time. A list of uncertain date, but between 1580 and 1595, gives the number in each ward, the total being 410.²

The plague visited Chester in 1574. The city authorities had for years past been active in checking the unsanitary habits and practices of their fellow-citizens, but the frequent presentation of offenders shows how difficult it was, at that time, to enforce the rules on an indifferent and ill-instructed populace. When the terrible visitation came, it appears to have been a common practice to put up palisading to isolate houses from the danger of contagion; and leases of this time invariably contain a provision prohibiting palisading or hoarding within the city, "saving only in time of pestilence."³

Persons were bound in heavy sums not to receive any lodgers coming from suspected neighbourhoods, and the mayor, Sir John Savage, issued a number of strict regulations for coping with the danger.⁴ A complaint from certain persons in Pepper Street shows

¹ Harl. MSS., 2150, 268. 1590. Mr. Mayor [Wm. Massey] sett down an order that there should none be made free of this citty except he came with his halberte and head-peece to be ready at all times, and shoulde take his oath it was his owne and not borrowed. —Harl. MSS., 2125, 216. There are frequent orders by successive mayors for the same purpose.

² St. Giles' Ward, 103; 5 corslet furnished; 4 white armour furnished; 8 calliver furnished; 3 coate of maile; 28 byll and hede peece; 2 head pieces with halberd; 3 bows and arrows; 14 bill only, rest with nothing. Trinitie Ward, 79; 1 corslet furnished; 5 caliver furnished; 11 black byll and head peece; 2 corslet and bill; 1 bill only; 2 Jacke a skoll and bill; 1 pollaxe and head-peece; 1 harre myne; 2 furniture for himself.

Uncertain date:—St. Giles' Ward, 30; St. John's Ward, 69; Eastgate Ward, 39; St. Thomas' Ward, 40; Northgate Ward, 16; St. Oswald's Ward, 33; Handbridge Ward, 41; St. Olave's Ward, 60; St. Mary's Ward, 11; St. Bride's Ward, 33; St. Martin's Ward, 31; Trinity Ward, 17.

³ *Tabulas roboreas palos aut perticas sive sepem circumdare nisi solummodo tempore pestilencie infra civitatem.*

⁴ 17 Eliz. [1574] Roger Calcot bound in £10 not by himself or by any other person for him at any tyme or tymes hereafter to receyve or lodge in his house or any other place of his any manner of person or persons which shall come out of the Realme of Ireland, or from the cities of London and Bristol or either of them, or out of or from any other place suspected to be infected with the deseas called the plague without the licens of the maior of the City of Chester for the tyme being, or in his absens, of the Justices of peax in the same cite.

8 Nov., 1574. The right worshipfull Sir John Savage, knight, maior of the Citie of Chester, had consideration of the present state of the said cite somewhat visited with what is called the plague, and devisinge the best meanes and orderlic waies he can, with [the advice] of his Brethren the aldermen, Justices of peace within the cite aforesaid (through the goodnes of God), to avoide the same hath, with such advice, sett forth ordained and appointed (amongst others) the points, articles, clauses and orders folowinge, which he willet and commandeth all persons to observe and kepe, upon the severall paines therein containyd:

Inprimis that no person nor persons who are or shalbe visited with the said sicknes, or any others who shall be of their company, shall goe abroad out of their houses without

how these regulations were, in practice, evaded or neglected to the common danger.¹

A packet of papers, petitions, and documents in the muniment room affords an illustration of the way in which the common people coupled the queen's name with that of her favorite, Leicester. Elizabeth made no secret of her infatuation, and it is not to be wondered at that infamous tales, upon which Pope Pius founded

licence of the alderman of the ward such persons inhabite. And that every person soe licensed to beare openlie in their hands . . . three quarters long . . . -ense . . . shall goe abrode out of the . . . upon paine that eny person doynge the contrary to be furthwith expulsed out of the said citie.

2. Item if any other person doe company with any persons visited, they alsoe to beare . . . upon like payne.

3. Item that none of them soe visited doe goe abrode in any parte or place within the citie in the night season, upon like paine.

4. Item that the accustomed due watche to be kepte, every night, within the said citie, by the inhabitants therof.

5. Item the same watchmen to apprehend and take up all night-walkers and such suspect as shalbe founde within their watche, and to bringe them to the Justice of peace, of that . . . the gaile of the Northgate, that further order may be taken with them as shall appear . . .

6. Item that no swine be kept, within the said citie, nor in any other place, then . . . side, prively nor openlie after the xiiith daie of this present moneth, upon paine of fyne and imprisonment of every person doing the contrary.

7. Item that no donge, muck nor filth, at any tymes hereafter be caste, within the walles of the said citie, upon paine of fyne and imprisonment at his worship's discretion.

8. Item that no kind or sort of . . . or any wares from any other place be brought in packs into the said Citie of Chester, untill the same be firste opened and eired without the liberties of the said citie, upon paine last recited.

9. Item that papers or wrytings contaynyng this sence : Lord have mercie upon us, to be fixed upon every howse, dore or poste, or other open place to the street of the howse soe infected.

10. Item that no person the said citie doe suffer any their doggs to goe abrode out of there howses or dwellings, upon paine that every such dogg soe found abrode shalbe presently killed, And the howners thereof ponished at his worship's pleasure.

¹ To the right worshipfull Sir John Savage, knight, maior of the Citie of Chester, the aldermen, sheriffs, and commen counsaile of the same.

In moste humble wise complaynyng sheweth unto your worships, your Orators the persons whose names are subscribed inhabiting in a certain lane within the same citie called Pepper Street, That where yt hath pleased God to infect divers persons of the same streete with the plague, and where also for the avoidinge of further infection your worships have taken order that all such soe infected should observe certaine good necessarye orders by your worships made and provided. But so yt is, right worships, that none of the said persons infected do observe any of the orders by your worships in that case taken, to the greate danger and perill, not only of your Orators and their famelyes, being in number twenty persons, but also of the reste of the saide citie, who by the sufferance of God and of his graceous goodnes are clere and safe from any infection of the said deceas : In consideracon whereof your Orators moste humbly beseche your worships for God's sake, and as your worships entende y^t your Orators should by the sufferance of God avoide the danger of the said deceas with their famely, and also for the better safety of this citie to take such direction with the said infected persons that they may clerly be avoided from thens to some other convenient place for the tyme untill God shall restore them to their former health. And in this doyng your Orators shall daily pray, &c. ROBT. PHILLIPS PETER HUES.

his epithet of "wanton" in his bull of excommunication, should be whispered about in England. Careful inquiry makes it nearly certain that though half Europe believed these tales there was no further basis for them than the queen's own thoughtlessness and levity of manner. Francis Edderman, a German, who had been practising for many years at Chester as a surgeon, is one of many in different parts of the country who had to pay the penalty for being connected with these slanderous statements.¹ He was examined by the mayor, 11 Dec. 1573, on charges brought against him by Matthew Smith for "slandorous and lewd words against the queen that she had two children by the Earl of Leicester." The lords of the council ultimately gave orders (18 April, 1576) staying proceedings and (13 July, 1576) ordering the enlargement of Edderman from prison, as the evidence of a single witness who was his private enemy was insufficient to support the charge.²

In July 1577, there took place one of the many entertainments at which the mayor received the great nobles who had occasion to visit Chester. The Earl of Derby with Ferdinando Lord Strange was a guest of the mayor. The Shepherd's Play was played by the Painters' and Glaziers' Company at the High Cross, with other "Triumphes on the Roode Deey."³

In the treasurers' accounts are preserved many details of expenses incurred by the Corporation in their merry-making, for which they were apparently not loath to have occasion, though some portion of the entertainments was defrayed by a "shot" amongst the general body of citizens. Thus we read, "Payd to Robert Pova y^t he layde downe more than the shott y^t day y^t we went in prosession [procession] for to geve God thanks for the queene grace [Mary] beinge with chyld."⁴

¹ 23 Dec., 31 Eliz. [1588], Wm. Bushell of Chester, miller, was imprisoned for a like offence (*pro publicis verbis de domina Regina*).

² See Letter Book No. 13.

³ Harl. MSS., 2125, 214.

4 1556. To Mr. Webster, Alderman, for marmelatho sucketts and such ^t for the banket to my Lorde of Darbye	xiiiis.
1558. For wyne to the Tressurers of Ireland	iiis. viiid.
1569. For wyne and sugor spent on Mr. Deane of Polles [St. Paul's Cathedral]	iiis. vid.
1564. For a banket that was made to my Lorde of Darbye the weake after Midsomer	xxiis. iiid.
For a banket that was made to my Lorde and my Ladye Darbye in the Pentice when they were at Mr. Recorders	xxis. id.
1572. For a banket made for my Lord Strange at Shotwicke, of wine, suger, frut, mamilat, coump'tes, carewis, and biskettes ..	xviiiis. vid.
1575. Pro le banket preparat' pro deput' et justic' etat' in Penticio ..	iiijli. iis. viid.
1578, Aug. 17. For a banket to Lord Darbye and Mr. Talbot ..	xixs. ix.
Pro vino et una epulac' H. Sydney	xxxixs. iid.

In 1578 400 soldiers stopped at Chester on their way to Ireland to deal with the insurgents in Connaught. They behaved with the usual turbulence, and owing to a struggle between two of the captains which should bring their company first from the Rood Eye much mischief and hurt would have been done between them. They were both committed by the mayor to the Northgate prison, and remained there until the Privy Council gave orders for their discharge. Others were put in their place, and martial law was proclaimed in the city.¹

At the very time that there was no stint of hospitality to strangers, the mayor and justices needed to be reminded of the first law of ordinary humanity, for the Earl of Leicester, in a letter dated 28 June, 1578, orders that at least so much provision may be made for the prisoners in Chester Gaol as will save them from starvation. "So," writes the Earl, "have I thought good to move "you to assemble yourselves together and to take some good order "that the same prisoners maye be releved at the leste wise as far "forth as by the lawes you are bounden to releve them. It is very "pittifull to here of, that prisoners are dede by famyne since the "last assizes, and those that be lyveinge are very many and very "feble in like perill of death; which I praye you to have in good "consideracion."

Another detachment of 700 soldiers came in 1580 to Chester, en route for Ireland to assist Ormond in suppressing Desmond's insurrection. They also "were very unruly ere the went, but that good words persuaded them."²

In 1583, the Earl of Leicester came from Wales to the city, with the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Essex, and Lord North, attended by most of the gentlemen in Cheshire. "It was thought they were in the whole 1,500 horse." Though Leicester had married again after the death of Amy Robsart, he was still in favour with the queen, and the extreme eagerness shown by the citizens of the great towns to win his regard, indicates the opinion generally held

1588. For a bankett in pentice to my Lord Monteagle	vis. viiid.
1593. For a hogshed of wyne to the Earle of Darbie by the Cittie at what tyme he was aborde the shippes with his countes ..	vli.
For marmalath then gyven and spent	xis. viid.
It was customary also to make presents of sugar and wine, as	
1575. Pro uno le loff suger donat' Comiti Kildare	xiiis.
Pro uno le loff suger donat' Henrico Sidney, militi	xxxs. xd.
1577. Pro viiii. fine white snger dat' Henrico Sydney militi	xiiiis. iid.
Pro vino dat' Wo. Gerrard arm' Cancellar' Hibernie	xiiid.
1588. A loffe suger weichte viii. gyven to the Lord Deputie of Ireland	xs. vid.

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125, and Ormerod 1, 199. ² Harl. MSS., 2125, 214.

of his power at court. He was "honorably receyved by Mr. Mayor "and Sheriffs in their scarlett and velvett coats, and had a speech at "the High Crosse." This speech, made by Mr. Knight, Clerk of the Pentice, was spoken by Thomas Thropp, a youth [afterwards mayor 1615], to the Earl of Leicester. It was "gott by hart of the "said Mr. Throp, and sayd out of St. Bridgett's Churchyard, but "it was not well liked of because he did direct it to the Earl "Darby, and having ended, sayd 'God blesse the Earle of Darby.'"¹ "Mr. Mayor did dyne them all at his howse, June 4, and after "banquited in the Pentice."² The Earl of Leicester was presented "with a fayer standing silver duple-gilt cupp valued £18, and forty "angells in it." Towards this present, contributions were levied upon the aldermen, who gave xx^s. each, the sheriffs and sheriff peres xiii^s. iv^d., every of the Forty vi^s. viii^d. The Earls were lodged in the Bishop's Palace. Crowds, of course, gathered to catch sight of the queen's "Sweet Robin," and "for more security of the cittie, "because great resort was to see the earl, watch was ordered to be "for Tuesday and Wednesday night of honest citizens in harnesse, "viz., 24 for Bridge Streete, 24 Forest Streete, 12 Norgate Streete, "12 Eastgate Streete; and that all companyes in their best apparell "upon Wednesday should attend Mr. Maior at High Crosse funder "to be ordred by him."³

Under all this pomp and ceremony and merry-making, there lay a stern and resolute purpose to maintain their beloved Sovereign in safety upon her throne, and constant vigilance was exercised to detect any of the emissaries of her foreign enemies. Chester was strongly "protestant," and as such in complete harmony with the Chamberlain of Chester, Lord Leicester, who posed as the Champion of Protestantism. The acts against recusancy⁴ were rigidly enforced at Chester,⁵ and the mayors⁵ books contain several presentments. Thus, in 1569, Richard Screvener was bound in the heavy sum of £40.⁶

¹ Harl. MSS., 2150, 182.

² Paid for a banket made for the iii. yorles in pendis in wine, suger, and other thinges viis. id.; ginger iiii^d.; a galon of malvoisie iis. iiiid.; a pound of suger and cloves xvid.; quart of meath iiid.

³ Harl. MSS., 1989, 3916.

⁴ 1 Eliz., 23 Eliz., and 35 Eliz., c. 2.

⁵ By the Act 1 Eliz., the penalty for not resorbing to church was punishment by the censures of the church, and 1/- to the poor for every offence:

By 23 Eliz., the penalty was for every month of absence from church £20, and for absence of twelve months, the offender was bound with two sureties in £200 at the least, "to good behaviour."

⁶ Richard Screvener bound in £40 to be of honest and desent behaviour and order as well against all Prechers, Professors of the Gospell, Curats and Mynistres witbin the said citie, and also against all and all maner of officers and ministres of our said soveraigne, and also if

"The Whitson plays," we are told, 1571, "were played to the dislike of many, because they savoured somewhat of popish teaching." Of these objections, Archdeacon Rogers, who has left such an interesting account of the acting of the plays, is a sufficient sample. This party became more and more active in their opposition to these plays, succeeding at last in having the Midsummer Show substituted for them.

They had been busy too in destroying all outward symbols of the old faith, and so in 1577 we learn that "most of the crosses of and about Chester were all pulled downe except the High Crosse."¹ This was in all probability done by Sheriff Mutton, who died 28 Feb., 1583, "a godly zealous man, who not long before his death pulled down certain crosses by a commission from the archbishop's visitors: one at the Bars, another at the Northgate, and another on this side Spital, Boughton, which so offended the papists that they ascribed to it the cause of his death."²

In reviewing the lamentable manifestations of religious feeling at this period, it must not be forgotten that protestantism and loyalty had been made almost synonymous by the publication of the Pope's Bull of Deposition. The feeling against the papacy had been rendered more intense by the cruel butcheries in Flanders and the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day. The establishment of a seminary of priests at Douay, the Jesuit mission under Parsons and Campian, and the discovery of one plot after another against the queen's life, combined to inflame the public mind.

A commission was issued [30 Eliz., 1587-8] to William, Bishop of Chester, the Mayor [Thomas Lyniall], Aldermen, and the Dean [John Nutter], "about panaling a jury to enquire about seminary "priestes come to England, and Jesuites of malicious purpose to "seduce divers of our people from ther dutys to God and to us, and "to renounce their allegiance and to adhere to the King of Spayne "and to the Pope, whensoever they shall attempt any invasion "agaynst our realme. They are directed to try search and

the said Richard Screvener upon every Sunday and Holydaie from hensforth be present at every sermon within the Parish Church where he now dwelleth or shall dwell, and ther during the same in desent order to remain unlesse urgent busines be the cause of the contrary, &c., that then, &c.

In 1575, John Fisher, Fulk Aldersey, Christopher Morode, Ralph Radford, Henry Pemberton and three others are presented for not coming to their parish church as they ought, not oftener than four times a year.—Fined 6/8 each.

Elizabeth Barton and Elena Wildon, 1598, for not coming to church for the space of four years past, are referred to be punished by the High Commissioners.

¹ Harl., 2125, 214.

² Ormerod, i, 199

"examyne, within the Citty of Chester and all parts thereof, what "persons have come from beyond the seas into England since the "Feast of Michaelmas." In 1594 some correspondence took place about "several youths who were under the charge of one "Bartholomew Wickam, who had purpose to transport themselves "beyond seas to places of popish religion."¹

The cases of George Huxley and Thomas Cawse, recorded in the Mayor's Book, 37 Eliz., 1594, furnish good instances of the method of procedure: first, a taste of solitary confinement in the city gaol, then after an interval, long or short, according as interest is made, release on penitence, and a bond taken for regular attendance at the parish church, on which due watch would, of course, be kept.²

Meanwhile, troops had been passing through in considerable numbers on their way to Ireland. The mayor of Chester had his hands fully occupied in the discharge of the onerous duties laid upon him as the chief authority at the port of embarkation, collecting vessels for transport, victualling the troops, and, not least of all, keeping good order in the city when, as happened not seldom, the troops were detained by bad weather from proceeding to embark.³

¹ Letter Book, Nos. 52, 34, 28. So about a boy from Ely who had stayed with others at Chester and should have been conveyed over into Ireland, and from thence into Spayne.

² "George Huxley, son of Thomas Huxley of Bunbury, husbandman, and a recusant by his said father's direction pretended to goe into Spayne to some popishe universitie there soe to become a seminary priest contrary to his dutie to God and true religion, and his allegiance to her majestie, which lewd determinacion being in God's good providence prevented, the said George Huxley was apprehended and comitted to the Gaole of the Northgate. Released on penitence, and also in accomplishment of some parte of a letter from Ld. High Treasurer to the Mayor—to attend parish church at Bunbury every Sunday and Holyday—not to hold conference with his father."

The same of "Thomas Cawse al. Banester, sonne of Wm. Cawse."

³ xxix die August, 1584—**R** the Privy Counseles letter for diet as transportation into Ireland of 1,100 soldiers.

150—The Browne flower, John Roche M^r., burthen of 46 tonnes.

60—The William of Chester, Rob^t. Radclyff, M^r., burthen of 24 tonnes.

200—The Gallon fraunc, W^m. Thornton M^r., burthen of 1x tonnes (100li.)

100—The Fortune of Dublin, M^r. W^m. Browne, burthen of 1 tonnes (100li.)

100—The George of Helbry, Rob^t. Coventrey M^r., burthen of xxxv tonnes (100li.)

200—The Mary Rose of Chester, Daniell Chapman, burthen of lxi tons (100li.)

100—The Grace of Chester

250—The Sammuell of Chester, John Eaton M^r., burthen of 70 tons (100li.)

60—The Margaret of Chester, John Warton M^r.

100—The Michael of Helbry, W. Coventry M^r., burthen of 30 tonnes. (100li.)

100—The Toby of Helbry, Hugh Hill M^r., burthen of 30 tonnes.

120—The Ellen of Hilbry, Rob^t. Dawby, burthen of 30 tons (100li.)

The James of Helbry, Hen. Andrew M^r., burthen of 24 tons.

The Henry of Helbry, John Browne, burthen of 26 tonnes

There were frequent alarms in the coast towns, and in 1586, "A sudden and fearefull hew and crye (by reason of a post which

200—The James of Chester, Mr. Jewet owner, burthen of 1x tons.

The Margaret of Helbry, Mr. John Cowper, burthen of 26 tons.

Wm. Thornton

Wm. Brown

Robt. Coventry

Daniell Chapman

Johu Eaton

Wm. Coventry

Robt. Dawby

Every of these injoyed upon paine of cli. to doe the said service, and not to departe this River of Chester without the licence of Mr. Maior of this citey.

Provision for the iiiic soldiers :

For victuall or sea bord for viii daies, halfe with butter and halfe with cheese Allowinge

every one a quarter of a pound butter and di [half] cheese by daie, the butter at iii^d.

the lb, and the cheese at two pence a pounce xxiii^{li}. vi^s. viii^d.

3200 Bisky bred, viz., every one 1^{lb} per diem for viii daies at vi^s. viii^d. the C xli. xii^s. iii^d.

vi Tun Beere by estymacon at xxxii^s. a tun ix^{li}. xii^s.

There freight at ii^s. the tun xli^{li}.

For charges as caske, coperinge, cartage, lighteringe, selloringe, and other

extraordinary charges xli.

To Mr. Ric. Rawbon and Thomas Tetlow. xxv^o Januarii, 1584.

These provisions are to be made in Redynes before the xvth of February next, but as good chepe as you may althoe the p'ses [prises] are before Rated by estymacon, towards the wh you have in your hands liii^{li}. wh Mr. Tetlowe Receved of Mr. Edward Hughes, her majesties Reccivor of this Com' Pallantine You must foresee that shippinge be in redynes for the soldiers trasportation.

VALENTINE BROUGHTON, Maior

WM. GLASIOR

Came to y^e citie of Chester y^e 15 of Febr. to supper 50 soldiers levied in y^e Com' of Derby under y^e conduction of John Evararde gent.; mustered 17th Feb.; imbarked y^e 9 of March—40 meales xxv^{li}.

Came y^e 15 of Feb. to supper 50 soldiers levied in y^e Com' of Lancaster under the conduction of John Thompson; mustered 17th Feb.; imbarked 9 Marche—40 meales xxv^{li}.

Came y^e 15 of Feb. 50 soldiers levied in y^e Com' of Denbighe under the conduction of John Mostou and John Lloide, gent.; mustered 17 Feb.; imbarked 9 Marche—39 meales xxiii^{li}. vii^s. vi^d.

Sum total of this ther diet by lande ccvii^{li}. xix^s. vi^d.

A proportion of victualls by sea of 400 soldiers for viii daies :

Imprimis bought of Peter Wright aud others, Bakers of the Citie of Chester, y^e 3 of February, 1584, 3200 weight of Bisket at vi^s. viii^d. the C, for every soldier 1^{li}. per diem xli. ii^s. viii^d.

Item bought of John Eaton and others, Brewers of y^e said citie, the same daie, vi tons of beere at 30^s. the tou, for every soldier a pottle per diem ix^{li}.

Item bought of Richard Nangreve and others in the market of Chester, 1600 weight of Cheese to serve the same soldiers, at iii^d. the 1^{li}. every soldier di^{li}. [$\frac{1}{2}$ lb] per diem xiii^{li}. vi^s. viii^d.

Item Bought of Will^m. Aldersay and others in y^e market of Butter 800 weight to serve alsoe the said soldiers at iii^d. y^e pound every soldier to have a quarter of a li. per diem xli

Provision of Casks for y^e said victualls :

Imprimis bought of Thomas Heward and others 11 tons of casks for y^e said bere and bisket, at vi^s. vi^d. y^e ton iij^{li}. xi^s. vi^d.

Item paid to Thomas Lynacer and others for hedding and hoopetinge of y^e said casks, and for gorsts for clarefyng of y^e same casks for corke-inge packinge and layinge of y^e said Bisket vi^s. viii^d.

"came about 2 of clock on Candlemas) which came to this citey in
"the night, that London and Bristol were sett on fier by the papists

Item for halfe barrells and pots to put the butter in and to laborers to carry the casks together and for washing the same	viii ^s .
Item for 15 elens of Canvas for 6 bags for the devisioun of y ^e said victuall to severall barks	x ^s .
Item for the portage and ladinge of y ^e said bredd beere and other victualls in y ^e said cite to y ^e carts	iiii ^s .
Item for the portage and ladinge of viii waine lodes of the Armor of y ^e said soldiers into the carts in the Cite	ii ^s . viii ^d .
Item to Edward Grymesdich and others, Carters, for caryinge of the said victualls by waine unto the water side	vi ^s .

Conducte Money :

Item for the conducte money of 50 of the said soldiers levied in the Countie of Denbigh, from Denbigh to the Cite of Chester 20 miles at ob' [$\frac{1}{2}$ d.] the mile, beinge parcell of the said 400 men

Item levied in Hereford, from Hereford lxx miles at ob' the mile	vii ^{li} . v ^s . x ^d .
Item . . . Worcester . . . 60 miles	vii ^{li} . v ^s .
Item . . . Salop, from the towne of Salop 30 miles	iii ^{li} . ii ^s . vi ^d .
Item . . . Chester from Nantwich 14 miles	xxix ^s . ii ^d .
Item . . . Stafford from Staffordtowne 30 miles	iii ^{li} . ii ^s . vi ^d .
Item . . . Derby from town of Derby, 48 miles	vi ^{li} .
Item . . . Lancaster from Prestaine, 36 miles	iii ^{li} . xv ^s .
Sum of the Conduct Money is	xxxiii ^{li} . i ^s . viii ^d .

Came to the Cite of Chester the 22 of February, 1584, to supper 50 soldiers levied in the Countie of Hereford under the conduction of John Baynard al. Nicles, whoe were mustered and allowed in the said Cite of Chester before Sr. Hughe Cholmondeley and Sr. Rowlande Stanley, Knights, Comissioners in that behalfe, the 15 of the said moneth in that afternoone, and were imbarked and departed for Dublin the 9 of Marche in that afternoone, but havinge dyned before, in which tyme they had aborde one meale victuall, and the rest by lande, whose diet by land is everie soldier 43 meales at iii^d. the meale is

xxvii^{li}. xviii^s. vi^d.

Came to the Cite of Chester the 13 of February, 1584, to supper 50 soldiers levied in the County of Staff' under the conduction of Christofer Crofts, gent, whoe were mustered and allowed the 15th thereof—imbarked 9 Marche, &c.

xxvii^{li}. xviii^s. vi^d.

Came to the Cite of Chester the 14 of February aforesaid, to supper 50 soldiers under the conduction of Robert Acton, gent., whoe were mustered, &c., the 17 thereof in that afternone, and were imbarked the 10 of Marche in the morninge, but haveinge dyned before and had diette abord as the rest aforesaid, whose diet by land is everie soldier 42 meales at the said rate of iii^d. the meale, excepte twoe of them which ran awaie, whoe had but 9 meales in all

xxvii^{li}. xiii^s. vi^d.

Came to the Cite of Chester the 15 of February, 50 soldiers levied in the Countie of Salop under the conduction of James Barker, gent., imbarked the xth of Marche

xxvii^{li}. xviii^s. vi^d.

Came to the Cite of Chester, 15 of February, to supper 50 soldiers levied in the County of Chester under the conduction of John Capper—mustered the 16th—embarked 9 Marche—42 meales

xxvii^{li}. v^s.

The proportion of victualls and perticular charges and somes of money disbursed by the maier of the Cite of Chester as well for the diet of 400 footemen soldiers as also for there transportacon to Dublin within the realme of Ireland; And for the Coate and Conducte money of the same 400 soldiers; By vertue of lettres from the Lords of Her Majesties moste honorable prevey Counsaile of the 30 December last. As also for a proportion for the said 400 men on shipp Board for viii daies victualls provided by warrant of the 3 of January last from the Lorde Highe Treasurer of Englande.

“and that there was a navye of 700 Spanyardes shipps landed at
“New Key in Worrall, which sodden newes raised up all the

Coate Money :

Imprimis for the Coate Money of the 50 soldiers levied in y ^e Countie of Denbigh	xli.
Item for the Coate Money of the 50 men levied in the Countie of Hereforde	xli.
Item Worcester	xli.
Item Saloppe	xli.
Item Chester	xli.
Item Stafforde	xli.
Item Derby	xli.
Item Lancaster	xli.
Sum of the Coate Money	lxxxli.
Item for the Cartage of y ^e said Armor and pikes	iii ^s . x ^d
Item to Robert Evans and others for bottage of the said victnalls to the severall barques	xvii ^s .
Item for the bottage of the said Armor containinge the ladinge of 2 boats	xxiii ^s .
Item paid to Messingers to carie letters to the Comissioners for there Ayd in imbarkeinge of the said soldiers, and in kepeinge them in quiet by y ^e water side	viii ^s . vi ^d .
Item for the rent of the Cellors wherein the said victualls and armor were packed and laied upp	ii ^s . viii ^d .

Transportation :

Item paid to John Browne, John Curtice, William Lynacre, and Robert Dobie, M^{rs}.
and owners of iii^{or} severall barques taken up for transportacon of the said 400 soldiers at
ii^s. y^e man, viz., every soldier from the Ryver of Chester to Dnblin . . xlii.

Sum total ccccxli. xvi^s. iiiii^d.

Whereof R of Mr. Edward Hinghes by My L : Treas : warrant . . ccccl.

So rest due to me the said maior as by me disbursed over and besides the said 400
ixli. xvi^s. iiiii^d, and further for the charges of Ric. Rathburne and Thos. Tetlow attending
the said service for xlii daies riding abroad in providing the victnals, &c.

30 Oct., 1585. Mayor, &c., of Chester to Earl of Derby reporting what steps have
been taken by the citizens of Chester to provide the proportion of powder and matche for
Her Majesty's service, in accordance with his lordship's letters of the 25th instant.

They urge that “consideringe the depnes of the waies and the danger of caryadge by
waine from London, that the cariage of the said matche and powder might be differred
untill towards Candlemas next. And the rather we are more bolde to make this requeste
unto your honour, for that in makinge serche for powder and matche within this Citie, we
finde in the hands of certaine merchants of this Citie a greate quantitie towards the said
proportion which we have appointed shalbe ready at your honor's comendement.” — *Letters*, 14.

3 July, 1593. Barques stayed in the Port and Ryver of Chester by the Maior of the
Citie of Chester with the assistance of George Massy, esquier, Deputie to the Right Honor-
able therle of Derby, vice-admirall, by vertue of lettres from the Ll's of her majesties moste
honorable Privey Counsell for her majesties present service in transporting of vi^e soldiers out
of the saide Porte into Irelande.

The Margaret of Chester, of the burthen of xx ^{tie} Tonnes, whereof Jeffrey Wareton is M ^r .	80
The William of Chester, of the burthen of xx ^{tie} Tonnes, whereof John Howe is M ^r .	80
The Edward of Helbrie, of the burthen of xxx ^{tie} tonnes, whereof John Curties is M ^r .	100
The Toby of Helbrie, of the burthen of xxvi Tonnes, whereof Richard Gile is M ^r .	100
The Michael of Helbrie, of the burthen of xxix Tonnes, whereof Thomas Winstanley is M ^r .	100
The Day Starre of Helbry, of the burthen of 20 Tonnes, whereof William Coventrie is M ^r .	80
The Elizabeth of Helbrie, of the burthen of 26 tonnes, whereof Robt. Dalby is M ^r .	80
The Michael of Wallezey, of the burthen of 26 tonnes, whereof Robt. Williamson is M ^r .	80
. The Egle of Dnblin . . . tonnes	
. The Gift of God of Chester, of 20 tonnes	

"cittizens and cuntry, sending post. But the crye was false and "proved contrary." So full of distress were the citizens, that the following year the mayor "caused a publike faste to be kepte "2 dayes, Wensday and Fridaye, from eight in morninge till "eleven, and at one of the clock till five at nyghte; in regards we "had very unseasonable weather and other troubles in the realme, "and this was proclaymyd by proclamacion by the commaunde of "the said Mr. Maior, which noe doubt did greate good."¹

A gruesome sight was to be seen this year, 1587, "one Harvey "of Knutsford hanged and quartered at Boughton for coining "money, and his quarters were sett up on hie on the four gates "of the citty."¹

In 1588 the city kept holiday on the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in obedience to the invitation conveyed to the mayor from William, Bishop of Chester, 11 November.² The mayor and corporation attended the Cathedral in full state, and received Holy Communion. All shops and taverns were shut up the whole day.³

Strict watch was kept upon the movements of suspicious persons who were at all likely to be in the pay of the King of Spain.⁴

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

² 11 November, 1588.—Letter from W., Bishop of Chester, to the Mayor of the City of Chester.—Sal. in Christo. I have receyved speciall dyrection from her Majestie to appoynte general prayers and thankesgevyng to be made in every Church throughtout my dyocesse vpon Tuisday, which shalbe the xixth of this Instant November (a day to be celebrated throughtout the whole Realme for our delyverance from the Spanyardes, and the wonderfull overthrowe of that power which they had prepared against vs, whereof I thoughte good to advertyse yon, and the rest of your Brethren, to the end that you myghte be all at home and in redynes to celebrate that day accordingly, not onely in your harte, but with your bodyly presence at the said prayers, In your most comely and decent maner, after the order of your cytye, wyshyng that you wolde also appeare yourselfe, and procure your Brethren and other of your well affected cytizens to communicate (for there wilbe a general Communion), and further that you wolde cause all shoppes, Tavernes, and Typlinge houses to bee shutte vp all that day (as they were and wilbe in London), lest throughe any worldly occasyon those who are not fully grounded in good heale myghte withdrawe themselves from that most godly actyon. And so not doubtyng but you will have a dutyfull regard of the premisses, with my hartie commendacions, I comyt you to God.—Manchester this xixth of November 1588.—Your verely lovyng fryend, W. Cestren.—*Hist. MSS., 8th Report, p. 374.*

³ Earlier in the year, most probably, the mayor entertained Henry, Earl of Derby a play. "The Storey of Kinge Ebrank with his [50] sonnes was performed before him at the High Cross, but such rayne fell it was hindred much."

In 1593 was another great banquet, when Sir Wm. Russell, the Lord Deputy, was sumptuously entertained with his suite en route for Ireland.

⁴ 1588. Charles Trever, an Irishman, was apprehended for "conveying from the tuition of Dr. Culpeper of Oxford a yonge gent, one Brian Orkeworth of the same Irishe nation"—"committed to prison"—"reported to the Lord Deputie of Ireland."

Three persons, Nicholas Ryst, Cornelius Ynscher, Derik Cornelius, having been lately in the Kynge of Spaynes service, are ordered to be detained in Chester Castle until further notice.

An urgent letter was received from the Privy Council, 22 Feb., 1593, directing the Mayor of Chester and the officers of the port to allow no Irish men or women to land, and to watch the passage to and from Ireland for seditious and mischievous persons.¹

Troops were meanwhile being forwarded to Ireland, constantly, without any break for seven years.

The Mayor of Chester, John Fytton, received a letter from the Lords of the Council, 24 June, 1593, directing provision to be made of an adequate number of vessels for the transport to Ireland of 1,200 soldiers, levied in counties adjoining the sea coast. He is ordered to communicate with the Mayor of Liverpool so that he may ascertain what supply of transports may be had at Liverpool. This reference to Chester even then was especially galling to the citizens of Liverpool, and they made a strong effort in 1601 to receive independent recognition.²

This transport of soldiers, though it brought considerable business into the city, was attended with much unpleasantness owing to the unruly behaviour of the men. The mayoralty of Foulk Aldersey, 1594, was "full of troubles, for here was manye "souldiers, about 1,500, who dailly fought and quarrelled that the "cittyzens were often raysted; especially at once beinge all up upon

¹ 22 February, 1593.—Letter from Lords of the Council to the Mayor and other officers of the port of Chester.—After our hartie commendacions. Because her Majestie and wee are troubled with Iryshe suitors which repaire hether ordynarily vpon very frivolous causes, Her Majesties pleasure is you shall suffer no Iryshmen or weomen to be sett on lande at that porte or the members of the same that shall not haue pasporte and lycense from the Lord Deputie or two of the Councill of that Realme for their repayre hether. And because it is fonde that dyuers and seditious persons, some of them purposinge mischieuous practyses against her Majestie and the State, and the better to collor their repaire into thys Realme do go first oner into Ireland from the partes beyond the Seas, and so conveighe themselves into this Realme. You shall cause from henceforthe all suche persons as shalle repaire hether by Sea. either out of Irelande or any forraigne partes, that shall not be well knowne vnto you to be merchantes, the factors of merchantes, or that shall not giue good testimonie of their good disposicion, to be straightlie examyned and stayed vntill wee shalbe advertysed thereof, and that you shall receive further dyrection from vs concerninge them. The like care wee thinke meete to be taken from the stayinge of suche persons as shall go aboute to go forthe of the Realme, both for their examynacion and stay, unles they haue Pasport from some of vs of her Majesty's Privy Councell, or be knowne well vnto you.—*Letter Book*, 22.

² 5 July, 1593. Gyles Brooke, Mayor of Lyverpoole, reports to John Fytton, Mayor of Chester, that (as at Chester seven vessels have been stayed so) six vessels have been stayed at Liverpool for the transport to Ireland of the one half of 1200 soldiers ordered to cross from Liverpool and Chester to Dublin. He will not give the names, &c., of his six ships, but in a postscript adds them :

The Ellen of Liverpool, of 40 tonnes, myself ownor	..	..	..	..	120
The George of y ^e same, of 40 tonnes, Edward Richardson ownor and master..	120				
The Swallowe of xxviii tonnes, Henry Shawe ownor	..	..	..	..	100
The Gyfte of God, of xxviii tonnes, Henry Monely, ownor	..	..	..	..	100
The Mychaell, of xxviii tonnes, William Tbomasson ownor	..	..	..	..	100
The Ellen, of xliiii tonnes, Thomas Knype, ownor	..	..	..	..	80

"uproare from the Eastgate to the Barres, the Mayor, like a
 "worthye stowte man, appeased by proclamation the tumulte and
 "soughte oute the originall quarellers and sent them to prison, and
 "caused a gibet to be sett up at the Hie Crosse for to execute
 "marshall lawe and three souldiers to be brought in sighte of all
 "the reste of theire fellowes, and one had a halter upon the lathes
 "aboute his necke, and by entreatye of capteyn and other gentlemen
 "they were saved."

Again, under 1595, it is recorded, "Many souldiers came to
 "citty, beinge very unruly and disordered, the gibbett sett up at
 "the Hie Cross agayne to terrify them."

The citizens saw something of the horrors of war, brought as
 it were to their own doors, for in addition to the many who passed
 through to the war, there was a no less numerous body constantly
 returning wounded and sick from Ireland.

The following year, 4,000 foot, 300 horse and 200 horse for
 carriage went to Ireland, and in 1599, "so many souldiers came,
 "both horse and foote, that the citie was not able to lodge them.
 "The townes [villages] aboute the citie were taken to lodge and
 "diett men and horses: souldiers daily fighting." Once again the
 "mayor caused a gibett to be sett upp at the Hie Crosse by reason
 "of their quarrelling and the citizens risinge."

These entries in the Harleian Collection show how unsatisfactory
 was the state of the army at this time, and what degrading
 punishments were employed to enforce discipline. "Many run-
 "away souldiers were brought back agayne, some of them had
 "their eares neyled to peeces of tyunber at the Hie Crosse, and
 "stood certen houres."¹

"July 25, 2,000 foote, 130 horse went to Dublyn; Aug. 21,
 "800 foote to Loughfoyle, and 1,000 foot to Karrigfergus. The city
 "was so full of gent. and straungers, and townes all about, Mr.
 "Mayor commands four freemen out of every ward dayly to wayte
 "on him with halberts, by reason of the multitude of souldiers."²

"In 1598 Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, with the Earls of
 "Southampton, Rutland, and Kildare, Lords Gray and Mounteagle,

¹ Runaway soldiers, 14 Dec., 1596. Henrie Tytcheborne rane awaie by the waie
 cominge from Yorke with clx^{li}. and 2 cootes; nine others with their coote and rapier.
 Thomas Cowke rane awaie by the waie to the sea syde with his coote and armes, beinge
 muskett and rapier.

Mr. Maior of Chester directed out hewe and crie for the eleven last accordinglie.

The officer conducting reports, "James Boynton and Thomas Tubman falling syck by
 the waie to the sea syde, hired one to carrye their armes who ranne awaie with Tubman's
 calyver and murrian, and Boynton's murrian and rapier. Of the xii rapiers I have made good
 ix at my owne charge."

² Harl MSS., 2125

"came to Chester and were honorably received of the mayor and his brethren, and banqueted in the Pentice. They lay in the Bishops house, and so departed for Ireland."¹

The letters in the great Letter Book bear witness to the busy course of affairs at Chester during the last years of Elizabeth's reign; the frequent orders for transport in 1593, 1596 (letter 65, 68, 71-2-3), victualling in 1597 (l. 89, 90); the arrangements for the "conducts" from the various counties (l. 78, 80-88, 96, 98); orders to captains and soldiers about the cleaning of their own armour;² the constant transmission of letters and packets by special messengers. Repeated reference is made to the unavoidable delay often caused by unfavourable winds.³

¹ Rogers in Harl. MSS., 1948, 33.

² A letter from Lord Burghley, 31 Aug. 1597, disapproves of a bill of Richard Richardson and Symon Smithe, cutlers of Chester, amounting to £47 8s. 5d., for repairing keeping serviceable and making clean the decayed armour and weapons of 650 soldiers. Lord Burghley objects that the captains and soldiers should themselves be at the charge of repaying and cleansing their own armour, and not the Queen. The Lord Treasurer, however, authorises mayor to pay to the said cutlers the sum of £20 in full payment; "if they refuse, lett them gett it as they thinke good from the captens and soldiers whose armour it was."—*Letter 92*.

In a previous letter, 18 Marche, 1596, Lord Burghley had suggested that these cutlers, "who had taken great pains in cleansing and keeping soldiers' arms and clothing," should be duly rewarded for their said pains, out of money raised by the sale of "such part of the beere, bisquet and cheese as remaineth unspent, and is either faultie or will not kepe."

³ "If winde shall serve, yowe shall not forbear to send awaie all, or as manie of the soldiers as yowe can, although theie should want their armes, whiche maie be sent after them." Lord Burghley to Mr. Smithe, Mayor.—*Letter Book*, 71.

13 October, 1596. Letter from Lords of the Council to the Mayor of Chester and to the officers of her Majesty's customs of the port of the City of Chester. For the provision at the easiest possible rates of a sufficient number of barques, hoyes, and other vessels, for the transportation to Ireland of nine hundred soldiers, taken out of Yorkshire and the counties of Northwales, and appointed to proceed to Dublin *via* Chester, for service in Ireland; the said nine hundred soldiers being part of a levy of two thousand men for the increase of her Majesty's forces in Ireland, to be in readiness by viii Nov. next at the same port, and withall to make provision of so much victuall in their passage over the sea as may serve for so much tyme as yon shall think convenient for their transportation into Ireland.—The Court at Richmond.—*Letter Book*, 73.

2 December, 1596. Letter from Lords of the Council to the Mayor of the City of Chester. For the disbandment and dismissal to their several and respective counties of the nine hundred soldiers levied in the counties of York and North Wales, and sent to the port of Chester by or about the 8th day of last month of November, for transportation into Ireland and service in that country; the same soldiers having been detained at Chester by contrary wind and weather, and having never been sent over the sea to Ireland.—The Court at Whitehall.—*Letter Book*, 72.

27 Dec., 1596. "Wee understand that the company of Capitaine Dutton havinge byn imbarqued long senthence at Hollyhead have byn fower tymes by contrary wyndes put backe agayne, and divers of his souldyers upon their retorne are run away with their armor."—*Letter Book*, 69.

7 April, 1597. Letter from Lords of the Council to the Mayor of the City of Chester. Ordering the same mayor to make provision of shipping and victuals for the transportation from Chester to Dublin of the 700 men, who were sent to Chester *en route* for Ireland last October, and then were dismissed and returned to their several counties, after waiting a moneth in Chester through contrary wyndes and weather, saving one company under the

Under the date of 1597 occur two orders (15 Feb.) for provision to be supplied for a great company of horse and foot en route for Ireland, and (1 March) for the entertainment of the Earl Marshal of England and other lords on their way to the war. The usual hospitality was shown, and the customary present in hard cash offered.¹

These presents were judiciously employed, as the Corporation found when a petition was presented by the Corporation of Liverpool to have the independent direction of their shipping, which they felt aggrieved should be subject to the direction of the Mayor of Chester. The Corporation of Chester, by request, sent up their Recorder, Mr. Robert Whitby, to plead their cause and had the satisfaction of winning it.²

charge of Captayue Bithugs that was transported into Ireland, and then armour, weapons, coates and furniture, by our dyrection was left in your custody. Touching the present levy their lordships remark, "Neuertheles yf they shalbe driuen to stay there any tyme attending opportunity of wynde, Wee hope yow will take order they maie be vyctualled at more easy rates than they were the last tyme, wherby the whole wages of the poore souldier was spent in his diett."—Dated from the Court at Whitehall.—*Letter Book*, 90.

¹ Harl. 1989, 393.

² 15 Feb., 1597. Order came from the Lords to have the maior to provide provision of meat by sea and land for divers great companys of horse and footemen which were apoynted to come to this cittyte to take shipping for Ireland, and to give every souldier iii^d. a day and dyet and lodging, whereupon sessors were apoynted and mony by lone borrowed through the citty.

1 March. Order for entertainment of Earl Marshall of England and other lords who were to goe to Ireland, so it was ordred that he should have a cnp of xli. or xliii. vi^s. viii^d. with xl angels in it given him, and banqueted in the Pentice.—*Harl MSS.*, 1989, 393.

26 May, 1602. A letter from Lords of Privy Counsell to maior, &c., for payment of 2/- a day to the "conductours" of the souldiers.

You shall performe a good peece of service yf you can supply the nombre of those that shall be wantinge of any able people that may be spared.

The mayor and inhabitants of the port towne of Liverpool finde themselves agreeded that the doe send their shippinge at your direction to Hellbree, where their port as they saie is more convenient to shippe those men that are to be transported in their shippes. Forasmuch as heretofore we have bene importuned with lyke complaint, we have ordered that you shall send some of your citie hither the next tearme instructed in those reasons wh^{ch} you can deliver for the continewinge of the accustomed order that hath bene held to direct all the souldiers to be ymbarqued at that porte.—*Indentures* 75.

Petition of Robert Whitby (representing the Mayor of Chester) concerning the preference of Chester Port to Liverpool:

1. The charge of the carriage of the Armes, furniture, abylyments of warr, and victuals for souldiours from Chester to Liverpool wilbe much more charge to her Majestie then the conveyinge of the shippes from Liverpoole to the porte of Chester.

2. That if the souldiers should not be shipped at the port of Chester but passe alonge to Liverpoole, the cuntry will be much endamaged by the souldiours by robberyes and spoiles as hath often happened, the souldiours beinge insolent and unruly and the cuntry not able to rule them when they are oute of Chester.

3. That divers of the souldiours if they be not shipped at the port of Chester will run away and disperse themselves, as hath beene often seene, and soe the numbers not full for the queenes service.

4. That the towne of Liverpoole is but a creeke of the Port of Chester, and hath alwaies used to send their shippinge in lyke ease to the Port of Chester.

Order made to continue as before at Chester.

CHAPTER II.

The Earl's Castle and Mills



RDERICUS attributes the building of Chester Castle to William the Conqueror in 1069. It has, however, an earlier history than this, for, though it cannot claim to have in any portion of it a Roman origin, a part of the present Castle occupies the site of the fortress erected by the Saxon Princess Elfreda in 907. This fortress was, after the Saxon fashion, an earthwork, nearly circular, strongly entrenched and surrounded with a

wooden stockade. The buildings within the enclosure, for the chief's head-quarters, would be most certainly of timber and not of stone. It has been suggested that the flag tower, as shown in Cuitt's etching, marks the exact position of this mound, which is still traceable on the south-west side. William the Conqueror, most probably, made considerable additions to Elfreda's stronghold, but these additions need not necessarily have been all structures of stone, for timber was not unfrequently used in castellated work of the early Norman period. These additions would be comprised within the circuit of the inner bailey or "upper ward," as marked on the plan copied from an old drawing in the British Museum. It was not until Henry III. assumed the Earldom of Chester in 1237 that any extensive stone work was introduced. In the Royal Letters (c. 1246, nine years after the assumption of the earldom) Henry III. writes to John de Grey, his justiciary, ordering him to remove the palisading with which the bailey about the Castle of Chester was enclosed, and to build up a wall of lime and stone, the expenses of which were to be charged to the king's exchequer.¹

¹ "Mandamus vobis quod ballium circa castrum nostrum Cestrie quod clausum fuit palo, amoto palo illo, claudi faciatis calce et petra. Et custum quod ad hoc posueritis per visum et testimonium legalium hominum computetur vobis ad scaccarium."

It is quite possible that in the interval between 1237 and 1246 the so-called Julian Tower (with the hall and other buildings of the inner bailey) was built, for the architectural features of the chapel and crypt are of Henry's time. There was certainly in the



Plan of Chester Castle.—Harl MSS., British Museum

time of the Norman Earls a tower within the Castle demesne, for John le Scot in his charter to St. Werburgh's grants quittance of the three loaves which the monastery used to give daily to the tower of his Castle of Chester.²

In the Close rolls of 35 Henry III. (1251) is contained an order from the king to his justiciary, Alan la Zouche, directing

² Quietantiam de tribus panibus, quos aliquando solebant dare diurne ad turrin castelli mei de Cestria.—18 Hen. III., 1233.

the wall of the outer ward and the new hall in the castle, which are begun, to be finished.¹

The wall, built in obedience to the order of 1246 to enclose the inner bailey, was a lofty one, strengthened additionally by being raised on the ridge of the earlier entrenchments.

The inner ward was entered by a strong gateway, flanked by two bastions. To the north-west were three towers, two half-round, the third square, which has been called the flag tower. These towers commanded the passage of the River Dee. On the south was a salley port which was defended by a bartizan above it, carried on corbels. The remainder of the wall on the south-east and east had no towers, as the ground was naturally so high and precipitous as to require no such protection. In the east part of the ward, as being the least exposed to attack, were two buildings, a hall, and a cluster of living apartments.

Immediately east of the gateway was the so called "Julian" Tower, which contained three apartments, a crypt on the floor level, supporting a fine stone-vaulted chapel, and above that a third vaulted chamber. The chapel had some figures painted on the walls, an outline of which is given in Hanshall's *Cheshire*. Pennant [i. 213] gives the dimensions as "19 feet 4 inches by "sixteen six; the height also sixteen six. The roof is vaulted, "but the couples, which are rounded slender and elegant, run down "the walls, and rest on the cornuted capitals of five short but "beautiful round pillars, in the same style with those in the "chapter-house of the cathedral; probably the work of the same "architect."

The inner bailey was separated from the outer bailey by a deep ditch 100 feet wide, crossed by a drawbridge. The whole arrangement of the towers and the position of the wide ditch indicate that the inner bailey was, in its original conception, a complete fortress, and that the outer bailey was an addition of later date. As we have seen, the wall of this outer bailey was commenced in 1251 [35 Hen. III.] A great deal of work was done here by Edward I., whose chief assistant, Richard the Engineer, was kept constantly employed. Edward III. also had a number of men at work in alterations and additions, repairing the "great stable," and building a new kitchen and other apartments.²

¹ De forinseco Ballio et nova Aula Cestrie faciundo. Mandatum est Alano La Zube Justiciario Cestrie quod murum forinseci Ballii Castri Regis Cestrie et novam aulam Regis in eodem castro que incepta sunt per visum proborum et legalium hominum perfici fac' et custum quod ad hoc posuerit Rex ei faciet allocari.

Teste ut supra [Rege apud Windesoram 26 die Aprilis.]—*Claus. 35 Hen. III., m. 15.*

It is possible that the new hall referred to in this precept was the so-called hall of Hugh Lupus.

² Record Office—Chamberlains' and Ministers' Accounts, 21 Ed. III., 65, 18a.

The castle was entered by a fine gateway, defended on either side by a large and lofty half-drum tower, and further protected by a portcullis. Mr. Cox supposes that under these flanked towers were the dungeons and prisons of the castle. If this be so, one of



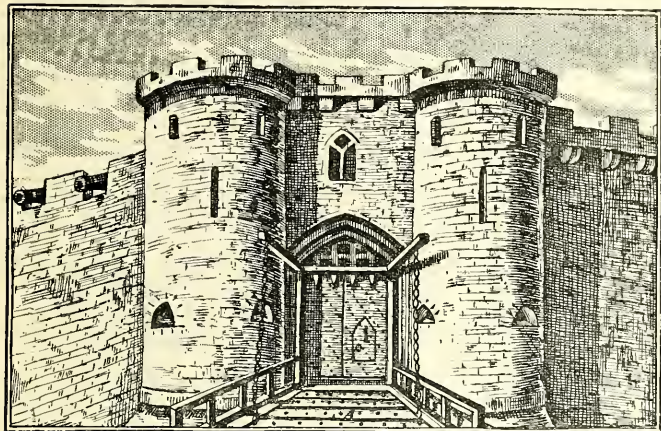
Upper Chamber in the Julian Tower, Chester Castle

the towers would be that referred to in the Ministers' Accounts, 50 Edward III., as "Goghestour," in which a prisoner, Roger de Ridelegh, in attempting to escape, had removed some stones.¹

Earlier than this, 28 Edward III., John Sumerill, deputy constable of the castle, is indicted for striking a certain John le

¹ Rogerus de Ridelegh in prisona vocata Goghestour petras ejusdem prisonis causa evadendi de prisona removit.

Parker, a prisoner in the prison called "Gowestour, and for putting "him in the stocks with irons, viz., fetters on his legs, manacles "and 'boltes' on his arms and a collar round his neck, the severity "being such that the prisoner died under it."¹



Outer Castle Gate taken down in 1790.

A. Drawbridge.

The Recognisance Rolls of 1397-8, March 16, furnish a list of fetters and other appurtenances of the gaoler's grim office.²

The Plea Roll of 34 Edward I., contains the account of a prisoner, John, son of Warin le Grovenour, who, charged with slaying Richard de Pulford in Budworth with a long-bow, behaved as a mute, and therefore was condemned to the terrible punishment *peine* (which is a corrupted abbreviation of *prisonne*) *forte et dure* and committed "*ad dietam*."³

¹ Ind. 4. Welsh Rolls, 1353-1377.

² 1397-8, March 16. William de Venables, of Troghford, Constable of the Castle of Chester, delivers to Thomas le Wodeward, his deputy, "9 serruras cum 9 clavibus voc' fetrelokes, 11 colers ferri cum duobus grossis cathenis ferri, 2 paria de boltis ferri cum shakeles ferri, 2 paria maincar' ferri cum quatuor shakeles ferri, 7 paria compedum ferri, cum 3 shakeles, 1 maliolo ferri, 1 onfell, 1 celtem and 1 punson, 1 hasp' ferri pro cippis."

³ The term "*ad dietam*" means that on the first day three morsels of the worst bread were allowed, on the second day three draughts of standing water that should be nearest to the prison door, and this to be the prisoner's daily diet on alternate days until he died. John, son of Warin, survived the first application of this rule, and, being alive on the following court-day, was brought before the court, and, again behaving as a mute, was committed to the same punishment, but, later, obtained his acquittal on a technical plea. An entry in

On the west side of the castle enclosure was a square tower. On the east side, in the least exposed situation (as in the inner bailey), stood the great shire hall, or hall of "Hugh Lupus," the exchequer court, and the various offices. The shire hall, stated by Pennant to have been "nearly 99 feet by 45 feet, and height very awful," was a building of noble dimensions, much loftier than the exchequer court which stood by its south end.

The shire hall of the early times was removed in Elizabeth's reign, 1581, and in the Chamberlains and Ministers Accounts, 66, 3, are recorded the several items of expenditure.¹

There appears to have been outside the castle gates another shire hall, evidently for the most part a timber building, which the magistrates of Chester petitioned Lord Treasurer Burghley, 4 Feb., 1578, "to be given them for a shambles, it being uncovered "and in ruin." They happened at the time to be in special need of such a building, for "their butchers had lately enhanced the "prices of flesh, and they were constrained to call in the countrey "butchers, by whose repaire thither the cittie was better and more "reasonably served. They beg his (Lord Burghley's) acceptance "of half-a-dozen Cheshire cheeses."²

The city magistrates had thought that they had made a good bargain with the castle authorities in getting the old hall at the cost of some civil letters and a present of six Cheshire cheeses. But in 1594 (25 May) Sir Hugh Cholmondeley writes to the Lord Treasurer, on behalf of the mayor and citizens, that they had "obtained their sute for transferring the old shire hall into

the Pentice Chartulary, page 90, records another instance of the same terrible punishment, 10 Ed. I., when, on Monday before St. John Baptist's day, a prisoner indicted for burglary was mute: "non vult respondere legem communem diffugiendo, ideo ad dietam."

Pennant quotes from Harl. MSS., 2079, 63, a notice of the same punishment inflicted in Chester Castle on Adam, son of John of the Woodhouses, in 1310, 4 Ed. II., who was committed for burning his own house and carrying away the goods. John le Morgan, Constable of the Castle, reports that the said Adam was dead ad dietam.—*Tour in Wales*, i., 216.

Blackstone in his Commentaries "imagines that the practice of loading the prisoner with weights, or, as it was usually called, 'pressing him to death,' was gradually introduced between 31 Ed. III. and 8 Hen. IV., as a species of mercy to the delinquent, by delivering him the sooner from his torment."

¹ 21 Eliz., 1578. "A new hall called Prince's Hall, and kitchen built in the Castle, finished 23 Eliz." [1580.]

"22-24 Eliz." [1579-1581] "Costs of re-edifying the Parliament House within the Castle, to be converted into the exchequer there with a gallery and other works—also constructing a new shire hall."

² Harl. MSS., 2020, 420.

"In 1581, the oulde shier hall was removed from the castell gate to the Northgate Street, sett in the corne markett place for a granary for the cittie, under which is made the shambles for the cuntrey buchers: new exchequer within the castle built."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2125.

"shambles, making the upper part a garner to stow her majestie's corn or other provisions, a flesh shambles or open market underneath. This had been done at great expense—now a demand was made of them by process of £40."¹

It is interesting to remember that among the many notable prisoners confined in the castle were David, brother of Prince Llewelyn, King Richard II., and Janico d'Artois his trusty adherent, Eleanor Cobham, good Duke Humphrey's Duchess, Richard Oldon, Abbot of St. Werburgh, and Bishop of Sodor; and later, in connection with the suppression of the monasteries, the Abbot of Norton, Randall Brereton baron of the exchequer at Chester, and John Hall merchant of Chester, who were seized by Sir Piers Dutton for complicity in the "Pilgrimage of Grace."

The outer bailey was defended by a wide ditch, sufficiently wide to afford space for a garden, which George, Earl of Shrewsbury (Oct. 15, 1524) claimed, together with the custody of the gates of the Dee Bridge. A document preserved in the Eaton Muniment Room gives the account rendered by Philip de Raby, the gardener in 27 Edward III.² It appears that the gardener claimed all the fruit of the best tree in the garden, called the "Restyng Tree," as well as the fruit remaining on the other trees after the first shaking, which went to the Lord Earl. For this he was bound to find vegetables for the earl during his stay at the castle from Michaelmas to Lent, and leeks during the Lenten fast. He complains that he was able to gather no fruit because the wall of the inner bailey of the castle was broken down, and several masons and other workmen were engaged in reparation during the fruit season. The garden was, therefore, not closed in, and (was it not to be expected?) the sum total of receipts proved *nil*. The previous year, the fruit brought in only 2/- because the season was unfavourable, but 16 Edward III., 9/- was obtained, and in 24 Edward III., 10/-.

Comptus Philippi de Raby Gardinar' Castri Cestr' in feodo de exitibus dicti gardini a festo S. Michaelis a^o R.R. Edwardi III. post conquest' xxvii usque ad festum prox' sequ'.

De aliquibus exitibus dicti gardini unde dominus habebit omnes fructus omnium arborum dicti gardini præter principalem arborem vocatum Restyngtree cujus fructus simul cum fructu resid' arborum dicti gardini post excussione fructus quem dictus gardinarius habebit ex antiqua consuetudine et etiam idem gardinarius inveniet domino olera pro hospicio suo in Castro Cestr' a festo S. Michaelis usque xlv^m (quadragesimam) et porros extunc usque pascha. nou r' eo quod murus interioris ballie castri Cestr' infra dictum gardinum prostratus erat et diversi

¹ Letter Book.

² Robert de Raby was gardener 29 Ed. I., and 8-9 Ed. II.—*Ministers' Accounts*, 771, 1, 8.

The porter's or janitor's lodge is referred to in a letter from Queen Elizabeth, dated 14 August, 1561.¹

One of the towers, presumably close to the shire hall, called Maysham's Tower, was used as the repository for the rolls, and placed, 20 Henry VI., in the charge of Henry Herleton, who had served in the French wars.²

cementarii et alii operarii erant construent' facientes super dictum murum in eodem gardino tempore fructus ejusdem et dictum gardinum non fuit clausum. Summa n^l.—*Eaton MSS.* The same return was made 28 Edward III.—*Ministers' Accounts*, 784, 5.

¹ By the Quene. . . . welbeloved we grete you all. Forasmoch as our counsaill in our marches of Wales have at this tyme taken order That the persones under-named nowe in warde in the porters lodge with them for certen henyous and detestable offences committed wilfully shalbe uppon the xvth daie of this August, by the Porter our counsaill, delyvered unto you at the said lodge, with severall theire heades, written in grete letters, with theise wordes, For wrongfull murderers and for wilfull perjury, to be by you in the fullest tyme of market and when the people are moste assembled, conducted and brought from theirs [through] the open stretes of that our Citie of Chester to the Shire Hall, and from thence conducted through the said marktett to the said porter's lodge, and there to be delyvered to the custody of the said porter.

We therefore will and comaunde you to repaire to the said Porter's Lodge, and receaving the said persons in maner aforesaid, at his . . . handes to put theise our letters in due execution accordingly, and in such sorte as the punishment of the said offenders may be a terror and example for all [who may do] the lyke.

Not failing hereof upon paine of forfeiture to us [of the sum of] v^{cl} [£500] under our Signet at our Citie of Chester, the xliiith of August, in the iiiiith yere of our Reigne.

{ HOWELL MORGAN LLOYD RICHARD AP MERED' WILLIAM THOMAS THOMAS DAVID AP JOHN	And hir highnes Counsaill in the marches of Wales.
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² The following entry from the Welsh Recog. Rolls, 1392, March 25, will assist in fixing the relative position of certain parts of the Castle :—"Ellen, who was wife of Richard Donne, lets on lease to Wm. de Wybunbury, a plot of garden near the Castle of Chester, between the Hall of Pleas on the west, and the Cemetery of St Mary-on-the-Hill on the east, and the Castle Bridge on south, and Castle Lane on north, for the yearly service of a red rose."

The Ministers' Accounts [771, 2, 4], 29-31 Ed. I. refer to extensive repairs in the large and the small chapel, the cellar under the large chapel, a large new chamber, the great kitchen which was built on the site of a wall pulled down towards the ditch of the inner bailey. Thomas le Plumer, monk of Cumbermere Abbey, was engaged in the plumbing work here and in other castles.

Ric'o de Paris cement' facienti unum magnum murum lapideum spissum cum tribus botracis et duabus fenestris pro predicta coquina loco alterius muri diruti versus fossatum [interioris ballii.] Thome de Deneston carpentario et aliis carpentariis in Castro Cestr. circa cooperturam aule majoris ballii et camere eidem aule contigue et etiam cooperientibus de novo magnam cameram inter magnam aulam et interius ballium ejusdem castri et operantibus circa cooperturam magne coquine, et facientibus duos magnos gradus ligneos, unum viz. inter magnam aulam et gardinum et alium in interiore ballio, viii^o. xix^o. ii^o.

The Dee Mills formed an important part of the rich inheritance of the Earls of Chester. They, like other lords of the manor, provided a mill for the accommodation of their tenants, and at Chester their monopoly included a large tract of country. Though there would be still much grinding at the old-fashioned querns and hand-mills at home, the mills on the Dee were never idle, and there was often a struggle as to precedence in the order of being served. The monopoly was a valuable one, giving rise to the old Cheshire proverb on extravagance, "If thou hadst the rent of Dee Mills thou would'st spend it."

The toll for grinding was paid in kind, the miller taking a percentage of the grain, and not infrequently, as was alleged, he would take twice from the sack to save all doubt.

According to a return made by the clerk of the keeper of the mills, 27 Edward III., in addition to the head miller, there were at that time three valetti or yeomen (formerly there had been seven), two garciones or servants (formerly seven), and one pagettus or boy-servant or apprentice, who each took toll from the sack.

All residents in the city (except Sir Peter de Thornton, Robert de Bradford, the Abbot of "Dienlenresse," Roger Blount, and the Nuns of St. Mary's) were bound under penalty of forfeiture of their corn to bring it to be ground at the mill, and no one was allowed to have a hand-mill. For the third offence against this order, the horses and cart, as well as the corn, became forfeit to the Lord Earl.¹

The clerk accounts for £93 19s. 4d. received for wheat, barley, oats, meal, "mixtilion," and "milne-dust," sold at different times during the year, the prices ranging from 4/- a quarter to 6/8. In

Consuetudines molendinorum de Dee usitate a tempore cujus contraria memoria hominum non existit, viz. In primis, omnes manentes in Civitate Cestrie debent molare blada sua in molend' de Dee et dabunt domino xvi gran' pro toln', tamen Petrus de Thornton miles et Robertus de Bradeford Abbas de Dieulencresse Rogerus Blont civis Cestr' pro quadam carucata terre apud Marleston et moniales ejusdem Civitatis clamant esse quieti in dictis molendinis de toln' predicto et etiam hoperfre. Item Magister in molend' predictis capit de uno quarterio et di' frumenti et alterius bladi moland' de blad' pistorum Civitatis predictæ et unam tabulam plenam farine cujus tabule mensura liberata fuit de castro Cestr' a tempore cujus contrar' memoria hominum non existit et est nunc in eisdem molendinis.

Item sunt in eisdem molend' tres valetti qui vocantur yemen et percipiunt de blad' pistorum quartam partem farine tabule predictæ et solebant esse septem valetti. Item sunt in eisdem molend' tres garcones

¹ Richard the Engineer, 18 Ed. I., is indicted for seizing and carrying off to Chester Castle a cart-load of bread belonging to William Fox, which the complainant had bought at Warwick and brought to Chester for sale. Richard the Engineer successfully defended himself on the plea that such importation of bread was prejudicial to the interests of the Dee Mills, and that he was acting according to precedent.

addition to this, the men employed in the mill paid each an annual sum to the earl for their place.

Chaucer's picture of the dishonesty and unfair exactions of the millers is by no means overdrawn. An answer to an inquisition held in Henry IV.'s reign, in consequence of a petition from the mayor and citizens in 1397, throws much light upon the hard measure dealt at the Dee Mills. The citizens complain of the extortions of the millers, and pray to be allowed the terms usual under the Norman Earls. In Randle Blundeville's time the miller received from the ordinary customer sixteen grains out of every sack, and from the brewers one "tolhop" [= $\frac{1}{16}$ crannock] from every six or eight sacks, a sack holding two crannocks. At the time of the inquisition, the millers made a further demand of three-quarters of a tolhop. It is alleged too, that they exacted from the customers, besides the usual charges, one penny, twopence, or even sixpence each for themselves, retaining the corn until the money was paid, and also taking for themselves two or three handfuls from every sack. Complaint too was made about the size of the measure used (tolhop), which was increased to take one-thirteenth instead of one-sixteenth of a crannock, as in the time of the Norman Earls. The text of this Inquisition is printed at the end of the Chapter.

There was, at first, but one mill on the Dee at Chester, above the bridge. But in 1093 Earl Hugh granted to the Abbot of St. Werburgh a place for one mill this side (citra) the bridge. To

qui percipiunt quartam partem farine tabule predictæ. Item sunt in eisdem molend' duo pagetti' qui percipiunt pro custod' blad' tam de bladis pistorum quam aliorum de quolibet sacco magno et parte tantum farine quantum possunt capere per unam manum. Item predicti valetti et garcones . . . contra Nat' domini pro toto anno de blad' cujuslibet hominis exceptis bladis pistorum predictam tabulam plenam farine cujuscunque generis blad' p'c' bras . . . Item predictus magister capit de vi qrt' bras' molat' cujuscunque generis sint dimid' bz Lond'. Item predicti valetti capiunt mediet' tanti. Item garcones capiunt quartam partem tanti.

Item sunt quatuor pagetti' bras' qui percipiunt de quolibet sacco bras' unum quadrantem pro holyng'. Item custos dictorum molend' sive firmarius, sive alius solebat tenere Curiam suam de omnibus transgressionibus factis in eisdem molend' sive in piscaria adjacente, et nullus ballivus Civitatis predictæ faciet attach' in molend' predictis ex quacunque causa. Item si aliquis cariaverit blada sua ad moland' ad aliqua alia molend' predict' vice dicta blada erunt forisfacta, et firmarius dictorum molend' habebit blada predicta. Et si aliquis bis sic cariaverit firmarius habebit blada forisfacta. Et dominus tercia vice habebit equos seu caretat' cum equis super quos dicta blad' sunt cariaata forisfacta.

Item nullus de civitate predicta habebit molas manuales in prejudicium dictorum molendinorum. Item moniales Cestrie clamant esse quiete de multura in eisdem molend' similiter habent diversos et diversas residentes in domibus suis pro quibus non debent esse quiete.—*Eaton MSS.*

this his son, Earl Richard, added the tithe of his mill above (ultra) the bridge, and a mill at Bache. Earl John Scot in 1232 granted to the Abbey the tithe of the new mills (*decimas novorum molendinorum*), words which imply an increase in the number of mills.

The Nuns of St. Mary's, besides free grinding at the mills, had the ladies' privilege of being first served. The Dominican Friars also obtained from Richard II. the permission to be "hopper free" at the mills, and liberty to grind corn for their own consumption free of toll.

An interesting document in the Record Office¹ gives in full detail the expenses incurred, 21 and 26 Edward I., in repairing the mills. The wages paid to the ordinary workmen at the rate of 1½d. a day amounted to £4 3s. 5d.; the carpenters, at 2/6 and 18d. a week, received £17 17s.; the timber and carriage cost £15 4s. 4½d., and the iron, nails and rope, &c., £4 15s. 5d.

Subjoined is a summary of the principal charges, from which it would appear that there were at the time five mills, and that they were rebuilt on a different site.²

¹ Ministers' Accounts 771.

² The repairs and alterations of 21 Ed. III. amounted to £6 7s. 7d. Thomas Gyrholes, carpenter, was at work for 10 weeks and 5 days, at a weekly wage of 18d.; Richard and Roger, carpenters of Eccleston, were engaged for 4 and 6 weeks respectively. There were besides men employed in preparing timber in the Forest de la Mara at 2d. a day: Hugh of Farndon, a mason, receives 16d. a week; 4 daubers 1½d. a day; two women for carrying water were paid 1d. a day; Cadogan the Carpenter and Adam the Wright in Salghall Wood received 3d. a day. Several Welsh names occur in the list of labourers—John ap Meiler in Thlhydcote Wood at 2d. a day; Ienan ap Meiler for 3 carts of timber from the same wood is paid 3/9; Thomas de Neston for 9 carts from Delamere Forest 6/4, (4d. a cart) while William de Sutton receives 10d. for 1 cart of planks, and Will' Philip 6d. and 10d. for 2 carts. On Saturdays and vigils they received only 1d. a day.

There are also charges for Bordnails, clams of lead for the covering of the Chapel and the covering of the Well.

In a statement of the case in the reign of James I., in answer to complaints made of the causeway in the Dee as contributing to the frequent inundations of the higher lands, it is set forth that there were 11 mills. They were 3 Fulling Mills, "held in ferme by the Company of Clothworkers at a rent of £11, employing 300 persons; 6 Corn Mills, given by Edward VI. to Sir Richard Cotton, one of his Privy Council, in exchange for the manor of Borne"; and 2 Water Mills for conveyance of water to the city.

"The Corn Mills were held by knight service *in capite* by Edmund Gammull, who purchased them for £3,000 in fee farm of Mr. Cotton at C^h. rent per annum.

"In the streame of their Corne Mills are two water wheelles erected by John Tyrer for conveyance of water into the citie."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2082, 20.

In construc^one et scapula^one meremii in bosco de Lycwode ad quinque molendina in aqua de Dee juxta pontem Cestrie de novo reparanda et edificanda viz. tria sub una tectura et duo sub alia . . . Math'o Carpentario et sociis suis xxxviii x^d. Cariag' ejusdem meremii de Licwoode apud Cestriam una cum ligac^one per Wallens' viz. per aquam ex convencone xi^s. Et Henrico de Ryhntt carpent' et sociis suis in bosco de Hope xlii^s. Et Thome Carpentar' xxvi^s. viii^d. Et Rogero Siaton et sociis suis ad planchas in bosco de Hope ad fundamentum dictorum molendinorum et stagna reparanda 1^s.

Item xlviii operariis auxiliantibus una cum dictis carpentar' ad quinque molendina

The lessee of the mills, 12 Edward I., was Richard the eminent Engineer, who held it with the king's fishery for twelve years at a rent of £200, certain compensation being given for damage done by floods. For this damage Richard claims, 17 Edward I., the two sums of £40 and £54, the losses having occurred during his absence in the king's service at Carnarvon and Rhuddlan.¹

The mills (Corn and Walker or Fulling Mills), with the fishing, were leased in 1335 to Richard de Capenhurst, and in 1341 to Henry Russell, Edmund de Waterfall, David Russell, Richard de Brocton, for £210²; in 1346, for three years to Bartholomew de Norden at a rent of £243 6s. 8d.

In 22 Edward III. [1347] Robert of Bredon, rector of St. Peter's, and others secured the mills for three years at a rent of £200. Seven years later a fresh indenture was made at a rent of

vetera in aqua de Dee juxta pontem Cestr' tria viz. sub una tectura et duo sub alia prostrand' et removenda vetus que meremium inde ad alium locum asportand' et ad aquam ibidem cum planchis . . . et lapidibus opstupand' et hauriend' ad alia predicta quinque molendina novo loco dictorum veterum molend' assidend' et edificand' et fundamentum et rupem dictorum molendinorum mandand' et siccand' et novum meremium portand' tractand' et levand'.

Item xii hominibus fodientibus turbas ad aquam obstupand' in stagno dictorum molendinorum per duos dies quolibet capiente den. ob. [1½d.] iii^s.

In duodecim duodenis ferri empt' prec' ix^d. ix^s. cuidam fabro pro stipendio suo pro fabricatione et ligacone ferra metorum rotarum molend' et faciend' bours et alia necessaria ferr' ad dicta molendina vi^s. viii^d.

In grossis clav' viz spiking nail empt' iiiii^s. Et v^m. Bordnail viii^s. iiiii^d. prec' mill' xx^d. Et DC clav' prec' cent' d' ob'—ix^d. Et m' et D Bord' empt' in Cestr' prec' cent' iiiii^s.—lx^s. Et due magne corde empte ad tractand' grossum meremium et ad illud levand' iii^s. iiiii^d. Et quatuor quarrerar' ad rupem fundamenti equand' et secand' in loco quo predicta molendina posita et edificata fuerunt ad custam iii^s. iiiii^d.

Item in construcone et reparacone quinque stallarum rethia piscar' retinenda et ad easdem stallas assidendas una cum cariag' petrarum per bacellas ad stallas retinendas obmundacoues aquarum ad custam xxxiii^s. iiiii^d.

¹ An order from Edward I., 17 Ed. I., directing his justiciary, Reginald de Grey, to inquire into the losses sustained by Richard, his engineer, to whom he had granted [12 Ed. I.] the lease of the mills and fishery at Chester for twelve years, at a rent of £200. The terms of the lease were that if it should happen that the Mills were destroyed through war or fire, or the bridge or causeway (*Calcetum*) carried away by a flood, Richard should not be hable for repairs.

They found that while Richard was in the king's service at Carnarvon, the fish-crates under the bridge could not be fixed, and the fishing pools and the granaries, with the walls of the mills, were destroyed and carried away at a loss of £40.

For three years successively, while Richard was absent in Wales in the king's service, through excessive floods the pools and crates, as well as the causeway, were carried off (*dissipata et asportata fuerunt*); loss on the fishery £60.

When Richard was in the king's service at Trosselan (Rhuddlan), the causeway was destroyed and carried away by the floods, so that the mills could not grind for nearly three months. Owing to this, and frequent floods of the kind during the whole time, the mills remained idle. Loss £54—*Hart. MSS.*, 2083, 513.

² W. Recog. Rolls.

£190.¹ The same lessees were in possession 48 Edward III. [1374].

In 1393, John, son of Richard de Astor, kinsman and heir of this Robert de Bredon, enters into a recognisance of £13 11s. 8d., part of the arrears for the rent of the mills.

In 1391, the commonalty petition King Richard that a lease may be made of the Dee Mills to them, rather than to one John Walssh, who proposes to lease them in order that he may express his ill-will to the corporation by excessive tolls and extortions.

This petition was apparently not granted, because under 6 Henry IV. is an entry referring to "John Walsh the elder and "Margaret his wife, late farmers and receyvors of the profits of "the mylnes of Dee."

Meanwhile the inquiry into extortion had been made, and June 3, 1400, Henry de Strangeways, clerk and keeper of the Dee Mills, is commanded by letter from Henry, Prince of Wales, to take "multure" as of old accustomed, the issues of the said mills not being so large as they were: the millers also to revert to their old fees, and not to receive any other wage, notwithstanding the order of Richard II. to the contrary.²

By 1507 [23 Hen. VII.] the rent had fallen to £50, at which sum they are leased to Hugh Hurtleton, and after his death to his widow Elizabeth. The three Fulling Mills at the same time are leased for £11, and the fishery of the King's Pool for £24.³

This decrease in income was due to the use of other mills, of which the records contain frequent complaints. The Abbot of St. Werburgh had a rival mill, and was not unwilling to fill the coffers of the monastery at the expense of the royal earl. Henry de Sutton, abbot, is indicted 3 Henry IV.⁴ for compelling all his

¹ 29 Sep., 29 Ed. III. Dee Milnes lett by Edward, Black Prince, to Robert of Bredon, person of the Church of Seynt Peter of Chester, Symond of Astrell Clarke, John Newtrack Clerke, and Nich. Eccleston carpynter, with all his boates, mylnes of Dee on both parts of Dee, as well walker mylnes as corne mylnes and malt with the ffysbyng on both partes of the brygge (saving to the Lord Ed⁴. his ffyshyng under the forsaid brygge when hit shalbe made), with sute due to the same mylnes and all amerciements and forfeitures except horses and carts corn and malt caryng within the some of hundreth shylyngs, for terme of three years, for annual rent of £190; to have tymber sufficient from the king's forests for wheles, cogges, ringes, sheldes, ladells and other necessities of tymber. Lord Edward to make anewe all the wheles of the mylnes as required, and find sufficient stones and sustain in great tymber, sykes, walls, bryggs, and coveryng.

The Justice of Chester to hold his court in the mills: tenants not to be charged for losses and damage by rage of water.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2081, 179.

² W.R.R.

³ 14 Hen. VII. The corn and fulling mills, with fishery, were leased to Nicholas Hurtleton.—*Chamb. and Min.'s Accounts*, 66, 3.

⁴ In 1553 (7 Ed. VI.) the Dee Mills (then of the value of £112 15s. 2d.) were granted to Sir Richard Cotton in exchange for the Abbey of Borne.—*H. MSS.*, 2081, 179.

⁴ Indict. Rolls, m 4.

tenants, and also all other persons residing outside the Northgate, to grind their corn at the Bache Mill, and at the windmill belonging to the abbey.¹

The Earl, by his chamberlain or other officers, kept a court of the mills. At this presentments were made, not only of extortion by the millers, but of the stealing of corn, and the riotous and violent conduct of the frequenters of the mills.

Thus, 3 Henry IV. (m. 10), the "mulners," David le Stryker, John de Buxton, Richard le Stryker, John le Iryssh, John le Mulner jun., took by extortion 1^{d.} from Robert Coton, 2^{d.} from William le Warde, and so from all who wished to grind there, before they would grind their corn. This money (amounting to 20s.) they put in a box, and at the end of each week distributed amongst themselves. The same men are charged with poaching in the fishery, and also with taking a certain amount (3 *tribulatas plenas farine*) from each sack of corn brought there to be ground.

It is no matter of surprise that such dishonesty or the suspicion of it should produce hot words and violent outbreak. So Ieuan Gogh, with the fiery impetuosity of his nation, assaults John de Burton, miller, with a dagger, and his countryman Gruff' ap David ap Ior attacks John Spede the baker. Richard Wronowsone, of Hawarden (7 Hen. IV.) attacked Henry the Mulward at the Dee Mills with a drawn sword, but was hindered by the millers. Even women, in these warlike times, did not flinch from drawing the sword, for Margaret Sully, al. Margaret Bryd, attacks John de Irlond, miller, and, with several associates, assaults several of the millers, Richard, and Adam, and Howell.

The fulling mills were the scene of as great or even worse disorder.² Thomas Kydde struck John Brerewood with a staff,

¹ "20 and 29 Hen. VII. Richard Anyon and others are bound not to convey to any forren mylne to be grounden other than to the Kynge's mylnes of Dee."

The same entry occurs in 14 Aug., 24 Hen. VIII.

"1570. Wm. Goodman, fermor of Dee Milnes, sues Mary Bavand widow for grinding the corne of Inhabitants of Chester at her Water Milne, 'Bache Milne,' and at her Wind Milne [the same which belonged to the Abbot, and was leased to her by Dean and Chapter] without the Northgate of Chester."

She continued after the order 9 Eliz. the same wrongful practice, openly and daily, and therefore took away great part of his living.

1582. Alderman John Hankie is prosecuted by Alderman Edmund Gammull for setting up a horse milne in Chester.

² Ind. Roll, 4 Hen. IV., (m. 14.)

1394. Wm. de Wybunbury, of Chester, Rd. White, Henry de Felday, Rd. de Hale, Wm. de Stretton, Wm. Porter, farmers of the fulling mills, petition the king that he would command the stringent observance of the covenants entered into by them touching the said mills, the servants of the said farmers being in the habit of frequenting the mills, armed, to the danger of their fellow workmen, of not working at their proper courses, and of neglecting the mills.

drawing blood. John returned the compliment with a pole axe, felling Thomas to the ground with a blow on the neck. Hugh le Walker on the same day struck David le Walker with an axe, and David the following day returned the blow in the same way.

At a court of Dee Mills, held 2 Henry V., John Kynsall, walker, and Thomas Walker, servants of Ellen le Walker, are presented as being common wranglers and disturbers of the peace, coming armed continually upon the fulling mills, and disturbing and alarming the millers and their servants.

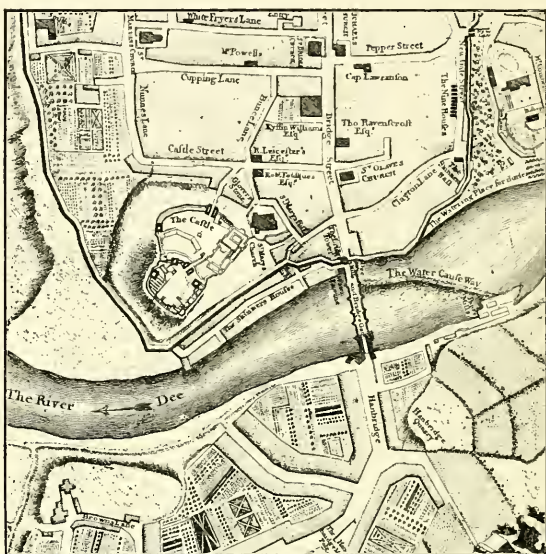
A new fulling mill was added after 1391, for in that year a lease is granted to William le Porter, of Chester, fuller, Richard le Whyte, William de Stretton, and Hugh le Walker, of a fulling mill about to be built on the Dee, for five years after the finishing of the same mill. Dee Bridge, with the Skinners and Glovers at work and the continuous traffic to these corn and fulling mills, must have been a busy place.

Amongst the interesting customs of old time at Chester was the presentation made yearly at the Court of Dee Mills by the mayor and sheriffs to the justiciary, his deputy and the chamberlain, of a pair of boots *de saletto*. Each of their clerks, the prince's attorney, and all the attendants at the Court, also received a pair of boots according to their station. This was observed until the mayoralty of Gilbert Trussell [1391-2], who discontinued it.

Connected with the castle, and sharing in its privilege of exemption from civic authority, is the hamlet or township of Gloverstone. In a map of Chester, dated 1798, by Samuel Weston, and published by James Hunter, the ward of the castle is marked out as containing all the area between Nuns' Gardens and Nuns' Lane on the north-west, St. Mary's Church and churchyard and St. Mary's Hill on the east; the walls of the city forming the boundary on the west. Gloverstone would appear to have included the irregularly-shaped piece of ground in front of the Castle Ditch, comprising Holme Street (a continuation of Castle Street, at right angles to it, and lying between Bunce Lane and Nuns' Lane) and the upper part of St. Mary's Hill. A considerable tract of ground would, of necessity, for military purposes, be preserved as a free space in front of the castle, clear of all buildings, so that the enemy might not be enabled to approach the walls under cover. In time, however, the Constable of the castle very possibly would grant permission for the erection of working sheds and booths upon this space, as was done in the case of the Skinners' houses under the castle walls near the river.

Within this district traders gradually settled down who were

unable or unwilling to obtain admission into the city franchise; and, perhaps, paid some small fee annually to the castle authorities



Plan of Gloverstone from L'auaur' Map

for protection. The name of Gloverstone would indicate that the glovers and skinners of Chester were in considerable strength there. The spot would be convenient because of its proximity to the river; and, as they were not allowed to follow their unwholesome occupation within the city walls, no place outside could be at once safer or more suitable.

The subjoined abstract of evidence given in an Exchequer Bill Proceeding, Dec. 1, 1625, furnishes an interesting record of the

1625, Dec. 1. **Exchequer Bill Proceeding.** In answer to the interrogatories addressed to the witnesses on behalf of Sir Gilbert Ireland, K^t, James Boyd and David Hannell, complainants, against Richard Leicester and John Leech gent. defendants: it was stated by John Edwards of Cheavely, gent., aged 62 years—

1. That several messuages, gardens, and backsides, near the gate of the Castle of Chester,¹ had been commonly known by the name of the

¹ On both sides of the street or lane leading betwixt the castle & a greate stone, usually called Glovers' Stone.—*W. Crosse.*

privileges and customs of this exceptional district. We learn that the stone from which part of the name is derived was of grey or bluish marble, and stood at the head of Castle Street, serving as a boundary stone marking off the city precincts. At this stone the city sheriffs received from the sheriffs of the county, or the constable of the Castle, prisoners who were condemned to death or to be whipped, to be taken to the place of punishment. In like manner when offenders were apprehended within the city for offences committed in the county, they were taken to the stone and there handed over to the county authorities. At this point the mayor, when he had occasion to come to the Castle, would direct

Glovers stoune, some of which dwelling houses are now in the houldings of Wm. Halton, Inhoulder, Rob. Cartwright, Glover, and Rd. Spenlocke.¹

2. That for the space of forty years² and upwards they were reputed to be within the County of Chester, and Hundred of Broxton, and not any part of the City of Chester.

3. That a *grey* stone of marble standing in the street near unto the messuage now in the occupation of Rob^t. Cartwright was one meere and boundary of the said messuages and lands from the liberties and precincts of the City of Chester.³

4. That the Shirehall or Common Hall for Pleas for the County of Chester,⁴ wherein the Assizes and Sessions for the County were usually kepte, did within the tyme of his remembrance stand near the castle ditch on the left hand of the way leading from the Castle lane to the Castle, and upon part of the lands now the reputed inheritance of the Complainants.

This Hall was removed forty or fifty years ago.

5. Some of the tenants of the said dwellinghouses have used in their owne houses to sell stockings and gloves and bread and other commodities according to their several trades. That Countrie people have often tymes used to sell bread at Glovers Stone because they could not bee suffered to sell the same within the liberties of the said citie.

6. That the servants or deputy of the sheriffs of the County of Chester, or the Constable of the Castle, have from time to time used to deliver the prisoners that were condemned to suffer death unto the sheriffs of the city at the said stone or meere, and that there the sheriffs of the city have receyved them and thence brought them to execution.

He hath often tymes seene the sheriffes of the said city of Chester departe with their white staves soe soone as they have past Glovers' Stoune, when they had occasion to goe forth of the city into the castle.

II. Wm. Crosse, of Castle Lane, glover, 89 years, gave evidence as above, and added, "I have seen the bakers trouble the country people that

¹ On both sides of the streete or way leadinge from a stoune called Glovers' Stoune to the castle.—*R. Grosvenor*.

² Seventy years, *W. Crosse*.

³ A blew marble stone, and standing neare to the ende of the house in his possession. John Davyes (dec^d.) who dwelt in the house now occupied by Wm. Halton was sworn before the County Justices as Constable of Gloverstone.—*R. Cartwright*.

⁴ Near to messuage held by Thomas Bell; now used as a garden to said house.—*W. Crosse*.

the sword and mace, usually carried before him, to be put down, and the sheriffs laid aside their white wands of office.

The same document gives instances of the strained relations between the non-freemen, who traded in bread and other goods, and the citizens, leading often to active reprisals, the inhabitants of Gloverstone being apprehended on coming into the city and committed to the Northgate Prison. It is rather curious that John Wesley also, when his preaching met with violent opposition within the city, found Gloverstone a convenient refuge, and continued his ministrations there.

Gloverstone is expressly excepted in Henry VII's Charter

offer to sell bread there; cutlers and naylor, and other tradesmen not freemen, have used to sell their wares within the precincts of the Glovers' Stone. So the same with cloth and stockings—sadlers, butchers, pedlers, taylor. For seventy years the sheriffes of the City have stayed on that side of the meere stone which is towards the Castle lane, and that there att the said meere stone the sheriffes have receyved the condemned." But he does not remember any maior or sheriffes putt downe his or their sword or staff of authority at the Glovers' Stone.

III. Robt. Cartwright of Glovers' Stone, near the Castle of Chester, sixty-two years, who has lived thirty years in his present house, gave evidence that the inhabitants of Gloverstone were soe poore that none of them weare at any tyme within his knowledge taxed to paye subsidies either to Citty or Countie. One Thos. Syer and John Stretch, inhabitants of Gloverstone, were taxed, but refused to paye, pretending themselves to be noe inhabitants within the jurisdiction of the said citty. Upon their coming into the city they were by command of the Mayor apprehended and layde in prison in the Northgate, and removed themselves by a writte out of this noble Cort into the Castle, and there they remayned till that this deponent had brought it to the knowledge of John Ireland, late brother of Sir Gilbert Ireland, then owner, and he came to Chæster and caused them to be enlarged out of prison, without paying the subsidye.

Trades were exercised there until of late times, when the bakers and taylor petitioned Sir Gilbert Ireland to have taylor and bakers that were not free of the citie restrayned from the Gloverstone because of the damage that they (bakers and taylor) reseyved thereby. Thomas Aldersey of City of Chester, merchant, being restrayned from keeping shoppe and selling of grocery and small wares within the said citty, he did make a shoppe of parcell of the house now in possession of David Hannell att Gloverstone, and here for a tyme, until he obteyned his freedome to sell within the city, did sell wares and keepe shoppe without any interruption. That for thirty years until of late tymes, the mayor and sheriffs when they have had occasion to goe into the Castle of Chester, have used to leave theire staves of authority in this deponent's dwelling house, and not to carry them any further, because that when they were come soe farre towards the said castle as to this deponent's house, they then, being past the said meere stone called glovers stone, weare out of the liberties and jurisdiction of the Citty of Chester, and at the said meere stone the mayor

from civic jurisdiction. Of the thirty houses with one hundred and twenty-two inhabitants, which in 1801 belonged to the hamlet, only one remains, and the township is considered to belong to the county and within the hundred of Broxton. Alterations at the beginning of this century in the Castle precincts and its approaches have completely obliterated the old boundaries of the hamlet, and in 1824 the north-west corner of the churchyard of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill was taken out of it, and conveyed from the county to the authorities of that parish.

There were "Gloverstones" also at the High Cross, on the west side of St. Peter's Church, mentioned as early as 1345 in a deed of conveyance to William de Doncaster.¹ Here probably was the chief mart of the glovers. They formed until early in the

hath likewise used to putte downe his sword and mace that is usually carried before him. Deponent saw Sir Randle Manwaireing and Sir Thomas Smith as maiors doe the same.

IV. Sir Richard Grosvenor, Bart., of Eaton, forty years. That Sir Randle Mainwaireing, Kt., when he was both Maior of the City and Sheriffe for the County of Chester, did meete the judges of assize in his gowne as maior, accompanied by the aldermen of the City, and he ridde with the judges to the said meere called glovers stone, and there departed from them, and did not ride with them any further towards the said Castle of Chester.

Also Sir Thomas Smith, Maior and Sheriff of County, did not ride with the judges of assize through the Citty where he was maior, but only mette them on horsebacke att the said meere called glovers stone, and from thence ridde with them into the castle as sheriffe of the said county.

Deposes to the efforts of bakers to restrain selling bread at Gloverstone, and their method of annoyance.

V. Richard Brereton, Esq., seventy years. Besides criminals condemned to death, other prisoners within the castle that have been at the assizes or quarter sessions appointed to be whipped, the deputie constable of the castle hath used to deliver them att glovers stoune to such officer of the Cittie of Chester, as hath beene appointed by the cittie to receive them, and from thence to whip them through the Citie. When offenders have been apprehended within the city for offence committed within the county, the mayor hath used to send such offenders to the said place, glovers stone, and there the county authorities received them.

Hath seen often times the sword bearer to the Mayor putt downe the sworde ymedietely after he was passed the meere called the glovers stone when the maior wente to the castle to see the judges, or upon other occasions.

Other witnesses were Gwen Collier, widow, of Chester, sixty years and upwards; Richard Fletcher, Chester, glover, eighty years, who confirmed the above evidence and added that the sheriffs would stand there with their company to receive the prisoners, &c.; John Minshall, of Much Woolton, Lancashire, yeoman, thirty-seven years.

¹ Taylor, C. A. J., i.

eighteenth century, with the skimmers and tanners, the staple trade of Chester, employing a large number of men, and importing many thousands of skins from Ireland, Wales, and other parts.¹

T. 29. Jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum q'd ubi cives civitatis Cestrie tempore Ranulphi npper comitis Cestrie tenebantur molare blada sua ad molendinum de Com' de Dee per xvi gran' cujuscunque bladi, nunc Thomas de Mostoun clericus & custos dictorum molendinorum, Willelmus Brok striker, Johannes de Burton, & Dayn le milwarde, molendinarii ibidem, capiunt & de longo tempore ceperunt per extorciones in grave dampnum totius populi ad festum Natalis Domini de quolibet homine in dicta civitate [manente] unam tribulatam dimidiam tribulatam & quartam partem unius tribulate farine que dicitur schole, de quibus quidem tribulatis tres faciunt unum hop' non cumulatam & tantum farine ultra hoc quantum supra manum suam extensam capere poterunt. Et insuper capiunt de quolibet paupere unum bz. vel dimid' bz. bladi ad dicta molendina molare tantum quantum cupiunt de quolibet gerente ibidem quatuor bz. vel sex bladi, & si contingat quod aliquis homo non molat bladum ante festum predictum ad dicta molendina, & postea post dictum festum venit ad predicta molendina cum blado suo ibidem molare, predictus custos & molendinarius capiunt de quolibet homine eodem modo & forma sicut capiebant ante dictum festum viz. predictam tribulatam que dicitur schole in magnam extorcione communis populi que valet per annum per estimacionem x marcas & magis & illam extorcione ipsi & predecessores sui continuaverunt per xl annos & amplius. Dicunt eciam q'd ubi brasiatores in dicta civitate solebant molare bras' sua ad molendina predicta ad xvi granum ut suppra viz. de sex saccis vel octo saccis unum tolhop' solvere predictis molendinariis quolibet sacco continente 2 cranoc' quod quidem tolhop' habere consueverunt de predictis brasiatoribus ad usum suum proprium pro sustentatione sua, ita q'd ipsi adjuvant dictos brasiatores in predictis molendinis portare brasia sua ad le hoper brasiand' & levare saccos suos super equos, modo non adjuvant ut tenentur. Jam predicti custos & molendarii capiunt & de longo tempore ceperunt de quolibet sex granis unum tolhop' in extorcione & ultra illud tolhop' capiunt dimidium tolhop' & quartam partem unius tolhop' ubi nichil capere deberent ad grave dampnum & extortionem communis populi ad valenciam per annum xxli & magis & illam extortionem ipsi & predecessores continuerunt per xl annos vel supra. Dicunt eciam q'd in tempore dicti Ranulphi quondam Comitis Cestrie concessum & ordinatum fuit q'd quilibet homo ad predicta molendina veniens cum bladis suis ibidem molare q'd tantummodo solvat tolnetum suum absque magis. Jam predicti custos & molendinarii capiunt ultra dictum tolnetum de diversis hominibus absque numero unum denarium, duos, tres, aliquando quatuor, & aliquando quinque vel sex ad commodum suum proprium quos quidem denarios dividunt inter eos tam de hominibus in civitate existent' quam in patria commorantibus. Sin autem blada sua in predictis molendinis molare non possunt per predict' custodem & molendinarios vel aliter pred' blada sua morari debent infra molendina predicta per longum tempus quousque satisfecerint predictis custodi & molendinariis ut suprascriptum est ad grave

¹ It is noted that a wooden hand was put up, suspended by a rod from the battlements on the south side of St. Peter's Church, as a sign of peace, at the commencement of the half-yearly fairs in July and October.

dampnum & extortionem communis populi dicti domini comitis que valet per annum Cs & magis & sic illam extortionem continerunt per xl annos & amplius. Dicunt etiam q'd in predictis molendinis esse deberent sex magistri & unus superior magister cum suis garcionibus & jam non sunt nisi tres cum suis garcionibus; ipsi capiunt tres partes juxta ratam porcionis sue et predictus custos capit quatuor partes ad opus suum proprium & commodum vite & nomine dictorum quatuor magistrorum pro rata portione eorundem in prejudicium & deceptionem domini regis & comitis & in extortionem communis populi, que valet per annum Cs. & magis & sic idem Thomas continuavit per viii annos & magis.

Dicunt etiam q'd offic' in predictis molendinis qui nunc sunt & omnes predecessores sui qui ante hoc tempus ibidem fuerunt capere solebant tempore dicti domini comitis Cestrie de quolibet pistore civitatis Cestrie tantomodo & de nullo alio cive civitatis ejusdem viz. de quolibet xiii bus. bladi unam tribulatam farine que continere debeat in longitudine unam sponnam & in latitudine unam aliam sponnam absque magis. Et nunc capiunt & de longo tempore ceperunt de quolibet sex bz. bladi extortiose ultra xvi granum unam mensuram & dimidiam & quartam partem unius mesure que quidem mensura est largior & amplior quam mensura illa que ordinata fuit tempore dicti domini Ranulphi Comitis que dicitur schole per magnam quantitatem viz. per unum pollicem & dimidium ex utraque (?) & magis ad grave dampnum & extortionem totius populi domini regis & comitis, que valet per annum iiiiii^{li}. & magis, & sic ipsi & predecessores sui continuerunt per xl annos & amplius.

Dicunt etiam q'd si aliquis brasiator aut ejus serviens ad predicta molendina veniens cum bras' suo ibidem moland' licet fuerit magis aut minus & forte aliqua pars dicti bras' cadat super terram juxta molendinam ubi molatur, licet fuerit infra ruinam vel extra, predictus brasiator nec serviens ejus non erit ita audax ad capiendum dictum brasium suum ad opus suum quamvis molatum fuerit metu dictorum molendinariorum in magnam extortionem communis populi, quod quidem bras' predict' custos & molendinarii ad usum suum proprium capiunt & non ad commodum domini, que valet per annum per estimationem x^{li}. & sic ipsi & predecessores sui continuerunt per xl annos & amplius. Dicunt etiam q'd per communem assensum dictorum custodis & molendinar' vendunt quoddam schole q'd capiunt in nomine comitis cum hoc quod capiunt ad commodum & utilitatem suam q'd est contra jus domini, aliquando pro quinque denariis & aliquando pro iiiii denariis & aliquando magis & aliquando minus quos quidem denarios dividunt inter eos in prejudicium & deceptionem domini regis & comitis Cestrie in dampnum & extortionem comitis que valet per annum per estimationem x^{ls}. and sic ipse & predecessores sui continuerunt per xl annos ut supra. Dicunt etiam q'd ibi quinque homines veniebant de partibus Wyrhall per aquam in uno batello cum quadam quantitate bladi ad predicta molendina molare contra festum Purificationis beate Marie anno regni regis Ricardi II. post conquestum x^{mo} ibi venerunt predicti molendinarii' per consensum dicti custodis & faciebant predictos homines jurare super sanctum Dei Evangelium manu tacta quot homines fuerunt parcenarii in predicto blado fuit . . . super sacramentum suum q'd quatuordecim fuerunt parcenarii & super hoc ceperunt de quolibet homine unum denarium antequam molare potuerunt ultra tolnetum suum in extortionem & grave dampnum communis populi ad valorem xiiii denariorum.

Dicunt etiam q'd ubi aliquis homo aut mulier ducat tres bz. vel quatuor bras' frumenti ad dicta molendina molare molendinarii predicti capiunt de quolibet sacco duos manipulos vel tres ad minus ad usum dictorum custodis & molendinarii ubi nichil capere debent de jure in extortionem communis populi & valet per annum xx^s. & magis : & sic continuere per x annos & amplius.

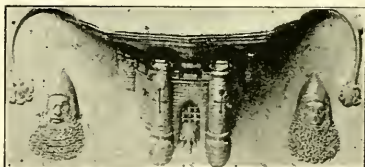
Dicunt etiam q'd ubi gens domini regis et comitis Cestrie emunt bladum ad molendina domini regis quod vocatur tolcorn per quod omnis homo illud emens sit liber absque alio tolneto solvendo, nunc predicti molendinarii constringunt et capiunt tolnetum de predicto blado sic empto in extortionem communis populi ad valenciam x^s. per annum.

Dicunt etiam q'd est quidam pagettus in predictis molendinis qui vocatur holerin qui capit de quolibet sacco unum ferlingum ubi nullum ferlingum capere debet de jure, quos quidem ferlingos predicti custos & molendinarii capiunt ad usum suum proprium in extortionem & grave dampnum communis populi quod valet per annum xl^s. : & sic ipsi & predecessores continuere per xl annos & amplius.

Dicunt etiam q'd si aliquis homo vel mulier aut eorum serviens ad predicta molendina veniens cum brasio suo ibidem molando, molendinarii predictum brasium molare nolunt, quin magna pars dicti brasii erit integra & non bene molata nec juste quousque solvat dictis molendinariis unum denarium vel duos denarios pro multura ejusdem brasii vel aliter oportet ipse idem homo vel mulier alias dictum brasium suum molare in defectu dictorum molendinarii ad grave dampnum & extortionem communis populi ad valenciam per annum x^s. : & sic continuere per x annos.

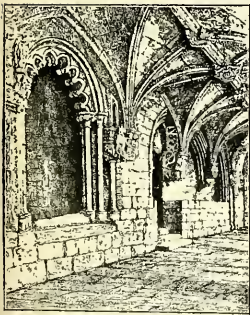
Dicunt etiam q'd ubi predicti custos & molendinarii habere consueverunt unam mensuram que dicitur tolhop' tempore dicti domini Ranulphi comitis de quibus quidem tolhop' xvi faciunt cranoc', nunc predicti custos & molendinarii habent & de longo tempore habuerunt unam aliam mensuram que dicitur tolhop', de quibus vero tolhop' xiii faciunt cranoc', ad grave dampnum & extortionem communis populi que valet per annum lx^s. Et sic continuerunt per x annos.

A very incorrect translation of this is copied into the Pentice Chartulary, p. 77a.



CHAPTER III.

The Abbot of St. Werburgh's, the Friars, and the Secular Clergy



IN the Domesday Survey the only churches in Chester mentioned are St. Werburgh's, St. Mary's Monastery near St. John's, and St. Peter's, which is curiously called "templum," the others having the name "ecclesia." It does not follow, because no reference is made to the other churches, that they were not in existence at the time the survey was made. The name of St. Olave's Church would suggest that its foundation dates from

Danish times. The church was given by Robert Pincerna in Earl Richard's time [1101—1120] to St. Werburgh's, and the grant is confirmed in a charter of 1119. St. Michael's Minster (according to Bradshaw) was burnt down in 1180, and the church (ecclesia) is mentioned in a charter of John, Constable of Chester, to Stanlaw Abbey, 1172. Holy Trinity Church certainly existed prior to 1188. St. Bridget's was vested in the Lords of Aldford and quit-claimed to Randal Blundeville shortly after 1224. St. Martin's, though no mention is made of it before 1250, would, from its name, be founded as early as any of the above churches. St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, or de Castro, was given to the Abbey of St. Werburgh's by Earl Randle Gernons [1128—1155]. The Abbey of St. Werburgh, now the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin, occupies, according to tradition, the site of a Christian church built during the Roman occupation and dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastica*, declares that the statement fixing the date of the foundation in the time of King Lucius is a late fiction, and that there is no better authority for King Wulphere's founding c. 670 A.D. a nunnery for his daughter Werburga. There

is, however, some reason for accepting the statement that, early in Saxon times, a religious house, probably a nunnery, of comparatively humble pretensions was established, to which the remains of St. Werburgh were removed from Hanbury in 875. William of Malmesbury is alone of the historians in asserting that Werburga was one of the nuns, and the nunnery more probably received its name after her death.¹



Subsequently, having suffered like the rest of Chester during the troubled Danish period, it was re-edified by Elfleda "the Lady of the Mercians," for secular canons, and later endowed more amply by King Edgar, whose foundation charter, granting certain lands, is dated 958. That "grim earl," Godiva's husband, Leofric of Mercia (1057), repaired the buildings and bestowed additional privileges. When Domesday was compiled, the canons are stated to hold, besides hides in several hundreds of Cheshire, thirteen houses in Chester itself, free of tax, one for the warden or head of the community, the rest for the canons. These thirteen would be the few clerks (*pauculi clerici*) who, according to William of Malmesbury, were ejected by Hugh Lupus, 1093, when he established in their stead an abbot and convent of the Benedictine rule.

¹ Bradshaw in his *Life of St. Werburgh* has preserved some of the legends connected with the royal saint, the most interesting of which forms the subject of an excellent carving on one of the Misereres in the Cathedral Choir. The legend tells how at Weedon in Northamptonshire wild geese "made a great destruction upon the abbey land, devouring the corns and fruites." St. Werburga, on complaint being made by the tenants, commanded one of the abbey servants to drive the geese and "bring them home to her place there to be pynned and punished for their trespass." This was done to the amazement of the messenger, the wild geese following in all obedience, "their wings trailing, mourning in their manner, abiding one and all her will and judgment." The left hand portion of the Miserere represents the geese with "high voices calling on St. Werburga for grace and pardon of their offence." They are released on promise of good behaviour, but a greedy retainer of the abbey steals one of their number. The rest come flying back to complain. Inquiry is made, and on the right the culprit is portrayed confessing to the abbess his theft. The central group represents her restoring the missing goose to its companions, who are fluttering about overhead. This is done, although it had been roasted and eaten the same night that it was stolen, and, when asked for, only the bare bones could be brought. Yet, by virtue of the holy maiden's benediction, "the bird was restored and flew away full soon."

In Earl Hugh's charter "*Sanctorum Prisca*," the Earl in conjunction with his Countess Ermentrude, grants to the abbey the possessions formerly held by it, with additional lands, and freedom from the control of any other abbey. After reciting other gifts, the Earl and Countess give also the street from the Northgate to the church, a place for one mill at Dee Bridge, and a tithe not only of corn, &c., but also of chickens and calves, pigs and lambs, butter and cheese, &c. They further allow their principal barons to give tracts of land, and the inferior lords various gifts according to their ability, and, after death, a third of their substance. The abbot was to hold his own court, and receive toll and all the profits of the fair at St. Werburgh's Feast for three days, and, that nothing should interfere with the success of the fair, any malefactor was at liberty to come to the fair and be free from arrest as long as the fair lasted, provided he was guilty of no new offence.

The first abbot was Anselm's own chaplain, Richard. He died in 1117, sixteen years after Hugh Lupus, and the vacancy was not filled up by the young Earl, Richard, for four years. This neglect (doubtless for covetous reasons) and his threat to wrest Saughton Grange from the convent, made Earl Richard unpopular with the monks, who declared his death by drowning in the White Ship to be a judgment upon his greed. This grasping spirit did not manifest itself as long as the first abbot (his father's friend, who had been nominated by the saintly Anselm) was alive. Earl Richard confirmed the abbey charter, and added lands at the Northgate, the tithe of the salmon taken at the bridge, site for a mill below the bridge, and the tithe of the earl's mill above it. Richard's successor, Ranulph de Meschines (1120-1128) renewed the permission to thieves and other malefactors to attend the fair, on the condition that for any new offence, the offender should be dealt with by the abbot's officers and the sheriff of the city in St. Werburgh's Court. The importance of the abbey is indicated by a clause in which the earl states that, to set an example to his successors, he came himself in person [*ipse*] with one plea into the abbot's court, hearing and receiving a decision, not from his own judges but from the abbot's judges, as a mark of respect for the abbey.¹

The same dutiful respect was paid by Randle Gernons, fourth earl [1128-1153], who, after confirming the privilege of holding a fair and market before the Abbey Gate, laid the charter with his own hand on the altar of the church. Pope Clement also, in his bull of 1174 confirming the ecclesiastical possessions, and granting

¹ Ut in omnibus haberet beata Wereburga jus suæ dignitatis imperpetuum."

various privileges, gives permission for celebrating divine service during an interdict.¹

In 1184, on the death of Robert, fifth abbot, King Henry II. seized St. Werburgh's (as well as many other abbeys) into his own hands, and committed the custody of it to Master Thomas of Heusseburne.²

No appointment of abbot was made until 1185, when Robert de Hastings was placed there as abbot by Henry and Archbishop Baldwin, and he received the benediction at Canterbury from the Archbishop. Robert entertained Baldwin at Chester on his progress through his province as legate in 1186, from St. John Baptist's Day (Wednesday, July 1) until Saturday afternoon. The Archbishop paid a second visit to Chester, and spent Easter at St. Werburgh's, in April, 1189, on his return from Wales after preaching the Crusade.

Earl Randle Blundeville was not on friendly terms with Abbot Robert, and, after a long controversy, succeeded in procuring his deposition and the election of Geoffrey in 1194. Robert received a pension of twenty marks until his death.

Geoffrey [1194-1208] found the greater part of the church in ruins, the rebuilding having proceeded no further than the choir owing to want of money. The convent was much impoverished by inundations of the sea in Ince and Wirral, and the no less disastrous incursions of the Welsh, who deprived the monks of two manors and a valuable rectory.

In the time of his successor, Hugh Grylle [1208-1226], the abbey recovered some of its former prosperity. Many new grants were made, the buildings repaired, and extensions carried out in the direction of the Northgate. Though he was elected abbot in 1208, he was not installed until 1214, in consequence, probably, of the interdict, which did not cease until June 29, 1214.

William Marmion, the ninth abbot, held office from 1226 to 1228. By this time the master cook of the abbey had become possessed of a valuable estate (the greater part of the township of Lea-by-Backford) and valuable perquisites, which are detailed in

¹ Cum generale interdictum fuerit, liceat vobis in ecclesia vestra, exclusis excommunicatis et interdictis, non pulsatis campanis, suppressa voce, divina celebrare officia.

² Thomas de Husseburn, almost always mentioned with the addition of "Magister," (which in the reign of Henry II. began to be adopted by the clergy, and, as some say, by the professors of the civil and canon law, who were generally of that order) was Canon of St. Paul's. Besides St. Werburgh's, several of the bishopricks and abbeys vacant during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. were placed in his custody, sometimes with other persons and sometimes alone. He frequently acted as a Justiciar and Justice Itinerant.--*Foss' Judges, ii.*, 85.

a deed of covenant recorded in the Chartulary.¹ Amongst the perquisites are the tails of salmon and barse, the heads and tails of milvell, conger and rays, and two pieces (*frusta*) of each chine of beef and pork slaughtered in the abbey, two gallons of beer a day, and all the dripping, &c. There is no doubt that the hospitality of the abbey was most splendid and constant, and the number of dependents very large, so that the perquisites were especially valuable. The expenses of maintenance increased still more in later years, during the abbacy of Walter Pynchbeke [1228-1240], who found it necessary to appropriate the tithes of the Rectory of Church Shotwicke to the support of the kitchen. His successor, Roger Frend [1240-1249], further appropriated the Chapel of Wervin to the kitchen, and increased the number of monks to forty. This increase also occasioned the rebuilding of the Chapter house on a larger scale.

Thomas Capenhurst [1249-1265], formerly prior of the family of the mesne-lords of Capenhurst, was unfortunate enough to hold office during a troublous period, and was obliged to contend against powerful nobles for the abbey's possessions. The abbey was specially unfortunate in this, for Domesday records that some of the original property had been taken away unjustly soon after the arrival of the Normans.²

First, Roger de Montalt, Justice of Chester, tried to take away the manors of Lawton and Goosetrey, and the churches of Bruera, Neston, and Coddington, which had been given by his ancestors to the abbey. A portion of these was occupied by an armed force, and the matter was only compromised by the abbey surrendering the manors of Bretton and Lea, and other properties. The Chronicle of S. Werburgh records the judgment which overtook the oppressor of the church—"His eldest son died within fifteen days. Many other notable misfortunes befell the said Roger not long afterwards. Roger himself died in poverty within two years, the common people being ignorant of the place of his burial." Undeterred by this example, another Cheshire noble, Roger de Venables, attempted to spoil the abbey, bringing an action concerning the advowson of the Church of Astbury. "And when the said Roger had obtained this advowson by a wrongful verdict in the county court of Chester, the lord abbot proved that

¹ Harl. MSS., 1965.

² Fol. 264. "Ipse Comes tenet Stanei. De hac terra quinta acra fuit et esse debet in ecclesia S. Wareburg, teste comitatu. Canonici calumpniantur quia injuste perdunt."—So of Burwardeslei. De hac terra i hida fuit ablata ab ecclesia S. Warburge. Hanc vendiderunt præpositi comitum, Edwini et Morcar cuidam Ravechil.

"this had been gained unfairly, and recovered the aforesaid advowson. *But the said Roger died miserably within the same year*" [1259.]¹

Four years later, S. John Baptist's Day (June 24, 1263), the abbey was seized by William la Zouche, the Justiciary, with an armed band. Shortly afterwards, he heaped so many insults upon the ecclesiastical authorities in Chester,² that to the eternal disgrace of the said Justiciary and his partisans, the whole Church [*i.e.* clergy] of Chester, regular as well as secular, placed itself voluntarily under an interdict for four days. The same De la Zouch, the next year, March 24, at the suggestion of the sheriff, Robert Mercer, pulled down several houses in Bog Lane belonging to the abbey, and destroyed their gardens. This was to carry out a scheme of defending Chester from the attack of the Welsh and other adherents of the insurgent barons. De la Zouche began also to dig a fosse round this part of the city, undertaking that compensation should be paid by the Lord Edward to the abbey for land and rents.³

The troubles continued unabated during the tenure of Abbot Thomas' successor, Simon of Whitchurch (*de Albo Monasterio*.) He had been previously a monk of the abbey, elected on April 28, 1265, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-second after assuming the cowl. Simon de Montfort was at this time in possession of the Earldom of Chester, and his Justiciary, Lucas de Taney, opposed Abbot Simon's admission into office for three weeks, taking the revenues into his own hands, and wasting them by scandalous profligacy. Simon de Montfort learning that Simon of Whitchurch had been canonically elected, "graciously admitted him, and, by his letters patent addressed to the justiciary, ordered "that all the goods of S. Werburgh that had been consumed by "him, with all the revenues of the monastery during the vacancy, "should be restored to the abbot elect." Simon was confirmed in his election on Whit-Monday [May 25], and invested with the temporalities by Simon de Montfort himself at Hereford. The abbot's difficulties were not at an end. When Prince Edward obtained the upper hand, he was "much enraged with Simon the "Abbot, for a long time refusing him access to the monastery and "holding out many threats to him, because he had been promoted "by the licence of Simon de Montfort, without his consent." The abbot elect came to Prince Edward at Beeston Castle, and made his peace so effectually that compensation was made to him of all

¹ Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

² *Officialem decanum Christianitatis Cestrie aliasque ecclesiasticas personas.*

³ Chronicle of St. Werburgh. See ante, p. 17.

losses, even for two casks of wine used by the prince's servants during his deposition. Simon was certainly a man of great tact and ability, and one of the most active heads the monastery ever had. The favour with which Prince Edward regarded Abbot Simon was continued when he came to the throne. He was fortunate enough to have been of service to the king, in furnishing men and carriages for the expedition against Llewelyn in Wales, 1281, in return for which he obtained from the king a special precept that the abbey charters and privileges were not to be infringed.¹

For the same reason he was finally successful also in a suit which he had carried on for a long time against Philip Burnel and his wife Isabella, Baroness of Malpas, who tried to recover the manors of Saughton, Huntington, Cheavely, and Boughton (specially desirable because of their nearness to Chester.) The claim was surrendered at Westminster in 1281 before the king, the monks entering into a bond to pay the sum of £200. This payment was never made, Abbot Simon arranging for two chaplains to pray for the soul of Philip Burnel.

The Burnels afterwards gave a fountain at Christleton, with a cistern, twenty feet square, connected by pipes with a corresponding cistern within the cloisters. The king, by letters patent, gave permission to carry the pipes through the intervening lands, and even to break down the city walls for the purpose. Randle de Merton, a forester of Delamere, whose estate was trespassed upon in consequence of this order, ventured to cut off the pipes, but was directed by royal mandate [13 Edward I.] to make reparation.

It was doubtless in connection with this visit that Edward renewed the title of all venison killed in the king's forest of De la Mare.² The abbot had been presented in 55 Henry III. for unlawful chase on the moors of Ouston and taking two of the earl's deer, but this was not to happen to Abbot Simon again, for Edward in the thirteenth year of his reign granted him leave to hunt anywhere in the Forest de la Mara, and take six harts and six hinds.³

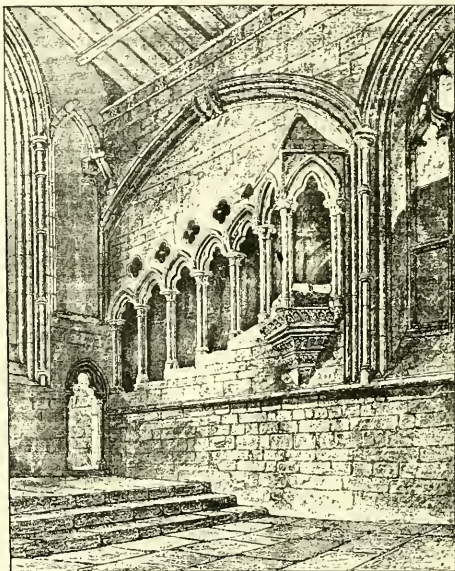
¹ . . . Licet dilectus nobis in Christo Abbas S. Werburgæ Cestriæ de hominibus, equis, et caretis suis ad diversa negotia nostra in presenti expeditione nostra Wallensi facienda nobis liberaliter subvenerit. Nolumus etiam quod liberalitas hujusmodi ad consequentiam vel consuetudinem per nos vel hæredes aut ballivos nostros in posterum trahi possit, vel quod occasione dicta subventionis gratuita prefato Abbati vel successoribus aut hominibus suis perjudicium futuris temporibus aliquatenus generetur. Teste rege apud Cestriam, 26^o die Junii.—*Pat. 10 Ed. I., m. 9.*

² Sicut decimam illam habere debet et solet temporibus retroactis.—*11 Ed. I.*

³ Harl. 2074, 2016.

Richard, Abbot of Chester, released the claim by charter of chasing or hunting—fugando sive venando cervos, bissas, damos, damias, capriolos aut capriolas in forestis dicti domini de la Mare et de Mondrem aut in aliis forestis, parcis, chaceis, aut warennis suis infra Comitatum Cestr' et Flynt—xxviii Ed. III.—*Miscell. Aug., Vol. 65.*

He also issued a "precept to Reginald de Grey to allow "venison from the forests of Delamere and Wirral for the support "of the monks then occupied in the great work of building up the "church." About this time the east arm of the church and the beautiful lady chapel were built. The revenues of the abbey must have been greatly increased, for Simon, in addition to the building operations carried on, appropriated considerable sums to the use of



Pulpit in the Refectory

the infirmary, the refectory, the kitchen, and the distribution of alms. During Simon's rule, the final settlement was made of the long standing dispute with the commonalty about the annual fair.

Earl Randle Gernous in his charter, confirming the grant of the fair to be held and traders' booths to be set up before the Abbey Gate, allows the monks to make these booths and let them for hire to the traders for the benefit of the church. He forbids any trader or permentarius (?) or shoemaker to buy or sell anything anywhere else except there during the fair time. The offender against this regulation was to be apprehended with his merchandise, and

detained until he had found sureties for good conduct in St. Werburgh's Court.

The claim of the abbot under this charter was disputed by the citizens until in 17 Edward I., 1288, a final agreement was drawn up before Reginald de Grey, the Justice, the Prior of Birkhened, and others.¹

The abbot claimed for his convent to hold the fair on St. John Baptist's Day, before the Abbey Gate; not only near the gate in the convent's own booths, but elsewhere in the street near the abbey, and that all articles for sale should be exposed there, and nowhere else during the fair. The mayor and the citizens disputed this claim, contending that they were at liberty to sell goods anywhere else in the city during the fair as they pleased. It was agreed that the citizens should have and hold the fairs, and erect booths and stalls [*selde et ementoria*] yearly at fair-time, in the place extending from the gate of the cemetery to the houses of the abbot under the cemetery wall, and also opposite those booths and elsewhere in the street as they pleased, saving only the part which lay between the Abbey Gate and the Cemetery Gate. These stalls were to be erected so as not to interfere with access to the abbey buildings, and were to be removed immediately after the end of the fair.²

The abbot agreed for the convent that they would not let in the fair which they held in the street near the abbey any of their stalls or booths to any traders of the city as long as the stalls erected by the citizens remained unlet, but they were at liberty to let to foreign traders, and even to the city traders if the booths erected by the citizens were insufficient. The abbot further conceded to the citizens the right of "stallage" in fair time yearly throughout the city, in return for an annual payment to the abbey of 46s. 8d.³

In the award of 1 Henry VIII., 1509, on a much more extended claim, it was determined that "St. Warburge faire, or any other "fayre court, should not thenceforth be kept by the abbot."

After the death of Simon, Feb. 22, 1290,⁴ the king retained the revenues of the abbey for two years. Thomas de Burchelles⁵ was elected fourteenth abbot on Jan. 30, 1291, and in 1292 put forth a claim that the king was not entitled to the revenues during the

¹ Ralph de Vernun, John of St. Peter's, Patrick of Hesilwelle, Richard de Sandbache, Richard de Mascy, Roger Dimock, Sir John de Boydel, K^t.

² Ita quod statim fuitis nundinis illis predicte selde et ementoria sic constructa penitus amoveantur.

³ Chester Plea Roll, 5. Harl. MSS., 2148, 28.

⁴ Chronicle of St. Werburgh. Ormerod, 24 April, 1289.

⁵ Byrch-Hylles, Chronicle of St. Werburgh, de Lythelas.

vacancy.¹ His claim was successful. He preferred in 6 Edward II. [1313] a claim for his convent and Thomas de Ynes and all their tenants to be free of all toll throughout Cheshire. The case was pleaded before the mayor and sheriffs at the Portmote Court, and several times adjourned. The abbot by William de Bromburgh as his attorney brought into court the charters of the Norman Earls and the confirmation by King Edward.

In 1315, Abbot Thomas was obliged to petition the king to extend justice to him touching the tithe which he and his predecessors had been accustomed to receive of the issues of the town of Chester, and which had been discontinued after the delivery of the county to the Earl of Chester. The king grants the petition, and orders Hugh Audley, Justice of Chester, to make the usual payments.² During his abbacy, Richard l'Engineer, who built the Dee Mills, Flint Castle and Rhuddlan, was engaged in 1310 upon St. Werburgh's Abbey.

Of William de Bebyngton (Bynyngton), previously prior, who succeeded Abbot Thomas in 1324, no record is preserved, notwithstanding his long tenure of twenty-five years, except that in 1345 he obtained the "mitre," and, the following year, exemption from the bishop's visitation; both privileges indicating the growing importance of the abbey.

Richard de Seynesbury's abbacy was much more eventful, though by no means so honourable. He succeeded William de Bebyngton in 1349, and the next year commenced that aggressive and turbulent conduct which ultimately brought about his enforced resignation in 1362. Robert de Wotton, one of the monks, and others are indicted 24 Edward III. for having by the direction of their abbot forcibly taken and carried off corn, hay, and other property to the value of 60s. belonging to Nicholas de Manlegh, at Hellesby.³

26 Edward III. [1352] he was presented for obstructing the highway on the Walls opposite the Abbey with a certain barred gate, to the prejudice of the city liberties. The same year, on Tuesday before the Feast of St. Matthew, he was indicted for

¹ Ryley, Plac. Parl.

² By a return to the Barons of the Exchequer, the king had learnt that in the account of Guncelin de Badelesmerc, Justice of Chester, £15 were allowed for the tithe of the town and bridge of Chester for 5 Edward I., and in the account of Leo Fitz-Leo for the sixth, seventh, and eighth years of Edward I., allowance was made of £45, and in the account of Reginald de Grey, from Michaelmas in the same year to Michaelmas following, £7 were allowed for tithes of the issues of the city and fishery of Chester, and in the account of Richard de Masey, Justice, £15 were allowed for the same.

³ Indict. Rolls, 4, 27 Ed. III.—1 Ric. II.

having carried off John, son of John de Wyrhale, staying in Greanesbury, and imprisoned him in the abbey: for this he was fined by the mayor.

It is not to be wondered at that Abbot Richard should be called upon to make answer to a writ, *Quo Warranto*, as to the privileges and possessions of the abbey, 27 Edward III. This is set forth at length in Ormerod, vol. i.

He obtains a letter of protection under the privy seal and permission to go to Rome to appear on behalf of the abbey in several matters of deep concern to the abbey, 24 Aug., 28 Edward III., [1354], and 28 Nov. he is pressed, by order of the king, for the payment of a fine of 400 marks, which most probably he had promised, after the common custom of the times, for a favourable hearing of his case.¹ Another circumstance in his favour was his abandonment to the king of his right to hunt deer in the Delamere Forest.

In 1353 he is certainly in the royal favour, for he obtains pardon, "*pro faciendo frissuras, marleras, et edificia*," within the earl's forests in the county of Chester; he receives a grant of all the lands, &c., in Rudlith, which the earl lately recovered from the abbot's predecessors; and, a still more valuable concession, a Charter of Inspeximus and Confirmation of Edward III.'s Charter, confirming Edward II.'s Inspeximus and Confirmation of Hugh Lupus' original Charter.² The following year, June 3, 1354, he receives license to appropriate the Churches of Astbury and St. Mary-on-the-Hill. Again, in 1357, the Black Prince issues a warrant of pardon for erecting a mill upon "*Inse mersh*" in *una tristera*, between the forests of Mara and Wyrhale, and also for an enclosure made in the forest of Wyrhale by William his predecessor. Mention is also made of the almonry at Ince, for which he was allowed to cut yearly thirty cart loads of turf. His name occurs in 1359 in an Indictment Roll [33 Edward III.] for obstructing the road leading from the town of Bruyrtton to Chester, in a place called *le untidyntentindom de Salghton* (Huntingdon Lane from Saighton.)

In 1362, the Abbot of St. Albans, Provincial President of the Benedictines, the Prior of Coventry, and the Sub-Prior of St. Albans, visited the abbey under a commission issued by the Abbot of Evesham. Abbot Richard, fearful of the scrutiny because of the dilapidations and offences of which he was conscious, sent in his resignation to the Pope.³

¹ Miscell. Aug., Vol. 65.

² W. R. R.

³ Sir Gilbert Scott assigns to this period (1349-1363) the commencement of the reconstruction of the nave and the building of the transept for the parishioners of St. Oswald's.

He was succeeded by Thomas de Newport (1363-1385), whose career was by no means creditable. Pope Urban in 1363 annulled the exemption from episcopal visitation which his predecessor had granted to William de Bebyngton. Abbot Thomas, before his elevation to the headship of the monastery, had induced some fellow monks, William de Mershton, William de Peeke, John Grey, and Henry de Kelshele, clerics, to break into the house of Richard de Seynesbury, and assault him, John, Rector of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, and his brother William.¹

It is recorded, 38 Edward III., that he bribed several of the jury appointed to try a case between William de Chevelegh and himself, "ad adjuvandum ipsum Abbatem in jure suo de predicto placito."²

He was indicted, 46 Edward III., for feloniously slaying John le Gardiner at Sutton, on Sunday after the Feast of St. Simon and

Pentice Chaturary 77. William of Mershton, monk of the monastery of S. Warbuge of Chester, Wm. Peeke monke of the same place, John Grey clerk and Henrie of Kelsall indicted afore the aforesaide Justice in full shire here the Tuysday in the firste weke of Lente in the yeare of the raigne of the same soveraigne lorde the kinge nowe xxiith, of and in so muche that they the Monday next after the feaste of the purification of our blessed ladie in the yeare of the same soveraigne lord the kinge xv. by nighte in the countie of Chester, i.e. in the Abbay of Chester by thassente & counsell of Thomas of Newporte then Abbott of Chester & of John Okeley monke, feloniouslie & againste the peax brake the howse of Richard of Saynesbury then Abbott of the saide Abbay & then on him made assaulte & him bete and one John personne of the church of our blessed lady uppon the hill in Chester & William his brother made assault & theym wounded &c. Cominge by the Constable of the Castell of Chester & uppon the premisses severally enquired say that they therof be nothings giltie & that of good and ill putt themselves uppon the countrey: & uppon that came one Richard Savage of the parte of the maior & citizens of the cittie of Chester & shewed letters of the Erle of Chester to John de la Pole lieutenant justice of Chester direct in these wordes as doeth appeare by the letters followinge: By vertue wherof the indictement aforesaide was quasshed & of no value & the aforesaide William & all abovesaide of thindictemente therof here wente quyte after the tenor of the saide letters. Edward, &c., to our well-beloved John of Poole lieutenant Justice of Chester gretinge: where our frends the maior & citizens of our cite of Chester have besought our counsell that in salvation & mayntenaunce of the fraunchises to theym graunted by our progenytours & by us confirmed we woulde make deliverie to them the bodies of William Mershton monk of the Abbay of Chester, William of Peke monke of the same howse, John of Grey, clerke, & Henrie

¹ Welsh Indict. Roll, 4.

² David de Wever received 20/-, Robert de Eulowe 20/-, Richard le Bruyn and Thomas de Shokelache 13/4 each, Ralph de Eggerton 10/-, John de Golbura 10/-, John de Rosumgreve 6/8, David de Overton 6/8 — *Welsh Indict. Roll*, 4.

St. Jude.¹ He was also indicted for having during twelve years past compelled persons who were not his tenants to appear at his court, and punished them there for certain offences and debts. He was charged further with breaking the assise of bread and beer, and with bloodshed to the great prejudice of the prince. It was alleged, in addition, that he stated to John de Scothale, the Prince's Eschaetor that the Prince was not his master. The abbot pleaded that he was not bound by the law of the Prince to answer to that indictment, and he claimed to be relieved of it.¹

William de Mershton (Merston) was elected abbot in July, 1385. He had been concerned, as above mentioned, in a violent attack in 15 Edward III. [1341] upon Abbot Richard de Seynesbury. He was one of the witnesses with the mayor, John l'Armerer, 10

of Kelsall nowe indicted afore you in the countie of Chester by folks forrens of felonies supposed to be done within the saide cittie: Allsoe with thindictmente soe that our saide liege may proceede to the delyveraunce of the saide personnes indicted acordinge to the lawe & the usage of the saide citie & after the effect and tenor of the Charters to them graunted uppon their fraunchises aforesaide & for that we woll & entende & debated with deliberacion the saide charters by the wise men of lawe of our counsell their advises that thindictement taken by foreners of things done within the saide cittie be voide. We commaunde you that that indictmente ye make adnulled & quashed lettinge the same inditier to go at large without them to imprison or arreste for that cause & that ye faile not. Yeven under our seale at London the fiftenth day of November in the yeare of the raigne of the right honorable lord & father the kinge the xxii. [This is an execrable translation of a portion of the following document.]

Willelmus de Merssheton monachus mon' Sancte Werburge Cestrie, Will'us del Peck monachus ejusdem loci, Joh'es Grey clericus, & Henricus de Kelshale indictati coram prefato Justie' in pleno Com' hic die Martis in prima septimana quadragesime anno regni dicti domini regis nunc xxii^{mo} de eo quod ipsi die lune prox' post festum Pur' beate Marie anno regni ejusdem domini regis xv^{mo} noctanter in Com' Cestrie scilicet in Abbathia Cestrie per assensum & consilium Thome de Newport tunc Abbatis Cestrie & Joh'is de Okeley monachi felonice & contra pacem fregerunt domum Ricci' de Saynesbury tunc Abbatis predictae Abbathie & ibidem in eundem fecerunt & ipsum verberaverunt &c., et in Joh'em personam ecclesie beate Marie super montem Cestrie & Willelmum fratrem ejus insultum fecerunt & ipsos vulneraverunt, &c. Venerunt per Constabularium Castri Cestrie ducti & super premissis singillatim allocuti dicunt quod ipsi in nullo sunt inde culpabiles & hoc de bono & malo ponunt se super patriam, &c. Et super hoc venit quidam Ricardus de Savage ex parte majoris & civium civitatis Cestrie & profert literas domini comitis Johanni de la Pole locumtenentis Justiciarii sui Cestrie directas in hec verba prout patet per literas suas supradictas. Virtute quarum indictamentum predictum quassetur & pro nullo habeatur & predictus Willelmus & omnes superius indictati inde hic eant quieti juxta tenorem literarum predictarum.

¹ Welsh Indict. Roll, 4.

Richard II., 1386, in the great trial of Scrope and Grosvenor about the "Bend Or," and gave evidence at the sitting held on the 4th September in St. John's Church, Chester. He is stated then to have been fifty years "et plus." He is supposed to have been a Lollard, and a follower of Wycliffe. In the Welsh Recognisance Rolls is a petition of the Abbot of Evesham that William de Mersheton, a monk of the *said* house, and an apostate, might be delivered up to him.¹ It would appear that Abbot William must have resigned or been deposed from his office at Chester, and transferred to the Abbey of Evesham. He is stated by Ormerod to have died in the January after his election, 13th January, 1386, whereas he was present as Abbot of St. Werburgh's at the Scrope and Grosvenor trial in September of that year.

Henry de Sutton was elected in 1386. He acted as Justice in 1388, 1392-3, 1394 March 30, and 1396 (May 22). The great riot which took place in the abbey, headed by Sir Baldwyn de Radyngton, on the Friday before St. James' Day, 1393, has been described in an earlier chapter [page 29]. In 1398-9, Feb. 7, he received a general pardon, and licence to fortify his three principal manor-houses, Saughton, Little Sutton, and Ince.

In 1410, Thomas de Eardesley (his successor as abbot) and Richard Skypton broke into his chamber, forced his chests, and took away twenty marks and three gold rings, as well as a chest and five marks belonging to Robert de Legh. The same two monks, the Monday after the feast of St. John Baptist, 9 Henry IV., had stolen a book called "Anycen," worth £20, belonging to the church and in the custody of the abbot; robbed their brother monks, Thomas Colle and William de Hopwas, of money and books, and the abbot himself of property to the value of £100 or more. The abbot they threatened frequently to kill, and often conspired together to compass his death. They are charged also in the indictment with breaking the Benedictine vow by living luxuriously, contrary to the rule of their order, and with being "truly apostates."²

It is remarkable how the riotous and disorderly conduct of the monk in assaulting and robbing the superior of his convent should, in more than one instance, have been no disqualification for promotion to the headship of the abbey, and that, despite such

¹ 1387. Abbot of Evesham petitions the king that Wm. de Merssheton, a monk of the *said* house, who had been taken wandering in apostacy and confined in the Castle of Chester, might be delivered to him, the said abbot, to be dealt with according to his evil doings. The king commands John de Beauchamp, steward of his household, to deliver the said monk to his abbot. 10, 11 Ric. II.—*Welsh Recog. Rolls*.

² Welsh Indict. Roll, 10, m. 31.

disgraceful conduct, the offender should be the immediate successor to the abbot so ill-treated. This is one more evidence of the laxity of discipline in the religious houses of the time.

The Recognisance Rolls, under May 21, 1412, record a general pardon granted to Thomas Yerdsley, chaplain, comonachus of Henry de Sutton, Abbot of St. Werburgh; John Dun, Thomas de Alkemundelowe, John Tayler of Chester, Robert del Mere, Adam le Cryor, and Patrick de Larketon, being "mainprize" for him.

In 1413 Thomas Yerdlesley [Erdeley, Ordeley] succeeds as abbot. Notwithstanding his discreditable antecedents, he acted as one of the justices of assize for the county. His brethren in the monastery were more than once, during his tenure of office, indicted for violence and insult to the citizens.¹

We cannot be surprised that the abbot himself should be charged with contumacy in 1422, in respect of a charge brought against him for reformation of abuses, that he had not maintained a scholar at Oxford or Cambridge for twelve years, *secundum tenorem constitutionum Benedictinarum*. He was excommunicated in 1425 for failing to appear at Convocation before the Archbishop of Canterbury, pleading exemption from jurisdiction, which, however, he could not prove. On making his submission, and swearing [*tactis per eum sacro-sanctis Dei Evangeliiis*] to perform the penance enjoined and to appear whenever duly cited, Abbot Thomas was received back into communion.

John Salghall succeeded, Jan. 23, 1435. His record as a monk was hardly satisfactory, for, 10 Henry IV. [1431], it is found

¹ 2 Henry V. [1414, 1415] Richard Coghull and ——— de Chirton, monks, with Thomas le Chamberleyn, clerk, took Robert Toty and John Heakstun, and imprisoned them within the monastery. Again, Thomas le Chamberleyn, Richard Sertice, clerks of the abbey, and William le Shepherde, baker, came on Saturday night next after the Feast of St. Hillary to the house of Richard Bucstones, armed with swords, poleaxes, and pointed staves, accompanied by several malefactors unknown, and insulted and beat Thomas le Cook, weaver. In an inquisition held before John del Hope and John de Overton, sheriffs, the same persons, with William Horsley and Walter Lylfill, monks, John de Saleghall and John Bonell, clerks, Thomas le Shermon, and Wm. le Shepherde, baker, are charged with conspiring to assault Richard de Troghford, weaver. As soon as information was brought to John del Hope, one of the sheriffs, he went to the abbey to arrest the offenders, and especially to seize Thomas le Shermon within the abbey. The accused obstructed the sheriff in the execution of his duty, and shut him up [*includerunt eum serrura serrata in Abbatia*], keeping him imprisoned there for the space of an hour, in contempt of the lord king, &c. Richard Shipton and Richard de Coghull, monks with Thomas le Chamberleyn, and Richard Sertice, clerics, on Wednesday after the Feast of St. Cedde, seized and imprisoned certain persons within the abbey for four days without any warrant.

In an inquisition taken 3 Henry VI. [1424], before Richard Massie and Adam Weten, sheriffs, John Brewer, monk of the monasterie of St. Warburge, is charged with "making rescue upon the said Richard Mascy, sheriff, in execution serving his office, in withstandinge and letting him."

by a jury that in the seventh year of Henry V. [1420] he took from the monastery certain property from the altar of the church; that he broke into a cabinet there and took away *v^s. iiiid.* in silver, 2 silver jars valued at *xxvii^s. viiiid.* and 12 silver spoons valued at *xxvii^s.* the property of Abbot Thomas Erdeley.¹

He was involved as abbot, like his predecessors in Edward III.'s reign, in more than one dispute about the abbey lands in Wirrall, and the advowson of Kirkeby in Walley.² He obtained in 1450 a renewal of the license to close the gates to the Caleyards. It would appear that he was excommunicated in 1450.

His successor, Richard Oldon [Oldham, Oldom], who held office from 1453—1485, was implicated in some serious offence, for which he was imprisoned in Chester Castle [May 30, 1461], the heavy sum of one thousand marks being taken as recognisance from him and four others that he would not escape out of the ward of the castle. In 1466 a further recognisance of £2,000 is given as surety to the king for his appearance.³

He was indicted in the Portinote Court for removing the city boundaries towards the Northgate, and in 1478, and in 1479, he enters with others into a recognisance in £1,000 to keep the peace towards the Mayor of Chester.³

In 1477, June 24, he was appointed steward, with Hugh Mascy, mayor, and Master William Thomas, to hold the Court of Histrionics (*hac vice*); the court being in the earl's hands by the minority of Laurence, son and heir of Roger de Dutton.²

In 1481 he was appointed Bishop of the Isle of Man, holding this office, with the abbey, until his death in September, 1484.

There appears to have been a bitter feud between the abbey and the Carmelite friars, for several cases are recorded in the mayor's books where the members of the two bodies are bound over to keep the peace to one another.⁴

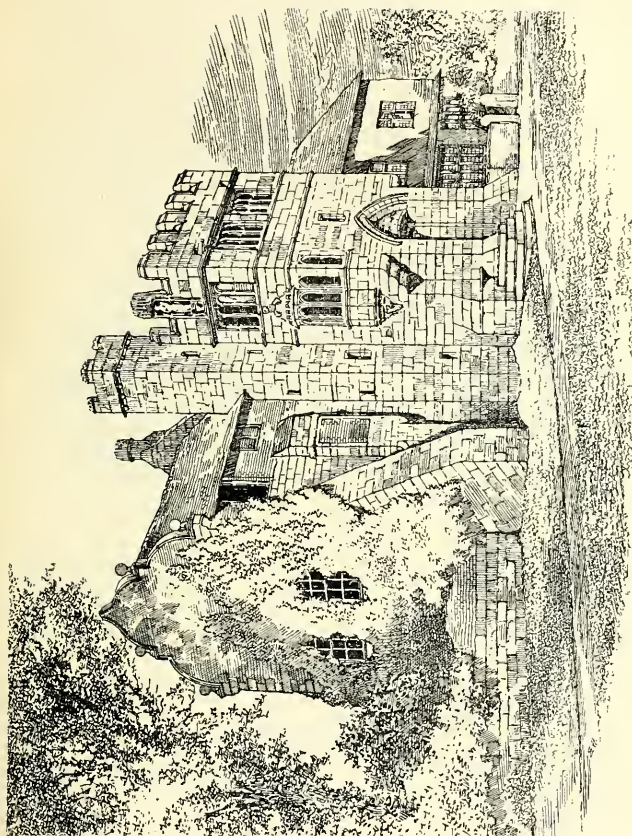
The names of the following monks appear in the indictments for violence: John Lyverpull, Christopher Whalley, Richard

¹ "Item q'd Joh'es Salghall, monachus Monasterii, S. Werburge, Cestrie, a^o. Hen. V. septimo . . . viz. cultellis et aliis diversis armaturis cepit . . . altari monasterii predicti de dicto monasterio et ipsas abduxit contra voluntatem . . . et aliorum ministrorum monasterii in contemptum domini Regis."

² W.R.R.

³ His joint sureties were Wm. Brereton, Kt., Peter Dutton, senior, Hugh Davenport of Headbury, and Hugh Donne; John Donne, Kt., Wm. Venables of Kynderton, Thomas Crewe, and Thomas Croxton.

⁴ 2 Edward IV. Hugh Stokport, of St. Werburgh's, *de pice gerenda Henrico Colley fratri ordinis Carmelitarum*. The prior of the Preaching Friars and Ralph Frodesham are bound over to keep the peace to the abbot.



Saighton Grange before restoration

Pensell (after Rector of St. Mary's), Richard Hamnet, Hugh Stokport.¹

"Venerie" has always been a passion with the monastic order, notwithstanding the canon law against hunting. The Chester records bear out Chaucer's description of the monk who

"Greyhoundes hadde as swifte as fowel in flight,
Of prikyng and of huntyng for the hare
Was all his lust, for no coste would he spare."

The abbot himself could not forbear from taking part in the sport which in past years had been the special privilege of his predecessors. The Indictment Rolls, with pitiless precision, record how, as a monk, he was presented in 1449 for hunting in the Royal Park at "Church Shotewyk" with greyhounds and other dogs (*cum leporariis et aliis canibus*), and killing two harts and four hinds. As abbot he was again presented, 18 Edward IV. [1479], for entering the forest near Duddon and taking two hinds, and also, on another occasion, near Norley.

In 1485 Simon Ripley entered upon office. His seven years of busy activity contrast favourably with the preceding period of thirty troublous years. Like his namesake, Simon of Whitchurch, he set about restoring the waste places in his spiritual patrimony. He finished the work which had been commenced a century before by Richard de Seynesbury, rebuilt the upper part of the nave and the south transept. He also rebuilt the manor house at Saughton. For this purpose he obtained, June 20, 1489, a supply of timber from the forests of Mara and Mondrem, under Edward I's grant.²

It is rather a contrast to previous entries that Simon Ripley appears on the Indictment Rolls,³ Henry VII., as plaintiff charging William Clyve of Chester, "Cachepoll," with entering his free warren in Great Boughton, on Sunday, and taking twenty-four rabbits value 40/- (*cuniculos cum firctis et retibus*).

¹ 9, 10 Edward IV. Hugo Stockport comonachus Ric'i Abbatis St. Werburge, in Thomam Kendall insultum fecit et ipsum cum quodam cultello vocat' custrell percussit super caput suum et dedit ei plagam mortalem de qua moriebatur.

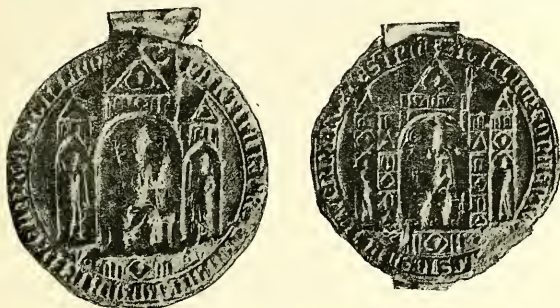
Cristoferus Whalley et Ric'us Hamnet comonachi Ricardi Abbatis mon. S. Werburgh die dominica prox' post festum Purificat' Marie Virginis, domum Will' Ranson fregerunt et intraverunt et in Elizabeth Halsall servientem predicti Will' Ranson insultum fecerunt et ipsam in adulterio carnaliter cognoverunt et ipsam extra servitium ejusdem Will'i ceperunt vi et armis et contra pacem, &c.

² Simon Ripley endeavoured to satisfy the parishioners of St. Oswald's, who claimed the South Transept of the Abbey Church, by granting permission to the mayor (who happened to reside in the parish) and parishioners to "edifie a new rofe and 3½ thraves of tymber. The north side to be battede with stone and guttered with lead, and the mayor and parishioners to pay 40 marcs."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2159, 112.

³ Roll 16, 1—10, Hen. 7.

John Birchenshaw, who was elected in 1493, fell upon evil days. He also busied himself in restoration, building up the west front, and laying the foundations of the west tower in 1508. He improved the manor house of Saughton, obtained licence (6 Henry VIII.) to impark 1000 acres in Huntington, Cheveley, and Saughton. He received also a charter of free warren in all his lands in Cheshire, not being the king's forests.

Meanwhile, the quarrel with the civic authorities about jurisdiction, which had broken out more than once in the time of previous abbots, came to a head in 1511. The power and influence of the mayor and aldermen had been slowly but surely growing, while that of the abbot, once the greatest authority after the earl,



Seal of Abbot Birchenshaw

had been as surely declining. In 1506 the city obtained from the king the great charter granting the citizens valuable privileges. The following year an incident occurred which the citizens considered to be a violation of their charter.¹

¹ 23 Hen. VII. [1507.] Temp Ric. Wyrehall. Mem. . . . one Rauff Banaster, John Stokes Smythe, and Thomas Tailiour Baker the Feste of All Saynts, came in their proper persones afore Richarde Wirhall, maire, Rauff Byrkhened [recorder] of the same, Thomas Barrowe, Richarde Godeman, Richarde Wrichte, Thomas Smythe, and Thomas Thorneton, aldermen of the saide citie, and deposed upon the Holy Evangelists That where an affray was lately made in Northgate Strete without the Northgate of the said citie betwene the said Rauff Banastre and one John Adknav, otherwise called Harrison: thereupon contynently the stiwarde of the Abbey of Chester and the persone of the Church of Asteburye called afore them the saide parties in to the said Abbey, and there compelled theyme, as they afferme, to fynde severall sureties by recognisaunce taken afore the saide stiwarde and persone to kepe the peax aither partie to other upon payne of iche of theyme x^{li}. Whereupon the saide maire, recorder, and aldermen, consideryng the same to be derogacon and prejudice to the liberties of the said citie, if it so were, and to be done of their presumption, havyn non auctorite eny suche recognisaunce or other to take afore theyme, caused the abbott [John Birchenshawe] of the said monasterie, and the said stewarde and persone to be called afore the king's commissioners in the saide citie. And

Upon this, an appeal was made to the king, and on 7 Aug., 1509, an award was made by the arbitrators chosen, which dealt fully and finally with the question of jurisdiction of the abbey as an independent Soke, the holding of courts, arrests, the trial of offences, and the limits of the monastery.¹

Harl. MSS. 2125, 206, records under 1510 that there was a great debate between the abbot and the citizens. This would refer

upon due examinacon of and in the premisses by the saide commissioners hadd, the said abbot, steward and persone utterly denied that ever they toke koolage of eny suche recognisaunce nor never entred it in eny boke, and theruppon for so myche as it was thought by Sir Thomas Englefeld, Knyght, Chieff Justice at Chester, and one of the said commissioners that the said abbot ner his stiwarde had non suche autoritie to take eny suche recognisaunce afore theym, it was then ordrede by the saide commissioners that the said Recorder and Thomas Smythe, alderman, shulde go to the said abbey and there to have sight of the bokes where the said recognisaunce shuld have been entred, and theye comyng the said persone by the commaundement of the said abbott shewede unto theym a paper boke wherin was written, M^d. that Rauff Banaster is agreid and hathe made promyse for hymself and all his ffrends to kepe true love day for aghe and lagh unto John Adknav, otherwise called Harrison, and all his ffrends unto the next courte after Candelmas to be holden at Saynt Thomas' Charche without the Northgate. And in like wise the said John Adknav hathe promysed and is agreid to kepe true love day for hymself and his ffrends to the said Banaster and his ffrends, and so a name laste for the Rowme of ii suerties for either partie, and other suerties ner recognisaunce they se nott ner non was shewed unto theym. And also at that tyme the said persone affermede with great othes that he never knewe eny other recognisaunce but only that, &c.

¹ 7th Aug., 1 Hen. VIII., 1509. Award between Abbat and City of Chester. Arbitrators chosen:—Sir Charles Booth, Sir Wm. Uvedale, knights; George Bromley, Esq., and Anthony Fitzherbert, Sarjant-at-law, and William Rudell, the quene's attorney.

1. St. Warburge fair or any other fayre court sh^d. not thenceforth be kept by abbot.
2. Abbot to keep all other courts within precincts of monasterie, in manner as formerlie they have bene accustomed.
3. The abbot nor any monk sh^d. be arrested in the precincts of monasterie for any offence.
4. Abbot's servants or ministers not to be arrested within precincts, except for treason, murder, felony, or debt.
5. Abbot's servants, &c. sh^d. come to answer any plaint or suit entered before the maior or sheriffes of Chester within xxiiii hours after they shall be sent for by the maior or sheriffes, and in default of their appearance to be attached in the monastery.
6. Upon any affray in the city, committed by any inhabitants in monastery, offender being sent for before maior shall be sent to him. If he come not within twenty-four hours, to be attached in monastery.
7. Abbot to have all forfeitures for murders and felonies done in monastery, and all felons' goods beinge within precincte of monastery at time of felonie done, and moietie of all felons goods in Northgate Street without the Northgate.
8. Maior shall heare and determine all murders and felonies done within precinct of monasterie.
9. Coroners of city sh^d. view bodies slain or persons who die suddenly by misfortune in the precincts of the monasterie, and to enquire thereof out of the precincts of the monastery in the city; take abjuration of persons taking sanctuarie in monasterie, and if they refuse to abjure and to confess felonie, then to be used according to law by the coroners and other officers of city.
10. All the abbot's tenants in Northgate Strete shall beare scott and lott with citie, and to have the libertie that other citizens have.

to a renewal of the dispute owing to the abbot's refusal to accept the award. Both abbot and mayor had mutually agreed to give assurance for the performance of the Award within three years next after the date of the said Award.

"1522. This year the Abbot of Chester putt down."

"1529. Abbot Berchenshall deprived from being abbot, and "shortly was againe restored."

He appears in Mayor's Book, 23 Henry VIII. [1531], as "Joh'es Abbas Monast. S. Werburge, plaintiff" in a suit, and 30 Henry VIII. 1538, he is referred to as "*nuper* Abbas" in two actions for debt against citizens.

Ormerod implies that Thomas Hyphile and Thomas Marshall, who were "successively appointed and acted as abbots in his room," were so appointed immediately after the dispute in 1511.

11. Abbot's officer or constable may attach any for breach of peace without Northgate, and then commit to prison within the great west gate of monastery, to be punished according to law; provided that if the maior doe send to abbott for said prisoner, that then he shall be delivered without delay, to be by the maior ordered according to law. The maior may attach any for breach of peace in Northgate Street, and commit them to common gaole of citie, there to remaine during pleasure of maior.
12. Abbot's tenants in Northgate Strete shall sue all personal actions before maior at their pleasure, and abbot to have half of all fines and amerciements.
13. Abbot's tenants may sue in abbot's court if they please.
14. Abbot shall have his Leete and all things thereto belonging in Northgate Street, except affrays, bloodwipes, breach of peace and assize of bread and ale, which the maior shall punish, and abbot to have half fines.
15. Limits of monastery sh^d begin at great west gate thereof, within the same gate, and soe following within the said wall of the monasterie, northward, nigh unto the town wall of the city, and so following within town wall unto the postern in the same wall going into a place called caleyard or convent garden, accordinge to the walls and ditches of the same: and so to returne againe to the said postern, and from thence following within said towne wall southwards towards the Eastgate Streete against the end of a stone wall that abutteth nigh upon St. Werburge Lane, that lyeth from the abbey toward the Eastgate Street, so from the stile, following within the ould wall that abutteth nigh upon the said town wall, unto the church stile unto the west end of the new church stile, at the west end of the new church, including the newe houses built at the same because they be inhabited by citizens haveinge their entrie and regresse unto and from the said houses towards the streete of the saide citie, and soe following by the saide newe houses northward within the wall of the said monastery, unto the saide greate west gate, where the limitt began. Provided that the limitts, &c., be not hurtfull nor to the damage of the abbot, &c., for the ould precincts as appeareth by the ould walls and divers compositions, nor prejudiciall to the maior, &c.
16. And provided that the maior and citizens shall have libertie to carrie and leade stones or other things necessary within the precincts of monasterie for to make reparacion or new buildings by the walls of the citie, or for defence or safegarde of the same citie.
17. Copy of estreates of all amerciements everie yeare shall be delivered to the parson of St. Peeter's, for use of the abbot, together with half of money collected by said estreates — *Harl. MSS.* 1989, 454.

In 1516 he had a dispute with Geoffrey, Bishop of Lichfield, about the use of the mitre,¹ crosier, and other pontificals, and the giving the blessing. The dispute was referred to Rome, and a commission was issued to Cardinal Wolsey to make award.²

It does not appear whether the vacancy was created by John Birchenshaw's death, but 12 Feb., 1537, a licence was granted to elect an abbot, and Thomas Clarke, formerly a monk in the monastery, was elected 11 March, 29 Henry VIII. [1538], as the last abbot. He is said to have readily complied with the king's wishes, and surrendered the monastery, being rewarded by his appointment as the first Dean of the new Cathedral.

The Mayor's Book for 30 Henry VIII. records several actions for breach of the peace between members of the convent, who appear to have been divided into parties.³

Thus ended the history of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. Werburgh. Richly endowed with fair lands in various parts of Cheshire, especially in the Wirral peninsula, the patronage of valuable rectories, one-fourth part of the City of Chester itself, and a considerable tract of the most desirable property in the immediate neighbourhood, forming an almost unbroken ring round the city, the abbey could not fail to occupy a commanding position in the Palatinate. The influence arising from its extensive property was increased by the lavish hospitality exercised by successive abbots, who devoted the endowments of rectories and lands, the tithes of mills, &c., to the maintenance of kitchen and pantry. Not only did they entertain kings and archbishops on the occasion of their visiting and passing through Chester, but great nobles, brother abbots, besides the inferior clergy and ordinary wayfarers, were constantly guests at St. Werburgh's, and entertained in most generous fashion. The abbey, with its circuit of walls and barred gates, was a place of considerable strength. The abbot, by reason of his sacred office and the large possessions of his convent, was more influential than any but the highest nobles of the land. His manor-houses of Saughton and Ince, to which he would make from time to time stately progress, were strongly fortified. About Saughton and Huntington Abbot Birchenshaw had formed a noble

¹ St. Werburgh's Abbey received the mitre in 1345, and exemption from the bishop's visitation in the following year. Abbot John appears in this dispute to have publicly disowned the authority of the Pope as well as of his bishop.

² Dugdale Mon., ii., p. 390.

³ 26 May. Richard Whitehed, monk of S. Werburgh's, to keep the peace to Nicholas Buckesy, prior of the same monastery, and afterwards one of the prebendaries, and a cross action. Rad. Bostock to keep the peace to Richard Whitehed. And. Taillour, Will. Yorke, Will. Hepe, John ap Poell, Joh Byrome, to keep the peace to Nicholas Buckesy.

park, and he had extensive warrens elsewhere. Many considerable families held lands by tenure of various offices, amongst them his Master-cook, who held large property in Wirral. The valuable rectory of Ince was appropriated to the use of his almoner. No less a person than the Earl of Derby was his Seneschal in 1 Henry VIII., and down to the time of the dissolution, with a salary of 40s. The Lord of Burwardesley held his manor as the Abbot's Champion, and was bound on occasion to stand forward in the Abbot's Court and do battle in defence of the convent rights and claims.¹

At the Chester Fair, which was originally the right of the abbey, not of the city, the abbot had exclusive criminal jurisdiction in all cases except trials for murder; and, where capital conviction followed, contrary to the ordinary custom of the city, the criminal was executed on the earl's gallows by the officials of the abbot.

He held his own courts, at which more than one of the line of mighty Norman earls consented to plead, and the tenants of his manors for centuries rendered suit and service at St. Thomas' Court, on the south side of the Abbey Gate.

The history of the abbots given in the preceding pages, recounts the various vicissitudes which they experienced: now in high favour with Hugh Lupus, and receiving from all quarters noble gifts for the use of the abbey; now under the ban of the great Raudle Blundeville; later resisting, not altogether successfully, the encroachments of the lords of Montalt, Philip Burnel, and Simon de Montfort's justiciary; then the valued and honoured friend of the valiant Edward. We find successive abbots constantly striving after a larger independence, preferring to their own diocesan the Pope, as being a bishop of greater dignity, and at a greater distance, and trusting to be secure under his acknowledged supremacy against encroachment from meddling bishop, or marauding baron, or pilfering king. Doubtless it was to their own arrogance, pride of heart, aggressive spirit, and uncleanly, disorderly lives, that the later abbots owed the violent and determined opposition to the enjoyment of long-standing privileges which they encountered, and which culminated in the temporary deposition of Abbot Birchenshaw. When the final crash came, the citizens of

¹ "Alured de Cumbray held one-third of the manor of Burwardesley for 5s., which was subsequently confirmed to Roger, his son, by a charter of Abbot Robert de Hastings, ita quod prefatus Rogerus veniet per rationalem summonicionem ad fortiammentum curie Abbatis vel si ipse venire non possit, senescallus suus pro eo veniet et si contigerit duellum pervenire de terra illa, duellum fiet in curia Abbatis et emendacio duelli erit Abbatis sive per concordiam sive aliter duellum terminetur ex quo semel armati curiam intraverint."—*Abbey Chartulary*. Ormerod ii., 392.

Chester were not ill disposed to welcome in place of an abbot the bishop whom Henry VIII. gave them by his letters patent, August 4, 1541.

The new see, which was at first included within the province of Canterbury, was the following year transferred to the province of York. Besides the lands granted to the see, the king annexed to it the important archdeaconries of Richmond and Chester, appointed a dean and six prebendaries, of whom Dr. Wall (who made the conduit) was the first, Nicholas Buckesy (the prior) the second, and to the other stalls Thomas Newton, John Huet, Thomas Radford, Roger Smyth.

The bishops within the period included in this work are:— John Bird, formerly Bishop of Bangor, who was deposed in 1554 by Queen Mary because he was married; George Cotes, 1554-5; Cuthbert Scot, 1556-1561, deposed by Elizabeth, who fled to Louvain; William Downeham, 1561-1577; William Chaderton, 1579-1595; ~~Henry~~ Bellot, 1595-1596; Richard Vaughan, 1597-1604.

The annual value of St. Werburgh's in 27 Henry VI. was £686 3s. 3d. A century later it had increased to £889 9s. od., according to Lysons, £1,003 3s. 11d.

The Benedictine Nunnery of St. Mary's was not founded earlier than the time of Randle Gernous [1128-1153]. In the Domesday Survey reference is made to a monastery of St. Mary, near St. John's Church, with two bovates of land which were and are waste. This has been supposed to have been merged in the nunnery to which Randle Gernous gave lands for a church. But there is no conclusive evidence in favour of this. It is more probable that the lands mentioned were appropriated to St. Mary's Chantry in St. John's. The lands granted by Earl Randle were the crofts held by Hugh Fitz-Oliver, and these were given free from every tax, toll, duty and service of all kinds, and the nuns were to have power to hold their own court. Hugh Cyveliok, his son and successor [1153-1181], confirmed his father's gifts.

Edward the Black Prince granted two charters of confirmation, giving the nuns and their tenants the valuable privilege of exemption from serving on juries, assizes, inquisitions, and the watch of the city, and from the various taxes called murage, stallage, passage, pontage. He granted also that they should have all americiaments levied on any of their tenants in the earl's court; any sheriff or officer interfering with their liberties to be fined £10. None of their tenants, however, was to exercise a trade injurious to the trading interests of the city. The convent acquired considerable property in Cheshire and Lancashire, the advowsons

of Llangathen in Carmarthenshire, and Llanbeblig in Carnarvonshire. Amongst other gifts was a rent charge of 3^s. from Gramam de Rotundo Campo (c. 1212),¹ also 90^s. annually from Chester Castle, granted by Edward I., and ten loads of fuel each year from Lloytcoyt Wood. They had besides the peculiar grant [Pat. 31 Henry III.] of one-fourth of the tithe of the victuals provided for the king or earl, as long as he was in the castle.

Unlike their brethren in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Werburgh, the nuns have deserved the encomium of Pericles, for their names very rarely occur in the records. The following two instances are the only exceptions: 26 Edward III., Helewysia, the prioress, is presented for obstructing the high road on the walls opposite the nunnery with a bolted door, to the prejudice of the city liberties; and (2) in the long interval of two hundred years, 1 Edward VI. [1547], Jane Chaunterell, "late None [*monialis* "*professa*]", is presented for badry (immorality) with Robart Bower, "syngyngman, the said Robart Bower beyng a maryed man."

In 1499 [27 Aug., 15 Henry VII.] the prioress was called upon to answer a writ "*Quo Warranto*," from Arthur, Prince of Wales, as to privileges, &c., and claimed—

- (1) To hold her own livery and suit at her own court of all her tenants in the manor of Honbrigge and Chester;
- (2) To have "wayff and stray" in all her lands in Lache and Honbrigge;
- (3) One boat in the Dee for fishing where she pleased above and below the bridge, and with "dreyghte netts";
- (4) Free grinding corn at the mills, and to be first served;
- (5) That her tenants, though not freemen, should not be put upon juries, and be free of murage, &c.;
- (6) That no officer of the earl should have access to do anything or exercise any authority within the precincts of the nunnery;
- (7) To have the fines levied in the earl's courts.²

At the dissolution in 1537, Elizabeth Grosvenor, the last prioress, received a pension of £20, and eleven other nuns a pension varying from 26^s. 8^d. to £4. The site (which was immediately north-west of the Castle Walls) and several of the estates were granted to Urian Brereton, senior, of Eyton, Bedfordshire, and Urian Brereton, junior, of Handford, Cheshire. This grant was a prolific cause of dispute between the Breretons and the city authorities, as with the nuns' lands it was claimed that the special privileges granted to the convent passed to the Breretons. Sir William Brereton on this plea, 30 May, 1627, declined to pay murage and other tolls and rates according to the assessment lately made by the mayor.³

¹ "In villa de Hulm de terra quam Ricardus Grossus venator tenuit."—*Eaton MSS.*

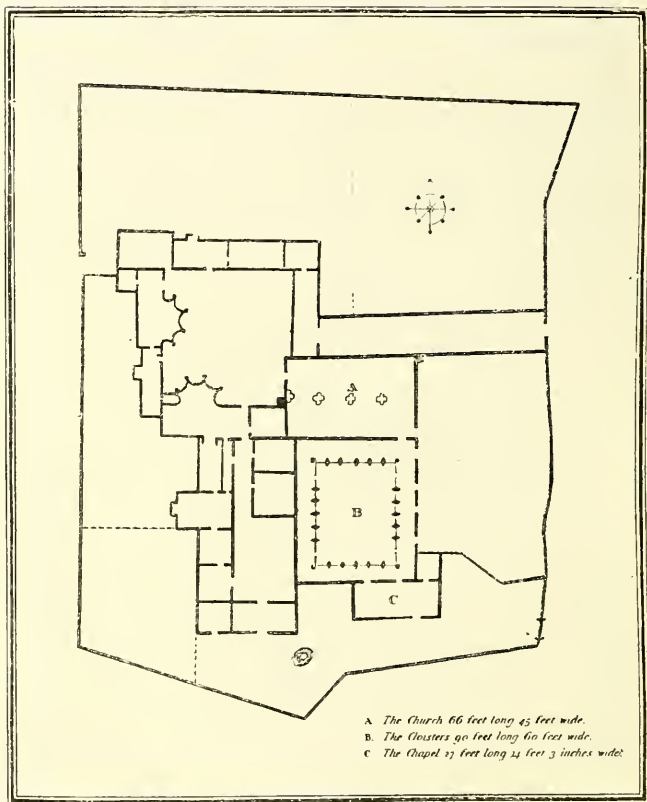
² Harl. MSS., 2115, 59.

³ Harl. MSS., 1994, 428.

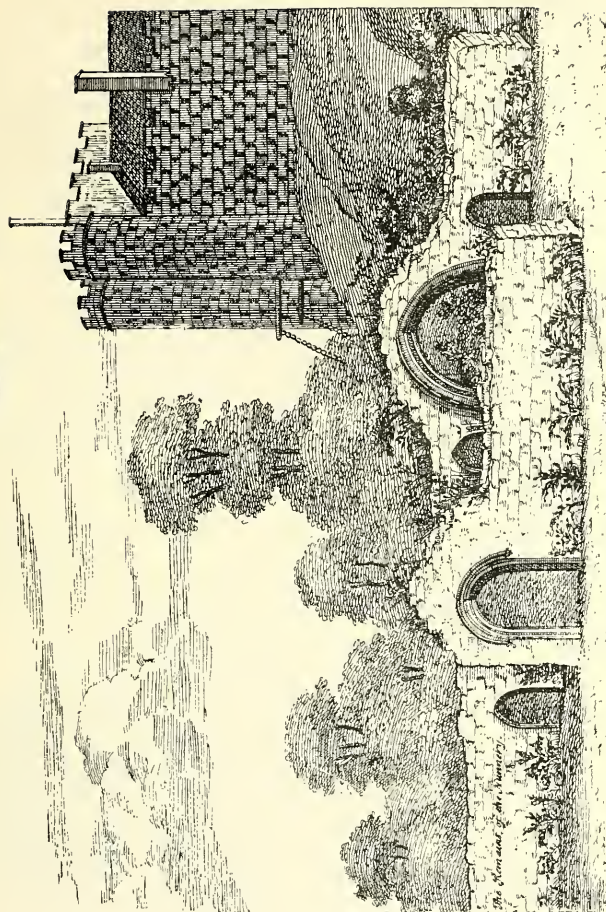
Remains of the Nunnery

The Nunnery continued to be the occasional residence of the Breretons until the siege, when it was destroyed. The pointed arch of a doorway, shown in Buck's engraving, reproduced on the opposite page, is now in the Grosvenor Park.

The church measured—"22 yards by 15 yards; the cloisters "were 30 yards long by 21 broad; the chappell, 9 yards long, "4³ broad."—(*Harleian MSS.*)



PLAN OF THE MONASTERY OF BENEDICTINE NUNS AT CHESTER
 as it remained in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, from a Drawing in the British Museum.



The Remains of St. Mary's Bunnery—From Buck's Engraving

The list of prioresses is as follows :—

1264—Alicia de la Haye	1407, Feb. 13 }	Elizabeth Crew
1300—Lucy, daughter of Randle Gernous ¹	1441 }	Beatrice Green
Alicia de Pierpoint, Edward I.	1443—Ellen Russell	
1306—Agatha de Dutton	1450—Cicely Wotton	
1313—Alicia de Alderlegh, 7 Ed. II.	1453—Johanna Townley	
1316—Emma de Vernon, 11 Ed. II.	1456—Agnes Reading	
{ Maria, 4 Edward III.	1471—Elena	10 Edward IV.
1229 { Johanna, daughter of Sir R. Molineux	1473—Johanna Brett	
	1475—Elizabeth Rixton	
1349—Abbess of Monsoms Head	1506—Margery Pasmyche	
1352—Helewisia, 26 Edward III.	Margery Taylor, 10 Feb.,—	
1359-1386—Agnes de Dutton	Henry VIII.	
1386, July 11 }	Elizabeth Grosvenor, at dis-	
1407, Feb. 1 }	solution 1537	
Alicia de Doncaster		

The ecclesiastical provision for the City of Chester was still further supplemented by the establishment of the Community of Friars. A convenient site was ready for the extensive buildings which, somewhat contrary to the principles of their order, they soon erected on the space left open by the great fire in 1180.

No accurate date is given for the settlement of two of the three orders which made their home in Chester, but it may be presumed that they settled in Chester not long after their arrival in England, 1221.

It is no matter of surprise that no charter or formal grant has been found of the land on which they built. At first the Friars would live on public charity, going about in couples with wallets on their shoulders to receive alms. Chaucer has told us something of the contents of these wallets; hardly anything came amiss:—

Gif us a bushel whete, or malt, or reye
 A Goddes kichil, or a trippe of chese,
 Or elles what you list, we may not chese;
 A Goddes halfpenny, or a masse peney,
 Or gif us of your brawn if ye have eny,
 A daguon of your blanket, leve dame,
 Our suster dere (lo, here I write your name),
 Bacon or beef or such thing as ye find.
 A sturdy harlot ay went hem behind
 That was hir hostis man and bare a sak
 And what men yave hem laid on his bak.

Randle Blundeville gave the friars at Coventry the ground on which they erected their church, and it is not unlikely that he would give the same gift to those brethren who settled in Chester. This would fix the date of their establishment to some time between 1221 and his death in 1232.

¹ This, as given by Ormerod, could not be, for Randle Gernons died in 1153, and Randle Blundeville in 1232.

The friars were constantly receiving bequests and legacies in wills from persons who held them in great respect for their austere and devout lives. Thus, John Coly (1413) leaves to the Friars Minor 10/- for saying mass for his soul; 6/8 each to the Preacher Friars and the Carmelites. John Dedewode leaves 6/8 to each of the three orders.

The Grey Friars (Franciscan), or Friars Minor, were seated at Chester, according to Tanner, early in Henry III.'s reign. They usually chose the poorest quarters, on the least valuable ground, and made the care of lepers their special study.

Their house was near the Watergate, in the Yacht Field, near the place occupied by the new Linen Hall.¹

In Harl. MSS., 2073, is a plan of the buildings, showing an oblong enclosure, entered from the east, with the church in the centre and the cloisters in the north-west angle.

The convent had evidently fallen into grievous poverty, for, on July 13, 20 Henry VIII., the friars granted the nave and three aisles of their church to the merchants and sailors of Chester for a place to store and repair sails and other things requisite for their ships. The merchants were to undertake all the repairs of the church.

At the dissolution the church had "a sharpe spyar." The "stuff" of the vestry, church, and offices was sold for £2 3s. 8d. The tables of the altars, glass, iron, for 46s. 8d.; a pair of organs for 3s. 4d. The sale of goods and "stuff" realised £6 4s. 8d., but, as

Charter 32.—*Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Willelmus gardianus fratrum minorum Cestrie et ejusdem loci conventus salutem in Domino sempiternam:—Sciatis nos prefatos*



Seal of Grey Friars.

gardianum et conventum dedisse et concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse marchatoribus et nautis civitatis Cestrie nauem ecclesie nostre quam construxerunt una cum tribus ejusdem ecclesie insulis ad predictorum marchatorum et nautarum perpetuum vsum pro velis et aliis rebus necessariis ad naues suas pertinentibus componendis et reficiendis, quocienscunque opus fuerit sicuti hactenus consueverint ea sub condicione quod prefati marchatores et naute suis propriis expensis ejusdem ecclesie et insularum reparaciones seruarent. In cujus rei testimonium nos prefati gardianus et conventus huic presenti scripto nostro sigillum nostrum commune apponi

fecimus. Datum in domo nostra capitulari, xiii die mensis Julii, anno regni regis Henrici octavi vicesimo. Seal—Yellow Wax.

¹ Pennant.

the debts of the community amounted to £11 8s. 11d., the visitor, Richard, Bishop Suffragan of Dover, had paid, over the receipts, £6 4s. 3d. The church and other houses, buildings, with all manner of stone, timber, slate, and other stuff within the site and precincts, were sold to Richard Hough, gentleman, for 11 shillings (or ? pounds sterling).¹

The brethren were William Wall, Warden [who was also the first Prebendary of Chester, and active in bringing in a water

¹ The Grey Freres off Chester. This indenture makyth mentyon of ye Kynges Honse in Chester, late ye Grey Freres, ys receyved by ye handes of Richarde, Byschope Suffraghan of Dover, and vysytar under the Lorde Prevy Seale for the Kynges grace, and the same dely'eid in the ply'nances to Richarde Howghe gentylm' to Save and Kepe to the Kynges use till his graces pleasure be further knowyne.

The quire an old ruffe slated. The steple a sharpe spyar, lytel lede, w' y' belles in ytt. The churche slated.

The North yle ledyde in certyn longe spontes descendynge to a pane of the Cloyster lede into gutters of lede.

The South yle ledyde, w' a cross yle on the same side ledyde, and certyne gutters of lede.

The reste of all the houses slated and still left w' doors, gates, and all o'ys as before the vysytars comynge they were, except such as herewith followe, the whiche by the vysytar was sold to paye dettes.

All the stuffe of ye vestry and Church, with ye Kitchyng and oder offices by p'celles prey'syd and sold for £2 3^s 8^d. All the pore tables of y' awtars in the quire and churche in the frathernitie, and glasse, w' the yron in the same quire and churche, sold for 46s. 8d.; for a pore pare of organs 3/4. For the cellys & p't' closys in the dorter and celle house 10s. The holt summe of the recyves ys £6 4s. 8d. For the whyche payd of dettes £11 8s. 11d. So ye vysytar hath payde above ye recytes £6 4s. 3d., and he hath yn Sylver to the Kynges use a litle Chalys, a bande of a lytyll maser, and 6 small spoones.

The evydens reste in the vysytar's handes, yet ys to be noted y^t there be owte dyvers leasys the whyche the vysytar woulde not allowe because there was craft in them and were made of late, and sore should be to the discomodytye of him y^t should have ye house. The vysytar's costes 17s.

This shal be to requyre you in the Kinge's behalff to suffer Richarde Hough to have and occuypy all such landes and ten'tes belongyng to ye Greyfryers in West Chester as you or any of your do hold or claim to have by color of any lease made unto any of your by the said late Fryers, or to show unto me before Halontide next why your should not do so, thus fare you hertily well. From Swindon the 16th day of July. Yr loving Frend

Rychard Ryches.

To the Tenn's: and fermers belongyng to the late Grey Freres in West Chester:

This Byll made the 23rd day of July, in the 32nd yere off o' Sov'inge Lord Kyng Henry the VIII., wytnesseyth that I, Richard Bowes, sarvand unto Wyll'e Boltes esquire, Receaver of o' sayd Sov'gne lord, have bargained and sold unto Richard Hoghe Esquire, by commandment of my lord mester auctorysed by the Kynges's comysssyon, all and every the Church and other howses, loggynges, bnyldynges, w' all maner stone, tymber, sclat, and other stuffe thereto appertayneyng, now beyng w'in the syte and p'syngts of the late Freres Mynors of the Syte off Chester, all before in lyse by Co'vent sayle to any of him and hys assygnys, taken down and carryed away from tyme to tyme at hys & their plesnre, for whiche bargaen and sale the sayd Rich^d Hoght hath well and truly contented and payd unto me, the sayd Richard Bowes to the Kynges's graces, all the sum of 11 Sterling [shillings?], whereof I confess me truly satisfyed, and hereupon thereof dyscharged by thys p'senc the day and yere above sayd subscribed my name and set my seale, by me, Rich^d Bowes.

Copied by MR. E. W. COX from the Mayer Collection.

supply to the city¹], John Brynnall, Radcliffe Norres, John Rote, Thomas Trethil, William Dyconson, Edward Goodman.²

The Wardens whose names are preserved are :—1403, William Leggesley; 1433-4, Feb. 14, David Bromfield; 1537, William Wall, at the Dissolution.

The monastery was, with Shrewsbury, Lichfield, Preston, Lancaster, &c., under the Custody or Wardenship of Worcester, one of the seven districts into which England was divided.³

King Richard II. assumed the garb of a Friar of Orders Grey when he proceeded on his ill-fated journey to meet Henry Bolingbroke.

William Leggesley, warden, petitions Henry, Prince of Wales, May, 1403, for license to William Tewkesbury, chaplain, to grant to Roger Potter, mayor and his successors, in trust for the warden and convent, an annual rent of 10/- from three messuages in Baxter Rowe in Eastgate Street, for masses to be said for John and Agnes Chamberlain, &c.

The site was granted with the other two friaries, 36 Henry VIII., to John Cokke, citizen and salter of London; and in 1579, passed by grant from Elizabeth to Peter Warburton of Arley, and T. Wilbraham. They had come into the hands of the Duttons, and were "demised by Edward Dutton." The buildings remained tolerably entire to the middle of the seventeenth century, when they were occupied as a residence by Sir William Brereton.

It is highly honourable to this body that the friars minor are not presented as having taken any part in the riotous and disorderly proceedings which so disgraced the members of the other two orders.

The Dominicans, Black or Preaching Friars, were introduced into Chester, according to Speed, by a Bishop of Chester. The exact site of their house is not determined, but it was most probably in the south-west part of the city, in St. Martin's Parish, and the residence of the Stanley family, called Derby House, was a part of the buildings.⁴ The north end of Nicholas Street was formerly called Black Friars Lane.

They are mentioned early in Edward I.'st reign, as receiving permission to make an aqueduct from the spring near the gallows.⁵

¹ "This was he that preached in his sermon the worlde woulde he worse and worse."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2125.

² Chapter House, a. 3, 11, and 17. ³ Dugdale *Monasticon Anglic.* vi., 1503.

⁴ "R^d. Hope, Ed. Corkerne, Margaret Denis widow, John Kellett, Eliz. Harsay, Richard Beswike, W^m. Boxwith, Richard Dutton, John Pike, John Wrenny, Rad. Lloyd, Thomas Smith, and Richard Sneade, tenants of Black Friars, lately held by Edward Bridge de London, generosus, and Elizabeth his wife."

⁵ A fonte prope Furcas.—*Patent Rolls*, 4 Edward I., m 5.

They obtained a grant from Richard II., 1383-4, Feb. 25, allowing them to be *hopper free* at the Dee Mills, *i.e.*, to grind corn for their own consumption free of toll. This was confirmed, July 11, 1395, to them and their successors for ever. The names of the prior and brethren of this order occur more than once in the Chester Records.¹

At the dissolution, the convent consisted of a prior, Hugh Breknocke, a sub-prior, John Sargent, and three brethren, John Byrd, Robert Romesay, and David Griffith.²

The list of priors, as far as can be at present ascertained,³ is as follows:—

1394-5—Richard Runcorne	1468, May 14—John Holand ⁴
1454-1462—John Browne	1481—Thomas Waterton
1537—Hugh Brecknock	

Their fine church was chosen in preference to St. John's for ordinations by the suffragans of the Bishop of Lichfield, the Bishop of Sodor in 1452, and the Bishop of Aghadoc in 1481.

The Carmelite or White Friars were the last of the four mendicant orders, in all general processions forced to give place to the others. They owe their name to Mount Carmel, where a number of hermits were settled, and were introduced into Europe about 1216 by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Edward I. gave them their house in London, and they were established in Chester in 1279 by Thomas Stadham or Satham.⁵

When they first came to England, in 1240, they are said to have despised learning, but afterwards they found it necessary to pay some attention to the studies of the time.

Their house was in St. Martin's, south-west of the city, near the street still called White Friars. The steeple, erected in 1496, which was "of great height and beauty, the only seamark for

¹ The following instances will suffice:—1394-5, R⁴. Runcorn, the prior, was imprisoned in Northgate Prison for unlawfully detaining a chest containing charters and other documents belonging to W^m. Bagot, K^t.

John Browne, prior, 33 Henry VI. [1454], with Wm. Lampshagh, Robert Holt and several other brethren of the order, assaulted, on Sunday night after St. Wolfran's Feast, John Coke, late servant of Abbot Richard de Oldon, Bishop of Man; and in 1462 he is bound over to keep the peace to the Abbot of Chester. The Carmelite Friars are charged with roaming through the city, on the same night, armed to the terror of the citizens.

14 Henry VII., Thomas Huydon, a brother of the order, is charged with assaulting George Palmer, prior of the Carmelites [*cum uno arnicudio, vocat' a hanger*].

² Chapter House, A. 3, 11, f. 15.

³ Ormerod says that the only name of any of the heads of these friaries which has occurred, is that of Richard de Donnes, Prior of Carmelites.

⁴ Welsh Recog. Rolls.

⁵ Isabella, widow of Robert de Eton, baron of Stockport, daughter of Sir John Davenport, K^t., married for her fourth husband Thomas de Satham, but this was in the reign of Edward III.

"direction over the bar of Chester, was taken down July 21, 1597."¹ Some part of the buildings or boundary walls are still discernible on the north side of Commonhall Street, and west of Weaver Street.

The site was granted, with the other friaries, to John Cokke, citizen and salter of London, who, in 1544, granted it to Foulke Dutton.² A mansion was built on the site by Sir Thomas Egerton, and in a part of it, let to a puppet-showman, there occurred in 1772 a terrible explosion of gunpowder at the very moment when the showman was exhibiting to a full audience, which resulted in the death of twenty-six persons, and the injury of eighty-three others.

The convent consisted at the dissolution of a prior, John Hurleton, a sub-prior, Robert Drake, and eight brethren, Richard Bastwell, Thomas Taylor, George Palin, Richard Glasior, Richard Attkoo, Nicholas Segwyke, Ralph Battia, Thomas Thornton.³

The cemetery of the convent is mentioned in a record of 11 Edward II. as the scene of an assault.

In 1355, May 15, the convent receives a pardon for acquiring from Richard de Wevere, and Joan his wife, Richard le Bruyn and Robert de Hauorthyn, certain plots of land in the city, with license to purchase land 200 feet by 160 feet, contiguous to their house, for the enlargement of it.

In 1400, May 20, in answer to a petition setting forth that they were so impoverished by a great murrain and a raid (*equitatura*) committed in the parts round about them that they could not serve God, or live honestly without aid, the prior and convent obtain from Henry, Prince of Wales, a grant that they should grind their corn at the Dee Mills free of toll, and take for three years "Hoperfre" and "Tolfre" in the same mills.

3 Henry VI. the convent is invaded about eleven o'clock by a band of armed men under William de Wodeay and Richard de Wermyncham, who broke open several doors and acted with such violence that the great bell of the church rang, to the alarm of the whole city.⁴

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

² 24 Eliz., 1583. Wm. Willins, Esquier, for his arr' of the 3rd parte of ye scite or circuite of the Carmelet Ffriars in the Cytie of Chester, and of lands called the White Friars ther, and of lands in the Parish of St. Marten the Bushop, and of lands called the Abbot's Hall in Eastgate Street and the Bridge Strete, late Foulke Dutton's lands, xxij^{li}. iiij^d.

³ 27 Eliz. Ed. Gamull tenant in capite of the White Friars which F. Dutton formerly held.—*W.R.R.*

⁴ Chapter House, A. 3-11, 19.

⁵ Rob. de Thenwall, skynner, John Madok, wright, Will., servant of Will' de Stretton.

14 Henry IV. Amongst the cases of assault is one by William, servant of the Carmelites, who broke open the house of Alan by night, and beat him and his wife.

33 Henry VI. [1454]. John Somerford, Hugh, and John Geddenay, Carmelite Friars,

The body of Peter de Legh, who was executed by Henry IV., was buried in the church of the Carmelites, and the following year, when the Commons rose on account of the tallage, the head, which had been fixed upon the Eastgate, was buried with the body.¹

The following are the names of the priors, so far as known :—

1386—Richard de Donnes	14 Henry VII.	} George Palmer
10 Henry VII.—John Ryde	23 Henry VII.	
1537—John Hurleton		

It is lamentable to find how often members of an order, which should be examples of decency and sobriety of behaviour, are reported for breaking the peace, using violence to those of their order as well as to the laity, roaming about at night with riotous companions, breaking into houses, stealing, assaulting men, outraging women. It is unfortunately true that the evil we do lives after us, entered with faithful pen when so much in mediæval life was taken note of in such books as the Mayor's and Sheriffs' Books, whilst no record is preserved of the good work in building up and guiding men's souls, which was the while being done quietly and unobtrusively. We gladly recognise the great services rendered by the monastic bodies in those dark mediæval times, an age so coarse and materialistic, to religion, and to the revival of letters; the refuge provided for the poor and the oppressed when the strong hand took what it chose, and kept what it had taken. It has been asserted by Father Gasquet in his great work on "*Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*," that "anything like general immorality was altogether unknown among the religious of England," and he goes to prove that the reports of Cromwell's visitors representing the religious houses as being in the worst possible state of moral degradation are not founded on fact. (i. 38, 39.)

The Chester Records hardly bear out this statement. The number of "*capellani*" in Chester reported for offences is far too large in proportion to the population, and the character and frequent repetition of the offences by the same individuals indicates a grave laxity of discipline and depraved moral sense in the ecclesiastical authorities.²

with several others their adherents, on Monday after St. Ulfan's, roamed about the city by night, armed to the terror of the citizens.

John Ball, a Carmelite friar, is bound over several times (9, 10, 11 Henry VII.) to keep the peace to his brethren in the order, and is presented, 10 Henry VII., for insulting John Ryde, his Prior.

10 Henry VII. Richard Bowys, a friar, is fined 8^d. for assaulting Henry Percy of the same order with a hanger.

¹ Harl. MSS., 1989.

² Thomas Bruyne, "clericus," 6 Hen. V., on Sunday before St. Luke's Day, came at night to the house of Walter Haydock, "clericus," and violently broke down the walls and door of his house.

Henry Stoke, clericus, concerned with several others (8 Hen. VI.) in an attack on the

Still, the instances quoted (which are only given as examples), could not warrant the sweeping act of confiscation and plunder which had for its real motive the replenishing of the autocratic king's purse.

"The monasteries had all through their history been a thorn "in the side of the church, and had preyed, without mercy, upon "the parish clergy"; the mischief had been increased by the friaries, but the "destruction of so many hallowed and beautiful "buildings, the scattering of so many valuable libraries, the "secularising of so many sacred sepulchres, cannot be thought of "without regret. The contents of the houses were sold almost "without reserve, the sites granted or sold to laymen, and the "buildings demolished with all speed, lest the rooks should come "back to their nest and build again."

The form of surrender, which was nearly the same in most cases, was made to appear voluntary, without coercion but for very poverty.¹

¹ The houses of ffreres lately given up whiche have any substance of leayd :

The blak ffreres in Westchester and the ile of the Church, and two paines of the Cloyster lead ;

The Whit' ffreres there a chapell with diverse gutters leade.

The howses of freres that have no substance of leade, save only some of them have small gutters :

The Grey ffreres in Westchester : Mem. this xv. day of August, in the xxxth yere of our most dred and soveren lord Kyng Henry ye viii Rychard, Byshop of Dover, and visytor under ye Lord Presydenste for the King's Grace, was in Chester, where y^t in presens of Master Fhoke [Foulke] à Dutton, Meyar ther, Roberte Aldersey, Henry Gee, Raffe Rogerson, Raffe Goodeman, Wm. Beshoyke, aldermen of ye cite, with Thomas Marten, late Schrewe, war in all the houseys of freers within ye seyde cete, wher that the hedys of all ye seyde howseys with all their brederyne gaffe ther howseys with all ye pertenens in to ye seyde vysytor's handds to the Kyng's use, without any co'sell or constreynyn but very pou'te [povertie]

house of Thomas Bryne, whom they robbed of several things. The names of several "capellani" and "clerici" appear in the same list, charged with theft, assault, and violence. The same may be said of 10 Hen. VI., 14 Ed. IV., and especially 15 Ed. IV.

Richard Waterfall, capellanus, is presented 14 Ed. IV. with four others for receiving immoral women in his house ; and Robert White, pardoner, 15 Ed. IV., and the following year, is also charged with keeping a common brothel in his house. The pardoners are not seldom engaged in affrays and fined.

Richard Candy, capellanus, afterwards Rector of St. Michael's, is bound over several times to keep the peace to a brother capellanus, and in the same year several other capellani are presented.

Robert Fraunces, capellanus, 10 Hen. VII., is a frequent offender, despite heavy fines. He and eight others are charged with being common night-walkers, roaming about within the city after curfew (*post ignitegium*) with no lantern, and, we may be sure, for no good purpose.

They appeal to the king's grace to be good and gracious, hoping to secure some pittance for life. But this was a vain hope. "Only one or two were granted any pension for their support. As "a rule, a few shillings was delivered to each one on being turned "out into the world to find their own living as best they might." This was not easy. The bishops were no lovers of the wandering friars, and the destruction of so many churches diminished the possibility of obtaining any cure of souls, even had the bishops been willing to present them to any. The warden of the Friars Minor (Dr. Wall) became however a Prebendary of St. Werburgh's, and the nuns were well provided for.

Later, in the seventh year of Edward VI., another commission consisting of John Bird, Bishop of Chester, the Mayor, Thomas Smythe, Sir Laurence Smyth, Knight, and Roger Hurleton, sat to take an inventory of the goods and ornaments of the churches in Chester. The inventory taken affords an interesting insight into the comparative prosperity of the several churches.

Inventory taken 28 May, 7 Ed. VI., of all and singler copes, vestments, chalices, ornaments and goodes of all and every Cathedral, Collegiat, or Paryshe Churches, Chapells, Hosspitalls, and fraternites wythein the Cyty of Chester forsaide, by John Busshop of Chester, Thomas Smythe, Mayor

constreyned them. Thus, ye seyd visytor receveyd the howseys, and made inventory of eche howse and delyvered them with ye houseys and stuff in to ye meyar's hands and hys assyngs, and gaffe every freer hys lett^r to departe, and payd hes owyn charges and so departed, thys wyttenes me ye seyd meyar with oder under wrytyn.—*Chapter House, A. 3-11, f. 7-9.*

M^d. thys xv day of August in ye xxx yere of Kyng Henry the VIII., whe the prior and convente of the black fryers In West Chester without any coaccyon or consell but for very poverté have and do resyne our house with all that to yt belonge In to the handds of the Lorde Vysytor to the Kyng's use: beseycheynge his grace to be goode and gracyons to us. In wytenes to thys byll whe subseribe our nomys with our proper handds the day and yere before wrytyn.

Frater Hugo Brecknocke, prior

Frater Joh'es Byrd

ibidem prefato die

Frater Robert Romesay

Frater Joh'es Sargent, sub-prior

Frater David Griffith

A similar document was signed by the Wardeyn and Convente of Greye Freyers:—

Per me fratrem Wyllm. Wall

Per me fratrem Thomam Trethil

— — — Ihoan Bynnal

— — — Willm. Dyconson

— — — Radlyffe Norees

— — — Edwardum Goodman

— — — Io. Roti

A similar document signed by Whyte Fryers: Prior and Convente:—

Johes Hurleton, prior

George Palin

Nicholaus Segwyke

Rob. Drake, sub-prior

Richard Glasior

Radulphus Battia

Ric. Bastwell

Richard Attkoo

Thomas Thorntun

Thom. Taylor

of the Cyty of Chester, Lawrens Smyth, Knyght, and Roger Hurleton, gentleman, Comissyoners in that behalfe appoynted, have byn received and by theyme solde, and the sommes and pryces thereof paid and delyvered unto the Kyngs Majesty's use as hereafter foloying apperith. And also a speciall remembrans and note of the chalices, copes, and vestments of cloth of gold and tysshe by theym received, and of the delyvery of the same, together with sarten notes of suche goodes, crosses, plate, or bells, as be by the parisssheners, provosts, dean, or other church wardens of the city forsaid embecilled or sold, and the names of theym that be now bound to answare for the same.

Parcelles of clothe of gold and tyssho by the said Commissioners received and now delyvered unto Arthure Stoerton, Es- quyer, M ^{ter} of the Kings Highnes Wardrop, by Indenture unto ye Kings Ma ^{ties} use.	}	Fyrst a cope, a vestment, and two tunycles clothe of golde	
		Item iii copes, a vestment, and ii tunycles of grene velvet tyssho	
		Item a cope of purpull tyssho	
		Item A cope of red velvet tyssho	
The Chalices -	{	iii Chalices, wt patens for the same of — and also a crysmatory of silver in the same ponderans in toto - - - - -	iii oun ^s .
The goodes of all and every the parishes, cathedrall, &c.			
Ecclesia Cathedralis Christi et Beate Marie civitatis predicte	{	The goodes, copes, vestments, and other ornaments of the same Cathedrall Church, except be- fore excepted, were sold by the said Com'yssoners, upon the apprecement thereof for - -	vii. xis. iiid.
Parochia St. Oswaldi ibidem	The copes, vestments, ornaments, and other goodes, &c.		
Parochia Ste Marie super Montem.	-	Do.	- - - xli xiiis. viid.
S. Joh'is - - -	-	Do.	- - - xiis. iid.
S. Trinitatis - -	-	Do.	- - - viii. xis.
S. Petri - - -	- - -	- - -	- - - xxiiis.
S. Bridgett's - -	- - -	- - -	- - - xiiis. iiid.
S. Mich'is - - -	- - -	- - -	- - - xvs. ix ^d .
S. Martini Episcopi.—The copes, &c.; except the chalice, Bells, and other goodes to the Churchwardens of the same parochie, by indenture, were of so small value that they were by the Co'missioners gyven to the poore of the same parochie - - Nihil			
S. Olave's.—The copes, &c.; except the bells, chalice, and other goodes to the Churchwardens of the same delyvered, by indenture, were lykewyse distributed unto the poore - - Nihil			
The Hospitall of St. John and Spittell in Boghton.—The copes, &c.; over and besides theire bells and chalices, were of so small value that they were distributed unto the poore of the same - Nihil			
The totall somme of the ornaments, copes, vestments, and goods forsaid, by the said Comysioners solde amounteth in the holle to the somme of - - - - - xxxli. xiiid.			

Church Goods in St. Werburgh's

All which total somme of xxx^{li}. xiii^d. delyvered unto Sr Edmonde Pelham for Kyng's Graces use.

The things that want', and
be imbecilled by dean,
provoste, churchwardens,
or other parisheners there

{ Ffyrst there was a great bell in the Cathedral Church of Christe in Chester, whiche hanged in the new steple there, whiche bell was taken doune and solde by the Dean and Chapter of the same Cathedrall Church, the 4th May, 4 Ed. VI., for the somme of xxxiiii^{li}. and the said somme is alledged by them to be paid unto the Ministers of the said church for there stypend.

Item the Dean and Chapter forsayd sold a crosse and ii sencers of sylver ultimo die Jan., 2 Ed. VI., for iiii^{li}. which crosse and sensar then was belongyng to the same Cathedrall Church, and the money by them receaved ys affirmed by theym to be bestoed apon reparaco'n of their howsses. To answare for the saide bell, crosse and sensars Nicol'us Buky Clerk standeth bound of apperans before the King's honorable Counsaylors the ixth day of June next, and then to answare for and in the name of the said Dean and Chapter for the same.

Item there ys wanting oon broken bell in the said parochie of Saynt Johns, taken doune by the parissheeners there and by them solde for xxiii^{li}. about fyve yeres past, and affirmed by theym to be bestoed upon the reparac'on of theire Church.

Item there ys xiii persons in the parochie of Saynt Maryes whiche stande bounde in severall obligac'ons for the payment of every of theym xxiii^s. unto the said paryshe use, whiche persons be so pore and nedy that they ar not hable to pay the same, by reason whereof we have hereunto annexed ther obligac'ons and bills and stayd there apperans untill we have knolledge of yor farther plesures towching the same.

Signed, John [Bird], Chestr. Thomas Smythe, Mayor.

37 May, 7 Ed. VI. Inventory of all the goodes, &c., to be kept saef and suerly by the Dean and Chapter, without imbecilment or alienacon untill the Kings Maj^{ty} further pleasure be therein knowne.

Inprimis ii chalyses of sylvar gylt w^t patt^{nts} to the same ponderantes xxxvii ounce

Item iiii diaper tabell clothes

— ii long Diaper towells

— a pillo made of an olde tunycle for the comunion table

— a carpet for the Dean stalle

— a coverynge of dornixe¹ fy the pulpet

— a covering for the co'munion table, the oon side of crymson velvet the other side of grene satten and white — and in the middes

a — of a olde dornix

— iiii carpet quoysshuns for the quere

— a payre of organs

— iiii bells in the steple by the quere, and a klok

¹ Dornyx or Dornick, a cloth used for hangings, like damask, but of inferior quality, so called from Doornick, or Tournay, in French Flanders, where it was originally made.

Item ii great bells in the new steple

—— cofers or chests

—— [tap] ete hangyng on the wall where the —— was

—— all the boks now used in the Church

per me Wm. Cliff, Decanum

—— Wm. Wall

—— Jefery lloyd

—— Nicolann Buksey

—— Joh'em lepyngte

S. Oswald's Delyvered unto Rauf Wryght, Thomas Grene, and Rd. Sparke, Churchwardens, 28 Maye, 7 Ed. VI. :

A chalyce with a patent of silvar ponderans xvi onces A charpet for the Com'union table Two bells in the steple being now altered into oon Oon other chalyce, with a patent of silver ponderans xxii onces ii cofers or chests

St. John's To Simon Mountford and Henry Anyon, Ch'wardens :

i chalyce of sylver, with a patent gilte vii ownces et di ii chestes
—— ii bells in the steple w^t a clocke A boulster of dun velvet, ii coysshens iii table clothes and a surples A whyte damaske cope altered into a table cover A payre of organs A coveryng of olde silke All the boks now used in the Church

St Mary's super Montem To Rd Gythyn and Rob. Skryvener, Ch'wardens :

i a chalyce with a patent of silver pond' x once ii copes iii table clothes a payre of organs A hangyng for the table of lynnenn A pillo of sylke v greate bells in the steple And a anthem bell and a klok ii towells A surples All the bokes in the Church now used

St Trinity To Rd Pole and Rd Boydell :

A chalyce with a paten for the same of sylver xv onces iii quarters vi lynnenn towells ii table clothes ii surpleses ii bells and oon anthem bell ii cofers All the boks

S. Peter's To Rd Grymesditch and Morys Wylliams :

A chalyse of sylver with a patent for the same over gilt ii bells in the steple and oon anthem bell ii chests A payre of organs Oon taball cloth of lynnenn, and a coveryng of grene satten ii surpleses All the boks

St Bridgett To Thomas Burches and John Hewar :

i chalyse of sylver with patent gilte wayyng xii onces and a q^r. A pillo of grene saersnet ii cofers or chests A chene of yron over the font iii table clothes iii bells in the steple and oon anthem bell ii surpleses iii towells and all the boks

St Mich. To W^m Ball, Thomas Monkesfeld :

i chalyse, w^t a paten overgilt xviii onces ii vestments of grene and red satten nowe altered into a carpet for the Communion table A red cope to make a carpet for the pulpet ii albes ii towells iii bells in the steple All the boks ii chests or cofers

St Martin's To Thomas Trubshaw and Roger Cotrell :

A chalyce of sylver with a patent parcell gilt 13 oz. 2 bells in the steple ii tabull clothes ii olde pilloes ii surpleses

St. Olave's To Ric' Overton and Ric' Yonge :

A chalyce wt a patent of sylver 6 oz. ii bells in the steple ii copes
ii towells All the books

The Spytell of Boghton To Rauffe Thornton, Master of the same :

A chalyce, with a paten of sylver iiiii oz. ii tabull clothes ii small
bells hanging in the church The Comunyon boke now used

The Hospitall of S. John's, without the Northgate To John Levesey,
Chaplen :

A chalice, wt a patent for same of sylver p'cell gilt x oz. One bell
in the steple iiiii table clothes All the bokes now used

Commissioners in the County :

John Savage, R.

Thomas Venables, R.

John Doune, R.

Edward Warre, R.

Philippe Eggerton, R.

Richard Eggerton

John Masse

Rolond Stanley

Wyllyam Moreton

Edmund Savage

Hugh Starky

Uryan Brereton

Thomas Grosvenor, R.

Rondall Maynwaring, R.

Richard Hassall

Wm. Brereton, vic'

Laurens Smyth, R.

Thomas Aston

John Caryngton

Will. Mer———

Robert Tatton

Exch. Q.R. Church Goods 1-47, 7 Ed. VI.

The Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the Northgate was founded by Randall Blundeville, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Chester and Richmond,¹ "for the sustentation of poore and sillie persons." The charter of foundation was confirmed by Henry III. in the first year of his reign, and again by Edward I., who gave the mastership to the Prior of Birkenhead and his successors.

The various lands and tenements in Chester, Handbridge, le Mosse Lancashire, with Malbank, Aston, amounted to £22 4s. 10d. In Pope Nicholas' Taxatio the revenue was estimated at £5, in 26 Henry VIII., at £13 7s. 10d.

An Inquisition taken 5 Ed. III. states that "There ought to be and have customed to be and now are three chaplons to saie

¹ Between 1188 when he married Constance, and 1200 when he was divorced from her.



Seal of the Hospital of St. John's
without the Northgate

"masse everie day, *i.e.*, two in the church there, and the third in the chapell before the poore and feeble in the same hospitall sustained. That there ought to be one lamp at masse in the hospitall everie daie for a light, and the same lampe before the feeble everie night throughout the yere. That thirteen beddes competentlie clothed ought to be sustained."¹

In 1400, June 4, a writ was issued to John de Capenhurst, mayor and escheator, to take into the prince's hands the hospital with all its possessions, and it was accordingly visited August 10, 1400, by the mayor, with Hugh Holes, John de Knyghtely, and Robert Davys.

Henry V. granted the master, brethren, and sisters of this hospital, and their tenants, exemption from service on juries, customs, and assize of bread.

It was formerly a sanctuary, and Thomas Crew, warden, 4 Henry VII., claimed, *per Breach Carnium*, that all his tenants living within their liberties were free, as regards the sale of flesh-meat (*de venditione Carnium*), and, 15 Henry VII., he made claim to the same privileges and exemptions as the nuns.

In 1592, January 27, complaint was made against "George Coney, clerke, chaplain of the hospitall of Little St. Johnes, that wages, &c., were not paid for long tyme to the poore widows."

In 26 Henry VIII. the foundation consisted of a chaplain and six poor brethren.

The following is a list of the wardens or custodes:—

— Richard Prior,	— Hen. III.	1315—Wm. de Bache,	9 Ed. II.
1239—Thomas Bridge,	24 Hen. III.	1341—Richard de Wilton [W.R.R.]	
1255—Roger de Beirstan,	40 Hen. III.	1377—Henry Wither of Frodsham,	
1265—Rad. de Smethdon,	50 Hen. III.		1 Ric. II.
1284—Rad. de Aston,	13 Ed. I.	1386—Wm. de Walsham,	11 Ric. II.
1293—Hugh Prior,	22 Ed. I.	1391, May 2—Wm. de Assheton, clerk	

¹ St. John's Hospital.—Inquisition taken before Justice and Chamberlain, 5 Ed. III.

Earl Randle gave iv^{li}. xi^s. yerlie to be received of exchequer, xiii^{li}. xiii^s. x^d. of due rent of divers houses in Citie of Chester, 1 oxgange at the Hulme houses with iii^{li}. wh. the Abbott of Chester now houldeth in exchange of the Prior of Birkenhead.

One oxgang at le Mosse Co. Lanc, value xl^s. by the yere, xiii^s. iiiij^d. of dry rent in peunesbie and three houses in Handbridge, $\frac{1}{2}$ oxgang in the clees worth xl^s. yerely, certain wichhouse in the wich Malbanke xiii^s. iiiij^d.; certain porcion of the tithe in Church of Aston in Hopdall, viij^{li}. xiii^s. iiiij^d. All the lands and tenements value by yere xxiiij^{li}. iiiij^s. x^d.

There ought to be and have customed to be and now are three chaplons [as above], xiii beddes accustomed to receive xiii poore and feeble men of the said cittie, and of none other place or fewer, of whom everie one shall receive everie daie by yere one good loaffe whereby he may sufficiently be sustained, one great dishe full with potage, half gallon of competent ale, and one peece of fishe or flesh as the daie shall require.

The Church, Chappell, and other houses there standing, are not competentlie covered, and two great houses did fall to the ground for oldenes, and default of mendinge.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2115, 229.

1393, Feb. 8—Thomas Marton	1499—Thomas Crue,	15 Hen. VII.	
1399, Aug. 1—Rob. de Rothebury	1526—Robert Johnes,	18 Hen. VIII.	
1408—Rich. del Lee,	10 Hen. IV.	1537—John Levesey, chaplain	
1416—Rob. de Rothbury,	4-6 Hen. V.	1553—Ric. Lyell,	1 Mary.
1439—John de Thornton,	18 Hen. VI.	1562—Wm. Hayworth,	5 Eliz.
1459—Hugh Taylor,	38 Hen. VI.	1565—David Phillips,	8 Eliz.
1470—John Masey,	10 Ed. IV.	1583—Rd. Young, ¹	26 Eliz.
1477—Wm. Thomas,	17 Ed. IV.	1596—George Coney, chaplain.	

St. Giles' Hospital, Boughton, "Spital, Boughton," one of those houses of shelter which mediæval piety originated, was founded by Randal Blundeville. He gave to St. Werburgh's a rent-charge of 10^s. from lands held from him by Geoffrey de Sibesey, of which the monks were to pay to the lepers of Boughton 20^d. and with the remainder feed 100 poor persons on his father's birthday, inside the abbey. They had also 20/- of the ancient alms given out of the proceeds of the county and the castle, 3 Edward II. The hospital was built, for sanitary reasons, outside the city, and was conveniently situated to appeal to the charity of those entering Chester from the east. The privileges conferred by Randle, and confirmed by Hugh, were numerous and peculiar, as recorded in reply to a writ *de quo warranto*, 15 Henry VII.² Certain tolls from every article of food, and every other merchandise carried for sale in Chester market:—From every sack (whether carried on a cart or on a horse, or in any other way) of wheat, vetches, or barley, one handful; oats or malt, two handfuls; one cheese from every horse load or cart load of cheese; one salmon from every load; of other fish, as sparlings, flukes, eels, five from every horse's pannier, and one from every man's load; one double handful of fruit from a horse load, and three handfuls from a cart. A fishing boat free in the Dee, three stalls in the Dee called "syngelyn" [single line]: not to be amenable to the Justice, sheriff, or other officer of the earl, but to their own court.

The hospital and chapel were completely destroyed in the siege, 1645, but the site is marked by a cemetery.

The wardens or masters are:—

1 Ed. I.—Will' de Bebinton	31 Hen. VI.—David Barrs
26 Ed. I.—Roger ———	—Richard Ardwell
30 Ed. I.—Radulphus de Hole	—Barth. Tatton
32 Ed. I.—Ran. de Bebington	—Henry Medwall
2 Ed. II.—Matthew de Hole	10 Hen. VIII. } Peter Mainwaring
6 Ed. II.—Matthew de North l'hale	4 P. and M. }
22 Hen. VI.—Robert Vickers	1537—Rauffe Thornton

¹ In 1563 [5 Eliz.] the then master, brethren, and sisters of the hospital leased for 500 years certain property in Caergwrlle and Shordely, in Flintshire, for 14/2½, to Richard Yonge, who became master in 1583.

² Harl. MSS., 2115, 1956.

The king frequently exercised his right to demand admission for lepers whom he had appointed. Thus he directs the prior and brethren, Sep. 1, 1390, to admit John de Northwayt, one of the brethren; 1390, Sep. 22, he grants to Wm. le Cryon and in 1401, Nov. 14, to Henry White, a leper, late servant of Matth. del Mere, a portion in hospital, and a decent dwelling, and creates them brethren; 1403, May 21, to John Denby, chaplain, a leper and infirm person, he assigns a place and sufficient portion for life.¹

St. Giles' Hospital, owing to its connection with St. Werburgh's, had a bakery, called St. Giles' Bakehouse, in the immediate vicinity of the abbey. It gave the name of Baker's Entry to a passage from Eastgate Street.²

The City and the County of Chester were from early times a place of asylum and sanctuary where offenders against the law of the land, or debtors might remain under the protection of the earl on payment of a fine called an "advowry." In Randle Blundeville's Charter to the Barons of Cheshire it is provided that "if any "stranger (who is faithful) shall come into their domain, and "chooses to dwell there, it shall be lawful for the baron of that fee "to have and retain him, saving to the earl the advowries who "shall come to me of their own accord, and others who for any "trespass elsewhere shall come into my dignity (the county "palatine)."³

¹ In the Middle Ages the unhealthy dwellings, the poor and unwholesome food, and other causes, produced a continual crop of dreadful skin diseases, which were ever swelling the ranks of the applicants for admission into these houses of mercy, &c.

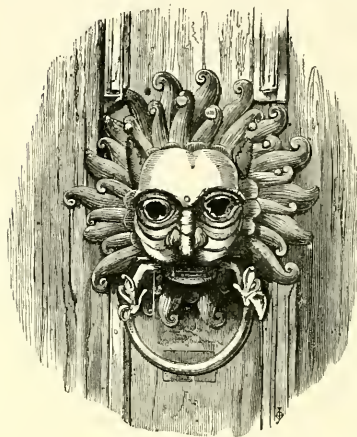
² The baker in 1313 was Roger le Kylwe, who leased of Wm. de Doncaster, sen., a house with bakeries and a plot of land at le Wodefen in Eastgate St.—*C. A. J.*, 2, 166.

In 1344 this bakery was leased to John Colle, citizen, and is described as being "in Eastgate St., between the land of Richard, son of Richard de Frodesham, and the land of John de Totenham, extending from the high road of Eastgate Strete to the land of Henry Gyn."

³ The Harl. MS. 2099, 39b, quoting this, adds "From the interpretation of the word advocaria used in that charter, it is thus explained—Per hoc clamat q'd si aliquis fecerit feloniam in aliena terra vel villanus alicujus fugerit ad terram domini comitis, et ibi morere [? morari] voluerit dabit eidem domino plus vel minus secundum q'd concordare possit et si obierit in dicta terra sine herede dictus dominus habebit omnia bona sua, et si habuerit heredes unum Heriotum, ^{wh} privilege brought so great an income to our earle as he was forced to have one to take account of them, or to let it out to farm, as I find the place was the 6 Ed. II. for 48 pounds by the following note. Tho: de Erdeswick, Adam de Parker, et alii cognovere se debere d'no comiti Cestrie pro firma Advocariorum a festo Nat. Dom. proximo, pro uno anno, quadraginta et octo libr: &c. He that lists to se more of these proceedings may find them amongst the pleading at Chester, 10 Ed. II., Andlegh being Justice."

The following references to advowries are taken from the Welsh Recognisance Rolls:—1327, Dec. 17—John de Coddington, clerk, W^m. de Gresty, Thomas de Sladehurst, and

"The chief surviving memorial of the famous Sanctuary at Durham is the grotesque head and ring of metal fastened against the north door. The hollow eyes were probably filled with crystals or enamel, and may have been contrived to emit light from within the church, so as to guide the culprit by night to the spot of safety. The culprit upon knocking at the ring affixed to



Sanctuary Knocker — Durham Cathedral

"the north door was admitted without delay, and after confessing his crime, with every minute circumstance connected with it, the whole of which was committed to writing in the presence of witnesses, a bell in the Galilee Tower ringing all the while to give notice to the town that some one had taken refuge in the church, there was put upon him a black gown, with a yellow cross upon its left shoulder, as the badge of St. Cuthbert, whose peace he had claimed. When thirty-seven days had elapsed, if no pardon could

"be obtained, the malefactor, after certain ceremonies before the shrine, solemnly abjured his native land for ever, and was, straightway, by the agency of the intervening parish constables, conveyed to the coast, bearing in his hand a white wooden cross, ungirt, unshod, bareheaded, in his bare shirt, as if to be hanged on the gallows, and was sent out of the kingdom by the first ship which sailed after his arrival."—(*Raine.*)

Two monks, who watched day and night in the rooms over the portal, admitted the seeker of sanctuary. In several churches, as at Beverley and Hexham, there was a chair or stool called the Frithstool, or peace-chair, upon which the fugitive sat, and was then absolutely safe.

Rob. de Codynton, sen., to Earl of Chester, recognisance for 20 marks and, 1331, Dec. 12, 28 marks.

1383—Dantry Gilbert, grant of officium advocariarum for life, with £10 yearly.

1330-1, Jan. 25—W^m. de Glasebrook, Thomas Danyers, Rob. de Mascy of Sale, Gilbert de Lymme, John de Carynton, Hamo de Asshelegh, W^m. de Lyttelegh, and Hugh de Pykemore, recognisance to king for £18 13s. 4d. for the farm of the advowries of County of Chester.

The felon took oath as follows: This hear, sir Coroner, that I, ———, am a robber of sheep, &c., or a murderer, and a felon of our lord the King of England, and because I have done many such evils or robberies in this land, I do abjure the land of our lord Edward, King of England, and I shall haste me towards the port of such a place thou hast given me, and not go out of the highway, and if I do I will that I be taken as a robber and a felon of our lord the King; and that at such a place I will diligently seek for passage, and tarry but one flood and ebb, if I can have passage, and unless I can have it in such a place, I will go every day into the sea up to my knees, essaying to pass over, and unless I can do this in forty days, I will put myself again into the church as a robber and a felon of our lord the King.

Offenders against the law were allowed to come to the great annual fair, and remain in Chester during its continuance. But the Abbey of St. Werburgh's could also have, in common with other great churches in England, the privilege of sanctuary.¹

This was a profitable arrangement to the earl, abbot, and baron, as well as to the lessee of the advowsons, and was all in keeping with the system by which serious offences, even including homicide, adultery, and the like were compounded for by a money payment; an arrangement most prejudicial to the moral welfare of the wealthy noble, who could gratify his passions at no personal risk to himself on certain payments, whilst the poor man would find a wholesome restraint from such offences in the fear of having to smart in his own person, owing to the difficulty of providing compensation.

The Plea Rolls of 40-46 Henry III. [Chester I.] contain several instances of persons accused of offences abjuring their country and making their way to Stafford and other places of sanctuary. It was often the only means they had of saving them-

¹ The rules for St. Werburgh's Sanctuary were as follows:—

“ If any person or persons hereafter take for his tuition the Church or any other hallowed ground within the precinct of the same monastery [St. Werburgh] for any murder or felonie, then we awarde that the Coroner or Coroners of the said Citie for the time beinge shall at their pleasure at everie such tyme enter and come within the precinct of the said Mon^{try} to the said hallowed place, and there take and record the abjuration of the said person or persons soe taking the said Church or the hallowed ground, that soe taketh or asketh the gyth [grith] of the holie Church; or if in the same holie place he will not abjure according to the lawe of the Realme, nor confesse any murder or felonie by him done or co'mitted, That then the said Coroner or Coroners, and other officers of the Citie and their successors, &c., shall order them in that behalf, according to the course of the Common lawe, without lett or impediment of the said Abbot or his successors, or any other the ministers or his servants inhabiting within the said Monasterie.”—*H. MSS.* 2159, 976.

There are mentioned three other sanctuaries in Cheshire, at Hoole Heath, near Chester, Overmarsh, Farndon, and Rudheath, near Middlewich.

selves from injustice. Women and persons under age appear to have frequently availed themselves of this refuge.¹

Other accused persons pleaded the privilege of clergy, and one interesting case in the same roll is recorded where the accused shows in support of his plea his shaven crown.²

Sometimes a serf ran away from his master and took refuge in a church, or an offender escaped from the officer who had apprehended him, and was able to make terms of surrender by paying a fine or other composition.³

Seven towns (Wells, Westminster, Manchester, Northampton, York, Derby, and Launceston) had such privilege, until, finding that their towns were converted into nests of crime, the inhabitants petitioned for its abolition. Manchester was relieved at the expense of Chester, and Chester in turn obtained discharge of the undesirable privilege and passed it on to Stafford.

This relief was procured through the good offices of the mayor, Hugh Aldersey, who, in conjunction with Mr. Foulk Dutton, took up a petition to the king, representing that Chester, being a port town, and on the borders of Wales, was an unfit

¹ Mem. q'd Geffe filius Rob^{ti} attachiatus fuit pro multis latrociniiis, set quia infra etatem et valde innem (?) ita q'd indicium sustinere nequivit nec de jure debuit. Ideo per consilium et supplicacionem totius Com' objuravit patriam et vitam elegit versus Stafford.

Mem. q'd Mariot de Cudinton objuravit patriam pro latrocinio sibi opposito de porcis domine de Buddeworth cepit viam versus Stafford.

Mabilia Sclater capta cum latrocinio eo quod infra etatem fuit objuravit patriam, viam cepit ultra m'se.

Isabella de Alisacher [Alsager] inventa in societate latronum decolorat' objuravit patriam. Viam cepit versus Stafford.

² Dictus Ric' defendit verbo ad verbum et dicit quod in foro layco respondere de fure non debet quia clericus est et coronam ostendit : ad hoc justic' quod privilegio clericali gaudere non debet eo quod eodem die vocatus comparuit in habitu layci et ad calumpniam Justiciar' in eadem camera respondit ut laicus et ut homo senescalli et ad libertatem suam S^{ti} P: (?) et sic privilegio clerici renunciavit nec de cetero eo gaudere debet in eadem causa ad indicium. Cadoc invenit pl'g ps' [persone] S. Rob. On et Bonam fil' Phili. pi. Tandem Archidiaconus et ordinar' ipsum ut clericum ad libertatem sacrosancte ecclesie rep't' ut clericum suum. Tandem ad com' prox' Cadoagan comparuit ad applicacionem suam pers'. Et preceptum fuit quod ipse Cadogan queremoniam prosequeretur [sic] coram ordin'.

³ Mem. qd. Magr Ric' de Kegworth incarceravit Henr' hominem suum imponens ei quod furatus fuit denarios suos et de custodia sua evasit et adivit ecclesiam et ibi patriam objuravit. Preceptum fuit ut laicum feudum dicti Ric'i caperetur in manus Domini Edwardi.

Pincok de Nortleg arestatu de felonia comparens in portmot Cestr. recogn. feloniam sibi impositam et super hoc ad suggestionem domini Henr' de Torlok ductus ad carcerem, et inde evasit ad ecclesiam et in ecclesia finem fecit cum dicto domino Henrico pro pace domini habenda 1 marc.

1513, June 12. No inhabitant of Chester to be attached for any offence committed prior to his placing himself in the said advowries. Writ to mayor and sberiffs to stay all proceedings by Thos. Grymesdiche against R^d. Daynor, who had placed himself in the king's advowry.—*Welsh Recog. Rolls, Report 39.*

place for a sanctuary, and that the merchants and inhabitants of Chester would suffer much inconvenience and loss by its continuance.

The privilege of a quasi-sanctuary was extended to debtors,

P.C. 56.—*Henricus octavus, &c., vic' Cestrie salutem. Precipimus tibi quod statim visis presentibus in singulis locis infra ballivam tuam tam infra libertates quam extra ubi magis expediri videritis ex parte nostra publicas proclamaciones fieri faciatis in hec verba :*

Where at the Parlyament begun at Westminster the xxviiiith day of Aprill in the xxxith yeare of our raigne & there contynued by divers prorogations unto the xxvth day of May in the xxxiith yeare of our saide raigne & holden unto the xxivth day of July the saide xxxiith yeare: at whiche day the saide parlyamente was by our auctoritie finished & ended: at which saide parlyamente amongst manie other things by us with thassent of the lords spirituall & temporall & the commons of the saide parliament then assembled: It was enacted that the towne of Manchester in the countie of Lancaster amongst other townes & places from thencefurth shulde be admitted allowed & taken to be sanctuary & a place of privilege & tuicion for terme of lief of all & singuler offendours & malefactours of whatsoever qualitie kinde or nature all & every of their offences were for the whiche saide offences & crymes the paynes & ponsyement of death shulde ensue by the statutes laws & customes of this our realme other than such as by & in the saide act of parlyamente be expressed & forpreised. That notwithstandinge at our parlyament begonne at Westminster the xvth day of January the xxxiii yeare of our saide raigne & unto the firste day of Aprill then nexte ensuinge for dyvers causes proroged upon dyvers grete matiers & consideracions then & ther purposed & alledged: it was by the lords spirituall & temporall & comons of the saide parlyamente then assembled & by thauctoritie of the same ordeyned, established & enacted that the saide former acte of parlyamente concerninge the pryvelidge, sanctuarie & tuicion for the saide offendours onlie within the saide towne of Manchester shulde & mighte be from the feaste of the Nativitie of S. John the Baptiste nexte cominge, repelled, adnichillate, & made frustrate, & the same towne of Manchester from the saide feast of the Nativitie of S. John Baptiste shulde be of like condition, estate & qualitie discharged of the saide sanctuary & privilege, as the same towne of Manchester was before the makinge of the saide former acte, anye thinge, sentence, clause, or article in the saide former acte conteigned to the contrarie notwithstandinge. And by our saide last parlyament it was by us, the lords spirituall & temporall & the comons then & there assembled, & by the auctoritie of the same ordeyned, established & enacted that the citie of Westchester for dyvers causes & considerations in the saide acte recited & expressed amonge other townes & places from thencefurth shulde be admitted allowed & taken to be a sanctuary & a place of privilege & tuytion for terme of lief of all & singuler offendours & malefactours of whatsoever qualitie kinde or natyrs, all & every their saide offences were or shulde be, for the which saide offences & crymes the paynes & ponishment of death shulde ensue by the statutes lawes & customes of this reallme other than such as by & in the saide acte of parlyament be expressed & forpreised with a promise conteyned in the

and was not taken away by the act of parliament.¹ If a debtor came before the mayor and aldermen in Chester, and swore that he would pay his debts as soon as he was able, he was granted "the free house and liberties belonging to the same, *i.e.*, that "he may goo from the Northgate upon the Waules on the West

saide last acte of parlyamente that if herafter upon anye reasonable matter or cause it shulde appeare to us by information or otherwise that the saide Citie of Chester is not mete to be sanctuary nor for a place of privilege & tuytion for the saide offendours & malefactours as byne before remembred or for suche like of their conditions that then it shall be leafull to us by our proclamation to extincite & determyne the saide sanctuary within the saide Citie of Chester & clerly to discharge the same citie therof, & therupon to appoynte, ordeyne & make another towne or place to be sanctuary & place of privilege & tuytion for the saide offendours & malefactours, anye thinge in the saide laste acte conteyned to the contrary notwithstandinge. And for that now it appeareth unto us by credible information that the saide Citie of Westchester, which not onely staundeth nere the borders of Wales, by meanes whereof such offendours & malefactours mighte lightelie for their safeguarde & tuytion passe & goe from the saide citie unto the partes of Wales, so that Justice shuld not be hadd of the said offendours: But allsoe that the saide citie is a porte-towne neere the see, & unto the same citie greate resorte of merchaunts estraungers from tyme to tyme, by meanes whereof such offendours & malefactours for their tuytion & safeguarde may by shipp saile from the saide Citie of Westchester unto the parties of Scotlaund & Irelaunde & to other outwarde parties to thencrease & comferte of such offendours & malefactours, & for other good causes and considerations to us appearing the same, Wee therefore clerly discharge & exonerate the saide Cittie of Westchester concerninge the said sanctuary, pryviledge & tuytion there to be hadd & used as is expressed in the saide laste acte, & woll by these presents that the saide Citie of Westchester shalbe upon proclamation hadd of this our writinge of like condition estate & quality furthwith discharged of the saide sanctuary & privilege as the saide citie was before the makinge of the saide laste estatute, anye thinge, sentence, clause, or article in the saide laste acte conteyned to the contrarie notwithstandinge: & further wyll by theis our letters that from the saide feaste of the nativitie of S. John the Baptiste nexte cominge the towne of Stafford within the County of Stafford among other townes & places shalbe admitted, allowed & taken to be a sanctuary and place of privilege & tuytion for terme of lief . . . &c. . . expressed & forprised. And further by theis presents we will & ordeyne that the constables of the saide towne of Manchester for the tyme beinge, taking & associating with them twenty of the inhabytaunts of the same town by their discretions shall have the saufe conduction, leadinge, & bringinge all sanctuary men now or herafter before the saide feaste of the Nativitie of S. John the Baptiste nexte cominge beinge in the said towne of Manchester to conduct, leade,

¹ "Mem. there is a liberty and a priviledge like unto a sanctuary way that a man may take it for debt within the County of Chester, which is called the Vouryes, and the said Vouryes is such a privilege that a man may goe all the sayd County of Chester over at liberty, without any interruption of the law."—*Harl. MSS.* 2009, 187.

“side of the new towre, and from the Northgate forward upon
“the Wauls on the Est side to Newton Tower, and go to hear
“service at St. John’s without the Northgate, and also towards the
“Cornmarket to the new howses built of St. Anne’s, which standyth
“amydest the Boll Yarde, and to resorte to no house except the
“free house and the Church. If he be taken without the said

& saufe bringe from the saide towne of Manchester to the saide towne of Stafford, there to remayne as sanctuarye men, & to be delivered to the bailiffs or hed officers of the said towne of Stafford, by indenture to be made betwene the foresaide constables & the said bailiffs or hed officers of the saide towne of Stafford for the tyme beinge: in which indentures shall be comprised & specified the names of all suche sanctuarye personnes as as shal be soe delivered: & that the said sanctuarye personnes & every of them shal be in all places meane betwene Manchester & Stafforde in the tyme of their saide conduction leadinge and bringinge from Manchester to Stafforde as they & every of them had byne & remayned sanctuary personnes in Manchester aforesaide: & further we doe by theis presents clerly discharge the mayre, sheriffs, and comynaltie of the said City of Westchester & their successours for the havinge and receivinge of suche sanctuarie personnes from Manchester after the said feaste of the Nativitie of S. John the Baptiste nowe next cominge: et hoc sub pena centum librarum de terris & catallis tuis ad opus nostrum levandarum nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso apud Westm’ xxx die Maii anno regni nostri tricesimo quarto. Per ipsum regem & de dat’ predict’ auctoritate parliamenti.—34 *Hen. VIII.*

A.O. 22a.—Tempore Hugonis Aldersaye x die Julii anno Henricii viii 34.

Memorandum that wheras by auctoritie of a parlament holden at Westminster the 16th day of januarii in the 33rd yere of y^e reign of our most dere sovereign lord above said yt was enacted that Manchester then being a sayntuary towne, should from thensforth be clerly dyschargid of y^e same sayntuarie and privilage, & that this cittie of Chester should from hensforth be & contynew a santtuari & a place of privelege for terme of lyfe of all manner offenders with a proviso that the Kinges majestie myght reforme & change the same sanctuary to eny other place as his grace should see consideracon; & for as much as if the same sayntuary should have been byn & continued in this cittie would not only have enduced grete sclander & decaie of credaunce of the merchaunts & inhabytaunts of the same wyth many other intollerable inconvenyences which were lyke to have ensued to this citie being a port towne & standing so nygh Wales to the grete hinderance, daunger, & damage of the same, in avoyding whereof y^e said mayre accompanyd with Ffolke Dutton, alderman of y^e said citie, by the hole consent of the aldermen & com’on counsaile of the same citie the 22nd day of June last past, rode to the Kinges majestie to make sute for the Reformation of the same by whoes diligent labor & pursute it pleased his grace upon certain declarac’ons declarid by them unto his Majeste to Remove y^e same sanctuary unto the towne of Stafford, as by his most gracios will of proclamacon under his brode seale more at large dothe apere which said proclamacon under the Kinges brode seale now doth Remayne in the tresureres house of the same citie in the com’on cofer their.—(*p. 75a.*)

"liberties, then the Sheriffs to answer to the Creditors for the debt."¹

It does not come within the scope of this work to give a detailed description of the city churches, but the following brief summary, as drawn up by the vicar of St. John the Baptist's, will be not out of place here. Founded by one of the Saxon kings, Ethelred, in 689, or more probably 901, St. John's was visited in solemn pomp and ceremony by King Edgar in 960, when he was rowed from his palace on the Dee by the eight vassal kings, who there did homage to him. This church was repaired a century later by Leofric of Mercia; but eighteen years after the present grand building was commenced by Peter, first Norman bishop of Mercia, the nave and tower piers and arches being his work; and he transferred hither his Bishop's stool from Lichfield.

The triforium is transitional, and the clerestory early English work.

In 1353 the church being in need of repair Sir Piers Roter, Lord of Thornton, granted the Canons the advowson of Stoak, and in recognition of this liberality the Thornton chauntry (the ruins of which are in S.E. corner of the choir) was built.

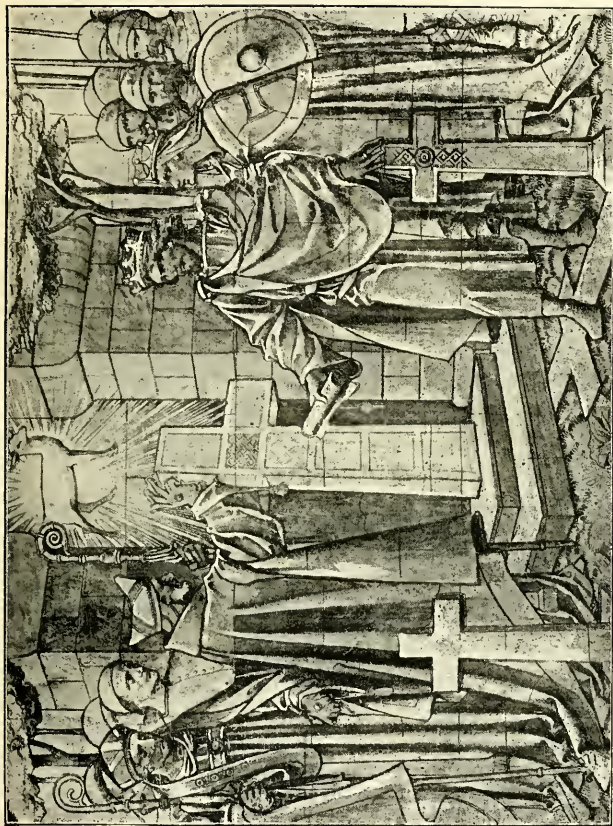
The central tower fell in 1470, destroying the choir or east end of the church. At the dissolution, the college of St. John's escaped for a while, but in 1547 Richard Walker, the last Dean of St. John's, surrendered his college to the crown. The advowson was granted by Elizabeth in 1585 to her Vice-Chamberlain Sir Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Chancellor. The plan of the church, made in 1589, is given here by the courtesy of Rev. S. Cooper Scott, copied for his able monograph from Harl. MSS., 2073.

In addition to the churches already mentioned, there were in Chester a number of chapels, chantries, and more than one anchorite's cell.

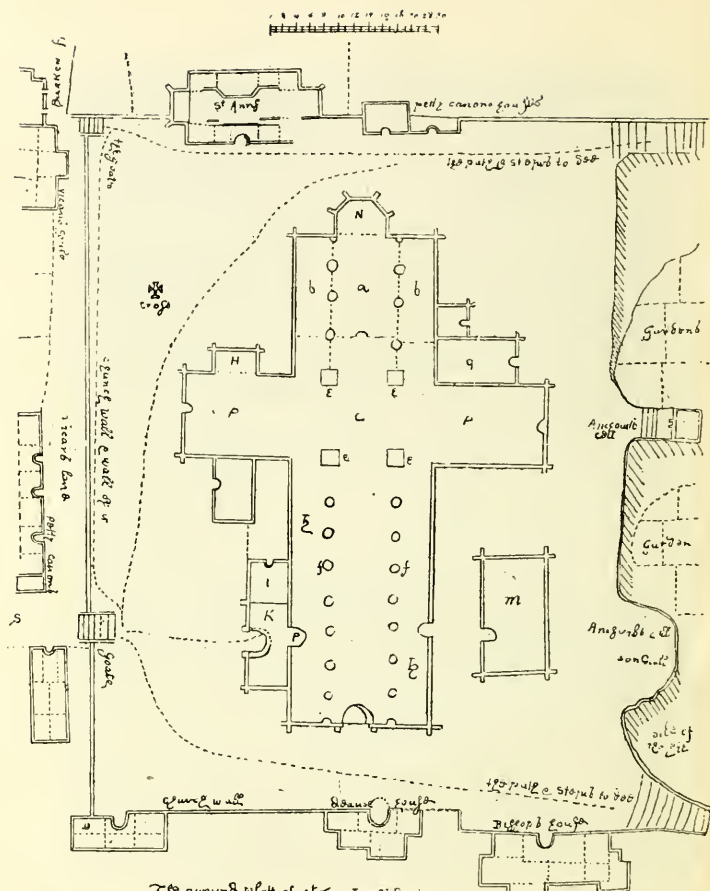
The site of the Church of St. Cedde, or Chad, has been involved in much obscurity. Ormerod, without being able to fix the exact spot, states that it stood within the square formed by the Walls, Watergate Street, and Northgate Street. Crane places it in the croft where Stanley Place and the Linen Hall now are, partly in the road which leads from Watergate Street to Stanley Place, partly where Mr. Hesketh built a house on the west of that road. According to Harl. MSS. 2125, 267*b*, "it is now ruined and not to be found. It stood in the croft over against the Black Friars, on the north side the Watergate Street, next the Watergate."²

¹ See Assembly Order, 32 Hen. VIII.

² An amusing mistake is made in *Hanshall's Cheshire*, p. 225, where it states that "In a record of the 21st of the same king [Henry VII.], a fine was levied on account of



Ethelred of Mercia lays the foundation of St. John's Church, on the spot where he sees
the vision of a white Bird.



The ground plot of St. John's college in 1589
before it was ruined by the fall of the steeple
which stood in the middle of the churchyard at

Plan in British Museum of St. John's, A.D., 1589.

The same MS states that "St. Nicholas Church, now ruined, "was by the Black Friars, at the end of Nicholas Street." This is not the same as the St. Nicholas Church, within the precincts of the abbey, which, built originally in the time of Abbot Simon of Whitchurch, to accommodate the parishioners of St. Oswald's, was converted, 38 Henry VIII., 1545, into the Common Hall, and ultimately became the Chester Theatre, and still later the Music Hall.¹

The Chapel of St. Thomas à Becket occurs in St. Werburgh's Chartulary, E 1190, as the "Cemetery of St. Thomas without the Northgate," at the north extremity of Northgate Street, between the roads leading to Eastham and Parkgate. It was afterwards known as "Green Hall," and later "Jolly's Hall," being demolished in the siege. Here the abbot claimed and held once a year a leet of all the residents within the abbey and in Northgate Street (without the Northgate).² The Dean and Chapter still continue to hold Thomas of Canterbury's Court in the Cathedral, though in 2 Edward VI., when St. Thomas' was leased to Thomas Ellis, the condition was made that the Dean and Chapter should have "sufficient place to keep their court within y^e said house or chapell."³ This chapel is not to be confounded with the Chapel of St. Thomas the Apostle, within the precincts of the abbey, which occupied the site of the present Deanery.

St. John's, too, had its chapels—St. Anne's Hospital or Fraternity,⁴ in St. John's Churchyard, near the north-east end of the church (at the end of Vicar's Lane), was endowed with thirty houses in the city, Foregate Street, Cow Lane, St. John's Lane, Eastgate Street, Castle Lane, Northgate Street, Parson's Lane, Overleigh, the rental of which amounted to £17 8s. 4d. The Church of the Holy Cross is supposed to have been connected with St. John's, and three stalls in St. John's were called the

St. Stephen's Cross. This Cross stood at the bottom of Parson's Lane—"Q'd fregit et obstupavit viam, &c." The original record is to the effect that the jury present "q'd Stephanus Crosse fregit et obstupavit altam viam que ducit ad ecclesiam Sancti Cedde Cestrie ad magnum nocumentum Civium Civitatis Cestrie." The culprit (who was fined 12^d.) was a man named Stephen Crosse (not an inanimate cross), and his offence was that he broke up by digging (as was so often done), and obstructed the road leading to the Church.

¹ "1545. New Comon Hall to be builded in St. Nicholas Chapell, towards which the profite of a comon bargaine of iii tons of iron was given, being latly come to the city by a Spaniard, and the Mayor being head of the occupac'on of Ironmongers gave freely to the building therof for himself, and three tons of iron which amouuted to xxiii^{li}., and immediately the set workmen about it."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2125, *cf. Assembly Book*.

² Cf. Quo Warranto, 2 Ed. III., and Award 1 Hen. VIII. ³ *Harl. MSS.*, 1994, 544.

⁴ They are described [2 Ed. VI., 1462] as Fratres et Sorores Fraternitatis S. Anne in Ecclesia Collegiata St. Johannis.

Prebends of the Holy Cross.¹ Mention of this church occurs as early as 6 Edward I. [1278], as the place where certain Welshmen took an oath over the cross not to bear arms against the king.² In the Taxatio, 1291, it would seem that there had been a Collegiate Church of Holy Cross, "*Portionarii Ecclesie Prebendalis S. Crucis, Cestrie*," and Henry Raynford is presented, 1496, to the 4th Prebend of the Holy Cross, void by the death of John Atkin. The church was probably merged in the larger foundation of St. John's. Dr. Cowper explains that in St. John's was an ancient rood of such veneration that the Church of St. John's itself was called the Church of the Holy Cross and St. John.

The records of 1398 refer to Randal de Scolehall as chaplain of St. Mary's Chantry, in the Church of St. John's.

St. Mary's-on-the-Hill had a Chantry of St. Katherine, at the end of the north aisle, with an image of the saint, and a Trinity Chapel, which was the Troutbeck Chapel, built in 1433 by William Troutbeck. St. Peter's had a chapel in the "Queere," called St. George's Chapel, with a figure of St. George, to which belonged divers lands.³ The nuns, too, had a Little St. Mary's in Kettle's Croft, close to the river side, opposite the castle. In the great square tower in Chester Castle is a chapel, 19 feet by 16, with a vaulted and groined roof. The appointment of chaplain frequently occurs in the Recognisance Rolls, 100s. being given for salary, and 6/8 for wine and lights during masses. In this chapel James II. heard mass. Sir John Delves founded a chantry at Handbridge, which, by his last will (16th Aug., 1396), he largely endowed just before his death.⁴

Of Hermitages and Anchorite's cells, we have the anchorite's cell below St. John's, where it was erroneously believed that King Harold lived after the Battle of Hastings, into which a friar was formally inducted in 1363. John Spicer, hermit, obtains a warrant, Sep. 9, 1358, of Edward, Prince of Wales, pardoning him for acquiring to himself and his successors, hermits, of Stephen de Merton, a parcel of land between the Dee and the quarry, and building thereon a hermitage enclosed within a wall. This was

¹ Ormerod, i, 254.

² 1278, 6 Ed. I. Kenenard fil. David fil. Enyon Hoel fil. Edenened fil. Griffini, Caduganus fil. Lewelini fil. Kenwrici, Madocus fil. Edenened fil. Mereduci fil. Kenwrici fil. Lewelini, Yarnoth fil. Madoci fil. Kenenerth, Yarnoth fil. Teguated fil. Teguated parvi, David fil. Graun fil. Madoci, Amanus fil. Yernorth Vaghan, David fil. Griffri Vaghan. Isti prenommati venerunt, in *ecclesia Sancte Crucis Cestrie* [Holy Cross] die Martis in vig. St. Matth. et prestiterunt Regi sacramentum fidelitatis de vita et membris, &c., *super Crucem predictam* et quod non aliquo tempore portabunt arma contra Dominum regem.—*Rymer, ii, 126.*

³ Harl. MSS., 2150, 248a.

⁴ Ormerod 3, 266.

probably connected with the Capella S. Jacobi, which was on the south of the church, in the cemetery, and, in 1341, was held by Dean John de Marisco, mentioned 21 Edward IV.

Another hermitage of St. James' stood beyond the Dee Bridge, to which Ieuan ap Bleth' ap Carwet was appointed by the king as hermit, and whose conduct and regimen the king [Feb. 16, 1455-6] desires the mayor and sheriffs of the city to inquire into. His predecessor, John Benet, [30-1 Henry VI., 1450] *Heremita St. Jacobi Cestria*, is indicted as a common receiver of robbers, sheltering common malefactors (*in hospicio suo*), and keeping a common brothel. In Harl. MSS., 2162, 400, there is a reference to an anchorite of St. Chad.

Anchorites differed from hermits in that they were shut up in small cells, attached to the parish church, the ceremony of enclosing them being looked upon as of great importance. They were waited upon by servants. Thus, 27 Edward I., mention is made of "*Cecilia ancilla ancorit' St. Cedde*." Neighbouring householders sent them food, which was passed into them through a curtained hole in the wall.

The Hospital of St. Ursula, in Commonhall Lane, is of comparatively late foundation. The license for its foundation as the Chantry and Hospital and Guild of St. Ursula, was granted 12th June, 1510, to Alderman Thomas Smith, sen., overseer of the will of Roger Smyth, in conjunction with John Harper, of Chester, merchant, John Davenport and Henry Bullinge, chaplains.

An agreement dated 6th Feb., 24 Henry VII., in the Pentice Chartulary, sets forth the plan adopted. The executors agree with the mayor and citizens, and Margery, the prioress of St. Mary's Nunnery, to edifie and build at their proper costs, upon a certain voyde ground granted to them for the purpose, "six several "mansions or tenements under one rove, convenient and able for 6 "poore bedemen." Candidates for admission who have been of the 24, and fallen into poverty, or who are widows of deceased aldermen, were to have the preference over other applicants. Preference in like manner is given to council-men over ordinary citizens or their widows. Every bedeman and bedewoman of the foundation is to take an oath "dayly to saie our Ladye's phalter [*sic*] with *de profundis* " (yf they cann or maie be able for sickness soe to doe) "for the soule of the saied Roger Smith, and for the good estate "of the mayor, aldermen, and commynalty." The wardens of the Guild agree, 12th April, 32 Henry VIII., to distribute annually, on a certain day, in the chapel of the Guild, 30 silver pence to the brethren and sisters of the foundation.

After the Dissolution, the building was used as the old Common Hall and now it is occupied by six almshouses.

The order of St. Ursula is commonly stated to have been founded in 1537, and devoted to the education of girls.

The repairs of St. Peter's, as the principal city church, were in the Tudor period undertaken by the civic authorities. Reference is made more than once to the maintenance of the chimes, and in 27 Elizabeth a certain clockmaker, William Sampson, obtained his freedom in return for providing a suitable clock and chimes. In 1598, however, the levellookers, Christopher Conway and John Ratcliffe, are presented for not maintaining "*le chimes S. Petri*" in sufficient repair and permitting them to be very ruinous (*valde ruinos' ad nocumentum tot' inhabitant'*) to the nuisance of all the inhabitants.

Another important landmark of Chester was removed in 1579, when the spire of St. Peter's Steeple, "which was 14 yardes, was "taken down, for it was like to fall."¹

The Churches were used frequently for other than ecclesiastical purposes. It is no matter of wonder that at St. Mary's-on-the-Hill an inquiry against persons for sacrilege should be held, 9 Edward III., before Richard Bryne, mayor, Richard Bradburne and William Savage, sheriffs, in the presence of John Poole, Lieutenant to the Justice of Chester.

But courts of inquiry into other matters, such as inquisitions post mortem, or for proof of age, were often held within the sacred buildings.²

A.O. 319, 21 Elizabeth, 1579.—And further it is ordered by the said maior, sheriffs, & comon counsaile that the levelokers for the time beinge shall yerelie give & paie for the kepeinge of the chimes of Saint Peter's in good tune & for all charges thereof xx^s. to him whoe hath or shall take the keepinge of the same.

A.O. 492.—Whereas William Sampsonne, clockmaker, exhibiteth his bill to be free of this Cittie in Consideracon to make a Clock, & orderly & substanciall Chymes in the parishe Church of St. Peter thapostle within the saide Cittie, with a dyall streetwarde, there to decerne the howres & tymes of the day upon his own charges (havige founde to him all carpenters wurk, Ropes peace & an c & di. Iron) which beinge waied & considered It is nowe fully agried upon by the saide Maior &c., That the saide Sampson After that he shall have fully made the saide Clock, Chymes & Dyall, in sorte as before, shalbe enfranchised and made free gratis in consideracon thereof.

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125, 214.

² Inquis. post mortem in St. Mary's, in the reign of Hen. VI.; in Holy Trinity in 32 Hen. VIII., a suit as to certain tanned hides belonging to a shoemaker; in St. Peter's, 6 Ed. IV., a solemn protestation by sailors about damage done to goods in transit.

6 Ed. IV. Mem. that upon Wensday next afore Seynt Thomas Day thapostill in the

A Welshman from Prestatyn, Ienan ap Yollyn ap David, appears in the Carmelite Church (14 Henry IV.) to answer all matters of dispute, debts, transgressions, &c.

Two of the churches in Chester were used for sittings of the Earl Marshal's court in the great heraldic dispute of the fourteenth century between Sir Richard le Scrope and Sir Robert le Grosvenor, as to the right of bearing "a shield azure with a bend or." The cause was tried in various places by the commissioners and carried over several years, amongst the witnesses being one sovereign prince, one duke, three earls, three barons, three abbots, two priors, eleven bannerets, and nearly one hundred and fifty knights, gentlemen, and others, including Owen Glyndwr, and the poet Geoffrey Chaucer. One of the sittings was held 4 Sep., 1386, at St. John's¹ before John de Wodehouse, Chamberlain of Chester, and William de Bromborough, parson of Aldeford,² as Commissioners for the Lord Marshal. John de Gunwardly acted as proctor for Sir Richard le Scrope, and John Askheved for Sir Robert le Grosvenor. The witnesses examined on this occasion were John Massy de Tatton, John Massy de Podyngton, Robert Danyell, William de Lye, Laurence de Dutton, Rauf de Vernon, Hugh Browe, Richard de Byngham, John de Leycestre, and John Pole. William de Brereton was summoned to give evidence, but refused three several times. The court adjourned, and sat afterwards at Stockport, Knutsford, Warrington, Lancaster, Nantwich, Wich Malbank, Coventry, and Sondebache. On the ninth and three following days in January next, further evidence was taken at St. Mary's before the Commissioners William de Bromborough and John de Rossendale, when a long array of witnesses, the noblest blood in Cheshire, was brought forward on behalf of the Grosvenor party. Besides Sir Robert le Grosvenor there appeared "Esteplane" the Abbot of Vale Royal, the Abbot of Comberemere, Richard de Wyco, Prior of Norton, William de Merston, Abbot of St. Werburgh's, Owen Sire de Glendore and Tudor de Glendore, John le Massi de Podynton, Laurence de Dutton, Hugh de Browe, William de Brereton, knights, Richard de Manlegh, Robert le Pulisdon, Johan de

Churche of Seynt Peturs of Chester, William Preston, Mayster of the Margaret of Chester, bath don to sothe on a boke wyth xii maryners with hym afore John Cotyngham, John Runcorn, John Loker, Thomas Godefelow and John Byrshe and Henry Broune, Prystis of the seyd Chyrche that the godes beyng in the seyd Margarete wher not wette by no leke nyf in the defeaute of the seyd Margarete nyf of the shypmen bot by the grace of God.

¹ "Dehors les mures de West Chester—en le suburbe de Cestre joust le rivere de Dee."

² He was also in 1391 Rector of Olave's, and when Richard was deposed, he resigned his living and obtained leave to go on pilgrimage to foreign parts.

Hannere, Howel, Jaues, and Johan de Eton, Thomas Saynpeer, Thomas and Arthiur de Davenport, Johan and Rauf de Leycestre, Hugh de Huls, Hamon de Ascheley, Matth. del Mere, Robert de Toft, Johan de Dounvile, John de Holford, Rauf de Vernoun, Radulf and Johan Maynwaryng, Geffrey de Boidell, Rauf de Egerton, John de Ewlløe, John le Armerer, Mair de Cestre, &c.

In the course of their evidence, the Mayor of Chester and the Abbot of St. Werburgh's testified to having seen the challenged arms painted up in the church of the Friars Minor, Chester, and in St. Werburgh's. Judgment was given by the king for le Scrope, 27 May, 1390, and the bill of expenses for only a portion of the trial, 9 Oct., 11 Richard II. to the day of delivering judgment, amounted to the large sum of £466 13s. 4d.

The churchwardens and other authorities repeatedly complain of persons throwing filth into and doing other damage to the churchyards and cemeteries, and even aldermen set no better example of order and decency.¹

So great is the nuisance that in 1575 the bellman of St. Oswald's is paid ii^d. "for goeing to warne that noe mucke should be cast in "the Churchyard, and in 1587 Edward Banghe is paid x^s. viii^d. for "one pew of Syled worke on the other side of the piller which is "by the font for the sworne men to oversee the misdemeanors "which happen in the Church at service time." These misdemeanors were, however, trivial compared with the offence recorded in the Pentice Chartulary, p. 92, 10 Edward II., when Hugh de Thellewe, Robert Brastones, Adam Place, Richard (late servant of Roger the Harper), and John of Huntinton are charged with wandering about the city at night, and coming into St. John's Church on the Vigil of the Invention of the Cross, and carrying off out of the church and ravishing a woman who was keeping her vigil there before the cross.²

The offences committed within the church in Elizabeth's reign would be rather in the form of general irreverence, contention

¹ 4 Hen. VIII. Reginald Esne, Thomas Shirwode, Elizabeth Wrixhame and Johanna Garratt sell wares in St. John's Cemetery, and Robert Clyne, official, and Hugh Sherman, sexten', allow the foresaid traders and others to sell their wares in the foresaid cemetery.

Wm. Aldersey, Alderman, with W. Dymocke, Ralph Aldersey Alderman, Richard Modesley are fined 12^d each for defiling the Cemetery of St. Werburgh.

Stephen Holbynderg and Rauf Wright, Churchwardens of St. Oswald's for not seyinge the Churchyarde kept clayne.—5 *Ed. VI.*, 1551.

Ralph Bambyle, Ralph Aldersey, Peter Strete, Wm. Aldersey, John Carver († Phil. and Mary) are fined 2^d each for defiling St. Oswald's Churchyard. Robert Lower, Clericus, defiles St. John's Churchyard.

² Unam mulierem de underwood que vigilavit coram cruce vi et contra voluntatem suam ceperunt et rapnerunt duxerunt de predicta ecclesia et concubuerunt cum ea contra voluntatem suam.

about seats, or of outspoken disapprobation of the preaching, as was Mrs. Stanley's outrageous conduct during sermon time to Mr. Christopher Goodman, referred to in the Letter Book.

Attendance at divine service was rigorously enforced in Elizabeth's reign, and all persons neglecting their duty in this matter were looked upon with suspicion, loyalty to the established church and loyalty to the crown being, as has been previously observed, regarded as synonymous. In addition to the cases of recusants and others, the Chester records contain numerous instances of persons reported and fined or otherwise punished for absence from the service of the church. The women are presented as often as the men.

1575. Jur' present John Fisher, Foulke Aldersey, Christopher Morville, and Ralph Radford, for not coming to their Parish Church as is proper. Henry Pemberton, with 3 others, for the same and not coming oftener than 4 times a year. Fine 6/8.

1592. Margery Hancok, al. Jenson of Newgate for not coming to Church, and for keeping a Welsh woman in her house who has given birth to a boy, father unknown, nor does she come to Church. "*Reformand*."

1583. Alicia Worsley, wife of Rad' Worsley "*in lege periti*", because she refused to come to divine service. Fine xii^d. William Aldersey fined for his wife's absence.

L. 97.—I, Richard Maghull, yoman, doe acknowledge that I have highlie offended God and the Queenes Majesty in absenting myself from the Church and the exercises of religion now established within this Realme and am hertelie sorie for the same, and nowe doe humblie desier that my submission unto trow religion now professed & my renuntiacon & abjuration of all popery, popishe superstition, & Idolitry may be admitted; & further I doe promyse to contynue my obedyence to her Majesty & the present proceeding the Church of England as it is nowe governed duringe my lief by God's assistance. And in wytnes & testimony of my submission I have subscrybed my name the xxth of October, 1598

RICHARD MAGHULL

Wee whose names are underwritten doe alsoe subscrybe to the submission above written without fraud with a syncere mynde.

THOMAS SHELTON

JAMES BROWNE.

St. Mary's Hunnery.—A.O. 238. Edwardus illustris Regis Anglie filius, princeps Wallie, dux Cornubie, & comes Cestrie, Archiepiscopus & episcopus, abbatibus, prioribus, constabulariis, dapiferis, justiciariis, baronibus, vicecomitibus, ministris, ballivis, burgensibus, fidelibus & subditis suis Comitatum Cestrie & Flynt', ac omnibus aliis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali, & pro salute anime nostre ac animarum progenitorum & heredum nostrorum, concessimus priorisse & monialibus Cestrie quod omnes homines & tenentes dictarum monialium ad voluntatem vel ad terminum annorum qui non sunt infra Gildam mercatoriam Civitatis nostre Cestrie, vel jurati ad libertatem ejusdem ville non ponantur super

juratis & assisis, inquisitionibus & recognitionibus, seu de apparenciis faciendis coram Majore & Vic' Civitatis nostre Cestrie aut aliis ministris nostris quibuscunque ejusdem Civitatis seu Com' nostri Cestr' aut heredum nostrorum. Et quod sint liberi de muragio, stallagio, passagio, tolneto, vigilia, consuetudine, pontagio, misis & taxationibus univrsis de tolcestr', sisebreche panis & servitie, carum' de Sucling de Stuth per totum Comitatum nostrum Cestrie tam infra civitatem quam extra imperpetuum de Seck (sectis?) Shirarum, Curiarum, Penditiarum, Hundredorum, Portmotorum, de operationibus quibuscunque. Et quod nulli ministri nostri, vel alii quicunque fuerint ingressum vel posse habeant ad aliquod faciendum vel exercendum in terris seu tementis per nos aut progenitores nostros aut alios quoscunque dictis priorisse & monialibus concessis ante diem confectionis hujus carte eis facte contra libertates eis a nobis vel antecessoribus nostris collatas, sed totum ad predictas moniales & earum ballivos pertineat imperpetuum. Et quod habeant imperpetuum omnia amerciamenta de omnibus hominibus & tenentibus suis predictis in quibuscunque curiis nostris aut heredum nostrorum Comitum Cestrie, tam infra Civitatem quam extra fuerint amerciati ad levandum per Ballivos predictarum monialium & successorum suorum. Prohibemus eciam districte quod nec major nec vicecomites nec Custumarii seu aliqui alii ministri nostri aut heredum nostrorum Civitatis predictae, seu Cestris' seu aliqui vices eorum gerentes in terris tenementis & feodis priorisse & monialium Cestrie contra libertates predictas eis concessas in aliquo se intromittant sub pena decem librarum argenti nobis aut heredibus nostris comitibus Cestrie solvendarum.¹ Inspeximus etiam quasdam literas patentes Domini Ricardi nuper Regis Anglie ii post Conquestum Anglie factas in hec verba. Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie & Frauncie & Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus Ducibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Militibus, Justic' Vic' Prepositis, Ministris & aliis fidelibus suis salutem. Sciatis quod cum charissimus dominus & pater noster Edwardus nuper Comes Cestrie inter ceteras libertates dilectis nobis in Christo Priorisse & monialibus domus Beate Marie Cestr' concessas concessit eisdem quod omnes homines & tenentes dictarum monialium ad voluntatem vel ad terminum annorum qui non fuerint infra Gildam mercatoriam Civitatis nostre Cestrie vel jurati ad libertates ejusdem ville essent liberi de muragio, stallagio, passagio, tolneto vigiliis consuetudine pontagio misis & taxationibus univrsis prout in carta ipsius partis nostri inde confecte plenius continetur. Ac jam predictae priorissa & moniales nobis supplicaverunt ut cum ipse libertatibus & quietanciis predictis pro se hominibus, servientibus, & tenentibus suis tam integris quam aliis virtute Carte predictae hactenus usi fuerint & gavisipseque nichilominus libertatibus & quietanciis predictis juxta effectum carte predictae uti valeant jam de novo impediti existant. Velimus pro earum securitate libertates & quietantias predictas pro ipsis priorissa & monialibus ac earum hominibus & servientibus exnunc in servitio predictarum priorisse & monialium & earum successorum pro tempore existen' ac earum quicunque tenentes tam ad terminum annorum quam ad voluntatem super terras & tenementa ipsarum priorisse & monialium & successorum suarum commorantes sive residentes licet dicti tenentes alias

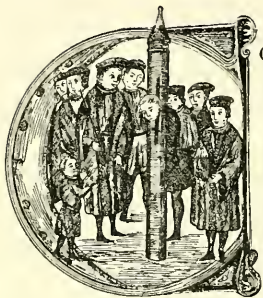
¹ Here comes in (in Dugdale iv., 314) a long clause, and date of Edward Black Prince. Tenants not to trade secretly or openly outside the market extra mercatum ejusdem Civitatis in detrimentum mercati predicti.

percellas terrarum quorumcumque tenuerint ampliare. Nos ut omnis ambiguitas tollatur in hac parte & ut ipse melius & quietius valeant altissimo formulari volentes ipsis juxta earum supplicationem gratiam regiam feliciter impertiri concessimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris & hac carta nostra confirmavimus eisdem priorisse & monialibus quod ipse & earum homines & servientes qui non sunt infra Gildam Mercatoriam Civitatis nostre Cestrie vel jurati ad libertatem ejusdem ville exnunc in servitio predictarum priorisse & monialium & earum success' pro tempore existent' & earum quicumque tenentes tam ad terminum annorum quam ad voluntatem super terras & tenementa ipsarum priorisse & monialium & success' suarum commorantes sive residentes licet dicte tenentes alias percellas terrar' aliorum quorumcumque tenuerint quieti sint imperpetuum de hujusmodi muragio stallagio passagio tolneto vigiliis consuetudine pontagio misis & taxationibus quibuscunque. Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quod predictae priorissa & conventus & earum homines & servientes qui non sunt infra Gildam mercatoriam Civitatis nostre predictae vel jurati ad libertatem ejusdem ville exnunc in servitio pred' priorisse & monialium & earum succ' pro tempore existen' ac earum quicumque tenentes tam ad terminum annorum quam ad voluntatem super terras & tenementa &c., quieti sunt imperpetuum de hujusmodi muragio stallagio passagio tolneto vigiliis cons' pontagio misis & taxationibus quibuscunque ut predictum est. Hiis Testibus Venerabilibus patribus W. Archiepiscopo Cant' totius Anglie primate; R. London; W. Winton episcopis Rege castelle & legionis Duce Lanc' Edmundo comite Cantibrig' Thom' comite Buckingham Avunculis nostris charissimis, Ricardo Arundell, Hugone Stafford, Henrico Percie Northumbr' comitibus Michael de la Pole Cancellar' Hugone de Segrave Thesaurar' nostris Johanne de Monte acuto Seneschall' hospitii nostri & aliis. Dat' per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium xvii die Novembris anno regni nostri vii.—*Assembly Book*, 162a.

Alicia Prioress and Convent give to church of Vale Royal and the Abbot, &c., one bovat of ten acres, with $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre and $\frac{1}{4}$ -acre of a meadow "in Lache apud Rudhet," in exchange for a bovat which the Abbot, &c., gave them in his manor of Dernehale. Witnesses—"Domino Reg. de Grey, Justic. Cestr., Dominiis Radulpho de Vernuu, Ricardo de Masci, Hugone de Dutton, militibus; Willelmo de Preeres tunc vic' Cestrie, Alexandro de Barnvile, Johanne de Wetenhal, et multis aliis."

CHAPTER IV.

The Mayor, his Jurisdiction and Officers



CONSIDERABLE doubt has been expressed as to the year of the first appointment of the Mayor of Chester. The earliest date assigned is that of 1257. It is extremely probable that an officer (at first, perhaps, having only the title of bailiff, or "præpositus," but with functions similar to those exercised by the mayor in later times) would be appointed by Henry III., as early as 1237, when he took into his hands the Earldom of Chester.¹ This officer, who was afterwards also Clerk of the Market and Escheator, succeeded to some of the privileges of his royal master, and though it might appear that the right of pre-emption, or the first refusal of goods offered for sale in the markets, was exercised by him as the chief citizen of Chester, it was more probably a relic of the privileged position inherited from the king's civic representative of the 13th century.²

The Mayor's relation to the Gild Merchant will be discussed in a later chapter.

The first mention of a *Mayor* of Chester, among the documents in the Chester Muniment Room, occurs in Charter 12 (12 June, 28 Edward I., 1300). Among the Welsh Plea Rolls preserved in the Record Office, No. 6, under *Placita Coronæ*, 21 Edward I., orders are given to the sheriffs of the city to attach the mayor for

¹ No argument against the early appointment of a mayor can be founded upon the silence of the Chronicle of St. Werburgh. This chronicle, though referring more than once to a Sheriff of Chester, and the Justiciary of Chester, never makes any allusion to a mayor, even at a time when it can be proved that such an authority existed. Even Sir John Arneway, who was mayor 1268-1276, and whose death is recorded in the chronicle in connection with a charitable gift to the abbey, is spoken of simply as a citizen of Chester.

² See Domesday—"Si habentibus martinas pelles juberet præpositus regis ut nulli venderet donec sibi prius ostensas compararet, qui hoc non observabat xl solidis emendabat.

an offence [*quod fecit t'here quosdam super cleyas*]. He did not appear, and the sheriffs report that he was not to be found within their "balliva."

Charters 9, 10, and 11 are addressed (after naming other high officials) to the king's prefects, ministers, and all bailiffs and lieges (*prepositis, ministris et omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis*), and the mayor may be included amongst the *prepositi*; but it is remarkable that the style so usual at a later period, "Mayor and Commonalty," is not employed in Henry's charters.

The appointment of the same man as mayor for a succession of years—Walter Lynnet, 1257-1260; Richard Clerk, 1261-1267; Sir John Arneway, 1268-1276; and Hugh de Bricchull, 1292, 1294-96, 1300, 1302-3, 1305-7, 1309-1312—as well as the repeated occurrence of the same family names in the list of mayors and sheriffs point to the conclusion that, as of late years, the high office of mayor was burdensome, entailing not only the loss of leisure, but also great pecuniary sacrifice, and therefore to be held only by a very select number of citizens.

There is no doubt that the mayor for the time being was able to find compensation of some kind or other. In the Treasurers' Accounts (37-38 Henry VI.) Nicholas Danyell, mayor, receives as his emolument £11 6s. 8d.; Hugh Dutton, sword-bearer, and John Styche, serjeant, each 40s. In 1540 the mayor's fees are considerable, provision being made for his "kitchen," while he had his share of the fees for admission to the City Franchise, and a handsome sum for sealing documents and sitting on inquisitions. He had also the services of two sergeants in attendance; and the mayoress, likewise, was not without her share in the dignity of office, for the Yeoman of the Pentice acted as her gentleman-usher.¹

¹ 1540—The Maior's fees: (Harl. MSS., 2150.)

Item out of the comon box toward his kechen	-	-	-	-	-	xlii.
— that of ould tyme the Mayre was used to make of freemen in his yeare at his pleasure, for which he now hath in mony out of the comon box	-	-	-	-	-	xxvi ^s . viii ^d .
— of the Sherriffs of the Cittye of ould tyme used for sessinge of their fines to be payd at Christmas, named the byinge of his bord	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^{li} .
— For every Escheator's quest the maior sitteth on	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^{li} .
— For every of the maior seales with the seale of his office of statute merchaunts	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^s . viii ^d .
— For every tyme the mayre sealed with the seale of his office	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
— For every person franchised being freeman's sonne at his admittance to the libertyes	-	-	-	-	-	iii ^{li} ^d .
— For every deed inrouled before the Maior	-	-	-	-	-	xi ^{li} ^d .
— For every fine levied and recovered	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
Swordbearer hath yerely the scabbard of the sword he carrieth before the maior, or	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^{li} .

1540—Auncient fees to Yeoman of Pentice, always gentleman-usher to Mrs. Maiores:
 Treasurers to give for new Rushes and clensing on Good Friday - - - ii^s.
 For Rushes for the whole yere, to the Pendice - - - iii^s. iii^{li}^d.

Notwithstanding the importance of the office, and the emoluments attached to it, it was found necessary in 1567, owing to the want of persons of sufficient means to hold the position, and the loss of trade sustained by the city, to pass a special order of

Tempore Thome Smythe.—It is ordred that frome the day of makyng hereof the iiij serjants or bailiffes of the said citie shall have their yerely table with the maire and sherreffs for the tyme beyng in maner aud forme folwyng, That is to wit, the maior to have twoo of the said serjants and the shereffs to have the other twoo serjeants, and so yerely contynuyng all other maiors and sherreffs in tyme commyng; and therefore they to gif gode attendaunce unto the said Maior and Shereffs accordyng to their duties.

A.O. 38.—Tempore Thome Aldersaye.—And also where every realme citie dominion & territorie be ruele & well ordered & governed by the hedds & ruelers herof elected taken & chosen to the same & namely this citie of Chester from tyme wherof no mans remembraunceys to the contrary hath bene ruled & well governed by ye hedds & rulers of ye same & specially by the mayre aldermen sheriffs & other officers therein eligible for the same intent & pourpouse in observation & keping not onely the laues of God but also the laues of this relme of England which laues wer allwayes observid & maynteynd by the mayre sheriffs aldermen & other officers in ye same for ye tyme being accordinglye which mayre aldermen sheriffs & other officers wer ever in lyke manar elictid taken & chosyn by & of the cytyzens of ye same cytye able eligible unto the said offices & rowmes & such as were so at tymes elictyd nominated & appoynted unto & in every the said severall roumes & offyces for ye good governaunce & rule of ye inhabitants of ye same cytye & all other ye kings subjects therunto from tyme to tyme resorting & confluent ever did excercyse & occupye ther said severall rowmes & offices & at no tyme past refused the same & yt ys now of late notoryosly & openly knowen unto the said cytyzens of this cytye that ther ys refusall made by summe persons which have coum & encrysed to grete aboundance of ryches by ther abode in ye same cytye & by reason that ye wer partakers of thes liberties and fraunches unto ye said cytye belongyng & ye granuts & charters therof by ye kings noble progenitors afore time grauntyd confermyd & made: wherfor in mayntenance of the premisses & ye conservacon of ye kings peace & quyetnes of his said subjects & other grete & urgent causes & consederations moving, they now mayre of ye said cytye & also the recorder therof aldermen sheriffs & fortye of ye comon counsell of ye said cytye at an

When extraordinary occasion for flowers, Rushes, Candles, or other things appoynted to be done by Mr. Maior, for fiershovell, tonges, bellows, or the like by him layd downe and payd by the treasurer - - - - -
Sundry fees at 4 festivals—fairings, &c., &c. - - - - -

1540—Sergeant of Peace :

For sealinge and marking of every hoope or measure	-	-	-	-	ii ^d .
----- yarde and elne	-	-	-	-	ii ^d .

All fish not marketable he to overseer and burne the same, and have the Caske for his labore. To keepe all the scales, measures, and weightes of the City.

Mrs. Maiors used to give a band and cuffs for a new ers [New Year] gift, and sometime a handkerchafe with ii^s. vi^d. tyed in the end, but this is no custome, but as the affecte the party, and they carry themselves to them.

Assembly inflicting a fine of £100 for refusal to take up the office, the alderman so refusing to be committed to ward, there to remain without baile or mainprise until he have satisfied the same.

assemble houlden in the comon haule of ye said cytye the third day of October in ye iiiiith yere of the reinge of our most dere soveryng Lord Edward the viiith yt was & ys orderyd decreyd & condysentyd by ye one & hole assent of ye said now mayre Recorder aldermen sheriffs & fourty of ye comon counsell that no person or persons whatsoever he be or of what condycyon he shalbe of this said iii daye of October being fraunchesed & fre man of ye said cytye & so taken reputid & acceptyd emongest ye cytyzens therof that shall chouse & fortune to be elictid & chosen in due forme & order according to the words & graunts of charter of ye said cytye to the same graunted & made by ye kynges majesties noble antecessors & progenytors kings of this realme & erles of Chester shall in eny wyse refuse to exercise & take upon him the office & roume of myrallytie & mayre of this cytye when & as often as he shalbe ther unto elictid as ys aforesaid & be able so to do & yf he be able & wilfully will not exercise & occupye ye said roume then he so refusing & not doing ye same shall forfyte ^{clⁱ} [£100] to the use of the said cytye & the sawre[?] therof & ye same to be levied of his lands goods & chattels being within ye presincte of the same cytye & liberties therof by the shiriffs & the sowers of the same cytye for the tyme being & in default of such persons so refusing lands goods & cattells then hys bodye to be taken by ye sheriffs and other officers balies serjants thereof & by ye mayre of the same for the tyme being to be commytted to prison & warde into the Northgate of the same cytye ther to remayne in sure keeping without baile or maynpryse unto such tyme ye said forfyture of a ^{clⁱ} be fully & trewly contentyd payed & satsfyed unto ye use of ye tresuary of ye said cytye without any remysyon relaxe abatynge or diffalking oneles yt be donne by the mayre aldermen sheriffs & fourty of the comon counsell or ye more party therof for ye tyme being ; & allso yf any person or persons that hereafter shall deuly be electyd & chosyn to ye office of shiriff or shiriffs of the said cytye of Chester refuse to take ye same office upon hym being obstinate & wyll not serve & occupye ye same roume or serve the kings majeste & the cytye in y^t office shall forfyte fyfthe pounds to thuse forsaid & the same to be levied in maner forsayd & in defaulte ther of hys bodye to prisone ther to be kept as ys aforesaid rehersed of the roume of mareallitie of the said cytye & in lyke maner yf any person or persons electyd to ye levelokers or officers of gilde market within ye same cytye then he or the to forfyte 20^{li} to ye use of ye said cyty & the same to be levied in maner & forme afore mentioned.

A. O. 39—And alsoe wher divers aldermen of this citie of Chester beinge of habilitie & substance & allso apte and mete to have bene mayre of this said citie before this tyme meane of contynnall & grete laboure as well by them selves as by other ther frindes afore the daye and tyme of comon election of & in this cytye byne debaret estapet & put themselves oute frome ye office & roume of myrallytie for ye tyme & have caused others which have byne lasse habyltye & substaunce & not so apte or mete to be elictid & chosyn & put in ye said roume or office therefore yt ys orderyd decreyd & sheryshed at thassemble aforesaid by ye said mayre recorder aldermen sheryffs & comen counsell of the same for a comon welthe of ye said citye & cytizins ther inhabiting that no maner person or persons

The mode of election to the mayoralty is prescribed in the Great Charter of Henry VII. It was ordained that the citizens,

being aldermen with in ye citey shall make or cause to be made eny suche labor for ye refusal therof upon payne of forfeiture of xli [*£*10] for every suche tyme as they or eny of them shall do contrary unto this order to be levied in maner & forme abovesaid & to the use aforesaid.

A.O. 40.—And alsoe it is further decreid orderid & establyshed at the said assemble by ye said mayre recorder aldermen sheriffs & counsell that every person & persons being elict chosyn & made or hereafter to be elyct chosyn & made of ye forty of the counsell upon due warninge unto them geven to every semble hereafter to be made in the comon haule & have their tipits aboute ther neckes upon payne of forfytour of vis. viii^d. for every tyme as they or any of them shall do the contrary to be levied in maner & forme above said.

A.O. 92.—Tempore William Snede, militis, maioris.—At an assemble holden in the comon haule of the said cittie, xxi May, 1567.

Wheras the charges and expenses sustaynyd by suche as of late yeres have ben and be caulled to bere the office of mayer within this citie is in all respects growen to be more by thre or foure parts then was accustomed to be spent in that office fortye years passed soe that as smaule charge yt hath bene at that tyme to have borne the charge of that office thre or foure tyme as now once And whereas partely by the unableness and decay of suche as be chosyn to the roumes of aldermen, ther ys suche wante of hable persons to supply that place as the comyners have at ther yerly election purposyd by voyces to have placed in suche as partly have office in the office of mayraltie, which yf yt had so hapened had not been unlycke but to have brought him so chosyn to greyte decay lessinge of his trade and demenyshing of his countenance. And where and wher allso yt hathe bene doubtfull whether one chosyn to be alderman myght frele geve over his Romethe or for juste and lawfull cause by the maiore and comon counsell be displaced in that the words of the charter be that he the same maye beare the name of alderman for ever And wheras allso many beinge well able have thretened that at the tyme of the election yf he shoulde be chosyn he woulde refuse the office, which, being done at that tyme, myght as well procure trouble as allso doubtfullnes of a new election Therefore, and in the providinge of condigne remedye for all the premyssis yt ys at this assemble houlden the daye and yere above wryttn, orderid, and decryed by the said maiore, aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsell of the said cytye in maner and forme folouinge ffurste for the beter preservacion and saving of the countenance of the state of suche as have caryed the office of maiore, and to reduse the order and maner of caulding to that office to the lycke order as ys used in London and other good cities in this realme that ys not to caule eny that have borne the office to his duble charges eftesones to bere the same so longe as ther shall remayne any of the aldermen that have not bene maiores. It ys orderid that every yere upon the election daye the maiore or Recorder before the prosede to any newe election shall reherese and declare to the hole comones the names of all the aldermen that ar of ablety to be maiors, and will them to prosede oute of those to the namynge of two, inasmuche as the words of the chartor cannot other wyse welbe understandid perporting y^t y^e shall name two of the moste suffycient, discrete, and honorable persons of the noubner of the xxiiiij^d aldermen but y^t suche ar to be reputid of those that before

meeting at the Common Hall on the Friday next after the Feast of St. Denis, should name two resident citizens of the twenty-four

had not borne that office ells whan amongst them, the most habylist to all respectes is chosyn untyll one beter hable shall hapen he shalbe contynually chosyne.

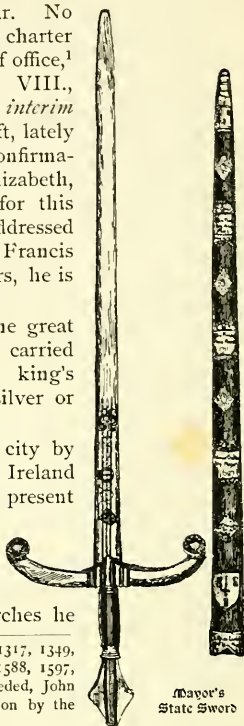
93.—And yt ys further ordered that all suche as be chosyn or shalbe chosen to be aldermen of this citie shalbe reputid and taken for aldermen for and duringe ther lyves, except they or any of them shall of worthye cause by ye maior and comon counsell of this citie in open assemble be discharged, or that they or any of theme shall, for ther unhabilitie, or that they be determyned duringe ther lyves to dwell oute of this citie, make request to the maire and comon counsell of this citie to geve over ther roumeth and name of aldermen, and requeste that one other may be chosyn; and then yf upon any suche requeste the maiore and comon counsell in open assemble shall consente and thinke mete the person so worthye of displacement for any of the respectes aforesaid that then yt ys orderid that the maiore, sheriffs, and common counsell shall, and may not onely take order for his and ther displacement so requestinge the same, but also procede to election for another to be chosyne in his place and stede so refusinge or displaced, and he so neuely chosyn to be reputed and tayken as one of the company of the xxiiiith aldermen. And yt ys further ordered that yf any of the aldermen of this citie which before that tyme hath not bene mayre shall thynke him selese unable to cary and bere the office of the mairaltie and mystrust that he at the election daye shalbe chosyne that then he upon the feste daye of Sente Mychill the archangell next before that election daye exhibit his byll to the maior and comon counsell declaring his grefe. And thereupon yt ys orderid that the maiore upon the Frydaye then next folowing, shall caule an assemble and appoynte him fynding hym selese so grevid to be ther, and yf then the hole assemble shall agre that he so fyndinge hym selese grevid be un mete and unable to beare that roumeth, then they to take order that he be excused for that yere, and the same to relate to the comynaultye at the election daye and yf at the assemble thaye shall agre that his complaynt notwithstanding he to be able and mete enough to bere that office, then yf thaye cannot perswad him to accept the same and to thinke hym mete and able enough to use the same office if he be chosyn, and yt ys orderid that he so refusinge shalle then be fyned to one hundrythe pounds, and to be commytted to warde, to remayne ther untyll he have satsfied the same, the one haulefe to be to the use of the citie, and the other haulefe to the use of him that shall supplye the roume of mayor. And yt is orderid that upon suche fyne sessed and he commytted to prisone, that then yt be relatyd at the election daye and the comyners to spare hym at that daye of election, and for thre yeres after from the election, and yf any be chosyn to be mayre at the election daye, and have not given up to the mayer his complaynt on the feste daye of Sent Myhill next before as aforesaide, declaring his unhabilitie, and do after his election refuse the same, or obstynatelye denye the tayking of hys othe, yf he be absent at the election, and so denye to take the office, then yt ys agreed by this assemble that he shall paye for hys fyne the some of two hundrythe mayrckes, and to be commytted to warde nntyll he have payed the same, that two hundrythe marckes to be imployed as the other fyne of cl^b and then the comyners to prosede to a new election as theye maye and be for that one election only to be excused.

aldermen, one of whom should be chosen by the aldermen and sheriffs as mayor for the ensuing year. No provision, however, being made in this charter for a vacancy by death during the term of office,¹ letters patent were issued, 38 Henry VIII., empowering the citizens to elect an *interim* mayor in the place of William Holcroft, lately deceased; and in the Inspeximus and Confirmation of Henry VII.'s great charter, 16 Elizabeth, a special clause was added providing for this difficulty. In all the documents addressed to the mayor in Elizabeth's reign by Sir Francis Walsingham, Lord Burleigh, and others, he is styled "Right Worshipful."

The mayor was allowed by the same great charter to have the sword of state carried before him, in the presence of the king's nobles, with point erect, as well as a silver or silver-gilt mace.

A sword had been given to the city by King Richard II., when on his way to Ireland in September, 1394 [see page 31]. The present sword is of later date, possibly of the 15th or early 16th century.²

The mayor went in state every Sunday to St. Werburgh's or to St. Peter's Church, in each of which churches he



¹ Such a contingency had happened previously in 1317, 1349, 1385, 1401, 1447, and after this in 1546, 1550, 1579, 1588, 1597, 1600, and on two occasions a mayor had been superseded, John de Ewlowe by the Crown in 1409, and Piers Dutton by the citizens in 1514.

² Chester State Sword.—Seventeenth (?) century. Blade ancient, the upper part having three grooves, elaborated with shields of arms diagonally across, possibly of early fifteenth century date. The hilt of silver-gilt is elaborately worked, and conforms to old types. The quillons deflect and have rounded ends, whereon each of which is a garb in relief [on one side, on the other side a head with tongue projecting]. The pommel is of a form seen in the brass of Peter Halle, circa 1425-30, in Herne Church, Kent. The ornaments of the scabbard are in many cases of excellent design, and the more modern additions seem to have borrowed ornament from an earlier work. It has the arms of the City of Chester, and the names of several seventeenth century mayors. It is possible that the whole sword may belong to the fifteenth century, but has been retouched in the seventeenth century, when the scabbard was evidently renewed and recovered with crimson velvet.—*Mr. Hope, Archaeologia.*

The scabbard is the perquisite of the sword-bearer, but is bought of him annually.

It bears the following names :

1. Charles, Earle of Derby, Mayor, 1668
2. Edward Oulton, Esq., Mayor, 1687
3. John Minshull, Esq., Mayor, 1711
4. John Thomason, Esq., Mayor : Peace Proclaimed, May 12, 1713
5. Pattⁿ Ellames, Mayor, 1781

had an official seat.¹ He was attended by the aldermen, sheriffs, and common council from the Pentice, where they assembled, to the church, each clad in the tippet and robes of their dignity. There would appear to have been some laxity in this matter, as more than one Assembly Order was passed to enforce the decent and orderly custom. (A.O. 146, 103, 257.)

A.O. 257.—And where by the former orders of the saide citie it was provided that all the aldermen sheriffs peeres and comen counsell of this citie at every assemblie shall weare their Tippetts, from the pentice to the comen hal & not provided so to returne. Therefore it is now concluded ordered & agried upon at this assemblie that all the aldermen sheriffs peeres & comen counsell of the saide citie that nowe ar & al their successors shall from hencefurthe beinge warned in manner & forme as by the former orders is lymitted & appointed repaire to the pentice with their Tippetts before eny assemblie begon & there shall attende upon the maior for the tyme beinge untill he shall repaire to the comen hall or other place of thassemblie & with suche their Tippetts shall as well attende upon him & folowe him to the place where everie suche assemblie shalbe holden & kepte & duringe every suche assemblie there shall remayne as allsoc in suche sorte with their Tippetts every of them to returne from thence with the saide maior & to attende upon him with suche their Tippetts untill they come to the saide pentice.

The order of procession is set forth in the Assembly Book. Thus it is stated :

A.O. 146.—And wheare allsoc in the tyme of the maioraltie of Henrie Hardware the sixth daie of November Anno 1^o Elizabeth it was ordered that all suche whiche then weare or shulde be aldermen of the saide cittie & have not bene maior shuld goe in order together accordinge to their auncientnes & tyme next unto the sheriffs of the said cittie for the tyme beinge & after suche aldermen the mayres of the same cytye shall go in order together according to ther auncientness & tyme next unto the sheriffs of the said cytye for the tyme beinge as the order of the cytye of London & other worthy cytyes within this realme is, & after the said aldermen all the shiriffs peares of the said cytye to folowe in ther degre & auncentnyse & that from thensfourth the shiriffs of the said cytye for the tyme beinge to were ther tippits at all tymes of assembles & other open & comon shewes within ye said cytye.

The fine in Edward VI. reign was vi^s. viii^d. for every time any member of the Forty failed to attend in the Common Hall without the tippet about his neck. The sheriffs were required to “wear these tippetts at all times during the time of their sheriff-” “wicke so longe as they shalbe in any parte or place within the” “citye, ther dwellinge houses excepted, upon payne of xii^d. every

¹ Treasurers' Accounts :

1555, Paide for ii matts for ye Mayre's forme in the mynster	-	-	-	xii ^d .
1569, For a platt' to hold the sord in Saint Peter's Church	-	-	-	vi ^d .
1593, Hugh Joyner, for makinge the deskes in the Maior's pewe in St. Werburge Church, and for bordes and neiles to the same	-	-	-	v ^s .

"time doing the contrary of every person in that sorte offending therein."¹ This penalty was frequently exacted.

The privilege of carrying the sword in procession created an unpleasantness more than once with the cathedral authorities, and, in June, 1606, Rev. Peter Sharpe, B.D., Sub-dean, and Rector of Dodleston, was alleged to have put down the sword in the cathedral. This offence against the civic dignity was brought before the king's commissioners. Mr. Sharpe, in excusing himself, declared that "he only reverently put his hand on the sword without either holding it or griping the same, so that if the sword was bare, it was the gladnesse (?) of the scaberd, not the violence of his hand that caused it. For he thruste it not downe, but, touching it reverently, said only these words, 'I pray you forbear in this place.'" The commissioners ruled that Mr. Sharpe was to declare his sorrow; the mayor was to repair as formerly with his sword—no door to be shut against him.²

"1607, April 7. The mayor and citizens were to be at liberty to pass and repass through the great west door of the church at time of any funeral or attendance upon any corpse to be buried in the said church, and as often as the mayor repaired to the church to hear the divine service or sermon, or upon any just occasion he was to be at liberty to have the sword of the city borne before him with point upwards."³

The mayor's authority was very considerable within the bounds and meeres of the city, and, as we have seen (page 43), he exercised an important jurisdiction at the Port of Chester, and over the Estuary of the Dee, having in 1402 and 1407, in conjunction with the Sheriffs, the office of Admiral in the service of Henry IV.

His authority was, however, not without limit even in his own city. During the whole of the Plantagenet period, and for the greater part of the Tudor reigns, there were the independent Sokes of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, the Nunnery of St. Mary's, the Hospital of St. John (at the Northgate), and St. Giles at Boughton, which had their own courts, and into whose precincts no

¹ 9 Eliz., 1567. Fines sessed at the Sessions for non-appearance. Edwardus Thompson, ii^s.; Ranulphus Laton, ii^s.; sycke Rychard Poole Alderman; at Denbigh, John Yerworth, gent.; William Leche the Yonger, xii^d.; Kepyth in house Thomas Fletcher; John Fisher xii^d. Rauff Barton xii^d. John Middleton xii^d.

For not wearing of tippets opou Sondaie 23 Nov. 1567 W^m. Aldersay Alderman xii^d. For not appearinge at the Coronmot holden 8 Dec. 1567 Christofer Morvill ii^s. Gilbert Knowles ii^s. Henry Lethe ii^s. Ten others xii^d. Mr Chamberleyn for nott having his tyyppd upon Crystmas Day xii^d.

² Harl. MSS. 2173, 11. ³ Cholmondeley MSS., 5 Report, Hist. MSS., p. 342.

city bailiff or officer could intrude. This independence of civic authority was a fruitful cause of annoyance and collision between the several authorities, as it gravely affected the maintenance of discipline, and interfered with the punishment of wrongdoers. Again, within the Castle Fee, as it might be called, the mayor's authority was in abeyance, and on passing the Glover Stone we learn that the insignia of office, the sword carried before the mayor and the sheriffs' wands, were laid aside so long as they remained within the castle liberties [page 109].

The city records furnish abundant evidence of the exercise of almost autocratic authority by the mayor during his term of office. The contest with the Abbot of St. Werburgh, continued during so many reigns, has been described at length in a previous chapter. The Right Reverend Abbot, strong at first in the support of Norman earl and Plantagenet king (especially the religiously-minded Edward the First), was for several generations more than a match for the Right Worshipful Mayor. But, coincident with other changes under the Tudor monarchs, the ecclesiastical power gradually decayed and the secular authority came into the ascendant.¹

A petition of an alderman, William Aldersay, to the Earl of Leicester, as chamberlain of Chester, throws light upon the city customs and the mayor's authority in the reign of Elizabeth.²

The sheriffs were more than once committed to prison by the mayor. Thus, A.O. 267, 268, 18 Eliz., William Golburne and David Dymock, sheriffs, refusing to levy fines and amerciaments and receive estreats, were committed to prison by Henry Hardware, the mayor, and fined £40, and only released on their humble submission.

¹ 26 Ed. III. Richard de Sanesbury, Abbot of Chester, indicted for imprisoning a man within the abbey, thereupon paid a fine to the mayor.—*Ind. Roll*, 26 Ed. III.

² Petition to Earl of Leicester, Chamberlain of Chester, of Wm. Aldersay, Ald., Iremonger and Merchant Venturer, complains of hostility mortall and most cruell malice of R^d. Dutton, now maior, to him and all his children, confedered with Harry Hardware, John Cowper, Thomas Greene and others to number of 40—disfranchised 28 Jan. at an assembly and deprived of office of Alderman and Justice of the Peace, upon Saturday last paste commanded by Thos. Wever, Sergeant of Peax of citie, and Thos. Bildone, one of serjeants of mace, to shutte downe the wyndowes of his shoppe, not permitting him to occupie the trade of a citizen, and on Sunday last of January called him before him in the Penticke, utterly forbyddinge him to resorte to the said penticke or to take the place apperteyninge to an Alderman and Justice of Peax, or to have any other trade, and greatly blamed him for repaireing into his presence the same day at the same tyme and taking the place of an Alderman with his murrey gowne and velvett tippet and intendeth verie shortly with force and violence to shutt up the wyndowes of the said shoppe, and to imprison him to his utter undoinge and impoverishment. Has no remedy by common law in the city, as Mayor is chief officer.—See *Assembly Book*, 141b.

The committal of a sheriff, John Fraunces, to the Northgate, by the mayor, David Lloyd, in 1594, is the subject of some correspondence preserved in the Great Letter Book (No. 100, 35*a*, 37).

In a later chapter some account is given of the firm and judicious control which the mayor exercised over the various trades of the city, especially in the supply of bread and butcher's meat of good quality and at a reasonable price.

Some of the mayors were especially active in enforcing sumptuary laws, and checking social excesses. Assembling and gathering at "priest offerings," ales, and weddings, often the occasion of much excess, was prohibited in 1555, on penalty of *x^s*. for the person gathering such assembly, and *vi^s viii^d*. for each person attending these gatherings. Henry Gee ventured even to make regulations about women's caps and hats, and the attendance at churchings. Sir John Savage, in 1569, endeavoured to check the tippling in ale and beer houses, which was too frequent amongst members of the Common Council.

The individuality of the mayor was almost of necessity brought out by force of circumstances, and the city records have preserved sufficient instances to show the marked difference in the character of successive holders of the office. It may be said of all but one that they upheld the dignity of their position, and were themselves examples of obedience to the law and of upright and honourable conduct according to their lights. The single exception is one William Ball who, on the expiry of his office as mayor, was presented, 1569, for that "when mayor he sold and exposed for "sale, in his house and cellar, beer and other victuals on Sunday "during divine service, and kept there cards, gaming tables, and

A.O. 119.—Temp. Johannis Savage, militis *x^o* die Jan., 1569, anno *xii^o* Reginæ Elizabethæ—in penticio Civ. Cestr.

Memorandum that at an assembleie holden in the pentice the daie and yere aforesaid yt was fully agreed upon ordered and concluded by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and common counsaile of the saide cytie that if any of the maiors' peeres, aldermen, sheriffs and sheriffs peeres, common counsaile or any of the officers or servaunts attending the maior or sherriffs of this citie shall at any time hereafter *resorte to any ale or beere house or place* where ale or beere is sould by retaile to drinke or tipple to forfeet for every tyme twelve pence, to be maintenante paid by the appoyntement of the maior for the tyme beinge upon complainte made: and if deniall be made to paye the same then he soe deniing to be commytted to warde, ther to remayne untill payment be made

(Signed)	John Savage Mayor	Ryc' Poole
	John Smythe	Thomas Grene
	Henry Hardwyr (Hardware)	Richard Dutton
	Wylliam Alderseye	Wyllam Ball
	John Cowper	

"other unlawful games, and allowed several of the Queen's lieges "at different times to take part in the same." Other charges were brought against him of infringing the laws and orders of the city.

The offences which came under the mayor's cognizance were many and various. 1569 Taddy Brady is brought before him for "importing from Ireland eight hawkes, viz.: two goshawkes and "six tassels." At the same court, Margaret Buggeley, of the Crofts, of Chester, a widow, is charged with using sorcery and witchcraft, and is bound over to appear after eight days' notice, and not to use any witchcraft or sorcery.

Besides the many charges of incroachment, and the neglect of sanitary rules—keeping pigs in the streets, and having dunghoops near their houses, throwing offal about—there is a large number, at every court, of offences against the byelaws of trading by unlicensed persons, forstalling and regrating. Women are frequently summoned for being common scolds and wrangling in the streets, to the annoyance of neighbours.¹ Sometimes it is a man who uses his tongue too freely.² William ap John, a common vagabond, is rude enough to annoy the citizens by looking into their windows.³

John Bower's wife and Katharine Knyght are fined 4^d. each (13 Henry VII.) as eaves-droppers.⁴ John Done, glover, and Hoell Walsmon, laborer, for roaming about the streets after curfew are fined 3/4 each. A drunken fellow (*captus servisia*) who disturbed his neighbours' rest is mulcted in the same fine. Randall Pick, a common sturdy vagabond, quarrelsome, of evil conversation,⁵ has to pay 10/-. David the Abbey Gardener, John of Hull, wever, John the Tailor, and Thomas the Tailor, like many others in Henry the Fourth's reign, endeavour to shirk their public duty in sharing the watch on the Walls, and have to submit to a fine of xii^d. At a much earlier period than this (according to the Welsh Plea Rolls of 22 Edward I.) secret arrangements were made for avoiding this irksome duty by bribing the city officers. A large number of cases is mentioned in this year.⁶

¹ 7 Hen. v. Agnes de Willaston est communis oburgatrix cum vicinis suis.

² 18 Hen. vii. Johanna More et Johanna Oveot sunt communes garrulatores cum vicinis suis—40^s. each.

³ 15 Ed. iv., 1475, Will^{ls}. Kyng est communis noctivagus et oburgator cum vicinis suis et sæpe dat occasionem litis inter se et proximos suos.

⁴ 1 Hen. VIII. Will. ap John est communis vacabundus ambulans in stratis omnibus horis noctis et speculat in' fenestris vicinorum Civitatis contra pacem &c. Fine x^d.

⁵ Et quod Uxor Joh^{is} Bower et Katarina Knyght steterunt sub domicilio civium Civitatis ad audiendum dicconem civium.

⁶ Litigator et homo inhoneste conversationis et gesture.

⁷ Galterus serviens porte aquilon' et alii servientes Civitatis Cestrie indictati quod capiunt mercedem de his qui debuerunt vigilare per quod vigilie in civitate predicta minus secure custodiuntur.

The character of the offences brought under notice at the city courts in the Plantagenet period differs markedly from those which were common in the Tudor reign. In the first-named period, assaults, with great violence and bloodshed (when swords, poleaxes, baslards, daggers, &c., were freely used, and less commonly the stick and the fist), and affrays recur with disagreeable frequency, in which women have no inconsiderable share. "The hue and cry" is often raised, and it is expressly recorded that the whole neighbourhood is thrown into uproar.¹

Henry the Locksmith is cruel and unmanly enough to attack Agnes of Almondeley, on the Saturday before Trinity Sunday, 1 Edward I., in Northgate Street, burning her face with a hot iron. Possibly the fair Agnes, who estimated the damage done to her person at xx^s, had infuriated the ungallant locksmith by rejecting his suit, and taken up with another lover. Some years later (14 Edward II.), Matilda, nurse to Alan le Yunge, charges William Savage, his wife Margery, and Agnes and other servants of his, with assaulting her in Foregate Street, and after binding her by the hair of her head to a post, beating her. The damage done was valued at 100^s. John, son of William of Bromburgh, 22 Richard II., does his best to injure, if not to kill, John del Watt, shooting at him three arrows. More than once the assault takes the form of forcible abduction and imprisonment, as when, 23 Richard II., Richard the Sadler and William the Baker attack David, servant of Thomas of Overton, about midnight, and imprison him.

Such acts of violence occur but seldom in the less riotous days of the Tudor Sovereigns. One case is mentioned 16 Henry VII. of one John Wolley. In a quarrel he cut off two fingers of Otiwel Corbet, who defended himself with a knife, *vocat' a Skeyne*, upon which Wolley rushed and gave himself a mortal wound.

The citizens become much more peaceable—the sword and dagger and knife are disused, and the weapon of assault is more frequently the staff or cudgel, and not seldom the clenched fists, the Englishman's usual argument.

The mayor and sheriffs in these later reigns are busy putting down card playing, dicing, shovel board, and the like. It was an aggravation of the offence that the keepers of these gaming houses harboured there the servants and apprentices of the citizens.

¹ 12 Ed. II. Ieuan ap Ken' ap Madok' et socii sui qui effregerunt pacem domini Comitis in Civitate Cestrie noctanter, per quod hutesium fuit levatum et populus civitatis multipliciter perturbatur. Fine xl^s.

22 Richard II. Cook le Taverner assaulted Thomas le Taverner with a drawn baslard.

These houses were often no better than brothels. The "Social Evil" was an especial disgrace to the city at this time, and though the authorities inflicted heavy fines upon those who were brought before them charged with immorality, it was not until 1542 that "stews and brothels were put downe in this city and other places "in the realme by the kinge's commaundement."¹

12 Henry VII., Joh'es Cowle, "*tenet in domo sua diversas personas de corporibus suis male gubernatis.*" The same charge against Cristiana Pilkington, John Diksone, Johanna Marshall, Alicia Bruyn, William Belles, Agnes Fillynes, Margareta Yollyn, who are fined ii^s. or xii^d. 13 Henry VII., fourteen persons fined vi^d. each for the same offence, and Robert Irynshall fined xii^d., "*quod recepitavit Johannam Glidell sciens ipsam Johannam de corpore suo male gubernato.*" In 1 Henry VIII. [1509] the penalty is heavier, advanced to vi^s. viii^d., on three persons who had received in their house some apprentices and servants of the citizens, "*secum habentes diversas mulieres de corporibus, &c., in adulterio viventes.*"

Richard Rykby at the same court is punished with a fine of xii^d. and three days' imprisonment for continually receiving servants to play at illicit games, "*omni hora noctis,*" whilst six women (Agnes ———, Katerina Irishe, Agnes Haslyngton, Petronilla Tudor, Agnes Kanner, Margaret Fissher) are fined xl^d. for adultery, and ordered to be imprisoned in gaol until they have found sufficient security for their good behaviour. One of these women, "Katerina Irishwoman, is fined 8^d., 25 Henry VIII., for "receiving servants and apprentices to play at dice."

Notwithstanding the almost despotic authority exercised during his year of office by the chief magistrate of the city, there is mention made more than once of disrespect shown to mayor and sheriffs. Henry Houghton, for abuse of the mayor and aldermen was "condemned, 30 Elizabeth, to be put into the stocks at the

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

1 Ed. IV. Temp. Joh'is Sotheworthe. Mem^m. that at the Portmote of the Citie of Chester opan Monday next after the fest of S ——— it was aggreide and ordeigned that no maner person in eny of the foure principall strets of the said citie recette willingly within their houses, chamber or solar, nor sett to ferme any chamber, house, solar, or shoppe to eny woman that openly misuses her body with any weddet man, or eny other man of order open payn of every of the xxiiiith. x^s., and every other opan payn of vi^s. viii^d., this payn to be leyed by the shireffs of the citie, that on halff therof to the said shireffs, and that other halff to the commune use of the said citisyns.

3 Ed. IV. (1463-4.) Will. Rowson and Thomas Fernys are fined 6/8 each for receiving in their cellars in Eastgate Street, women "*quæ abutuntur corporibus suis palam cum viris maritalis contra, &c.*" 16 Ed. IV. Four Lupanaria in Bridge Street fined xii^s., four in Watergate Street fined 6/8, 3/4, 4^d. 30 Hen. VI. (1450-1.) John Benet, Hermit of St. James, Chester, is a common receiver of robbers, and "*tenet communes malefactores in hospicio suo et tenet commune lupanar infra suo hospicio (sic).*"

"High Cross at ix o'clock in the forenoon until two afternoone, "and thens to be removed to the Northgate, and remain in prison "until he have paid xx^s. fine."

"16 Elizabeth, Rauff Chounter, merchant, was fined vi^s. viii^d. "for exclaiming against the mayor with undesent termes, but "afterwards was excused v^s. of this fine by the mayor."

"Richard Looker, tallow chandler, and Peter Richardson, "were punished, 28 Elizabeth, for impertinence of a similar kind to "the sheriffs." (A.O. 222, 558, 550.)

1575, John Churton, 40 Elizabeth, was committed to gaol for refusing to do homage for a tenement of Mr. Thomas Smith in Northgate Street.

Among the cases dealt with by the Justices in Eyre in the reign of Edward I., are those of usury and deodands. Thus, 35 Edward I., Alex. Redich is indicted as a common usurer, lending money for a certain interest for a week (*communis usurar' mutuaus denar' pro certa usura per ebdomadum.*)

A two-horsed wagon belonging to Raulph de Dersbury had run over and killed Agnes, daughter of Robert the Tailor. The wagon and horses being accordingly forfeited to the king were redeemed for xxxv^s

Richard, the servant of Richard the Miller, was killed by a wheel in the abbot's mill. The mill becomes a deodand.

Emma of Tarvin fell by accident into a vessel full of water and was drowned. The vessel is in like manner forfeited to the king.¹

Attempts were made to evade the regulation requiring beer and wine to be sold in sealed measures. 13 Henry VII., eighty-two persons were fined 6/8, and fifty-seven escaped with the small penalty of 4^d. In the following reign, 25 Henry VIII., they had

A.O. 936. Alsoe where at Midsomer laste paste there were two strangers drowned in the Ryver of dee and that a Mare praysed [value] at twentie shillings was founde as a deodand to be the occasion of the death of that one man, Thomas Moston, esquier, moveth in favor of the father of the said two persons for some recompence in Lue of that deodand where-upon for the said Mr. Moston his sake the same twentie shillings is wholie forgiven.—8 Oct., 38 Eliz.

¹ 19 Ed. I. Placita Corone.—Present' per coronatores qd quedam careta Rani de Dersburi interfecit Agnetem fil Rob'ti Cissoris. Et predicta carta cum duobus equis restant Regi tanquam forisfacta. Et pred. Ranus venit et fecit finem pro predictis careta et equis pro xxxv^s.

Ric'us serviens Ric'i molend' interfectus fuit per infortunium cum quadam rota molendini Abbatis Cestrie que vocatur cobquell. Ideo dictum molendinum capiatur in manum Domini Regis, &c.

Quedam Emma de Tarvin per infortunium cecidit in quodam vase in domo Hugonis de Brichull cum aqua calida quod vocat' mastumb' per quod predicta Emma mortua est. Ideo predict' vas capiatur in manus Domini Regis.

progressed so far as to counterfeit the mayor's seal used for sealing these and other measures; four persons being fined $\frac{3}{4}$ for keeping false measures, and selling meat by them, and others fined 12/- for counterfeiting the seal. The punishment according to Domesday was a fine of *iiii*s. (*Vir sive mulier falsam mensuram in civitate faciens deprehensus iiii solidis emendabat.*)

The Chester Records do not refer often to difficulties connected with the coinage. 16 Edward I., Alicia de Wico and Alicia Wyct are charged with being common makers of bad money.

The coinage in Henry VII's reign had become so debased that it was necessary in 1499 to issue a writ to the mayor directing him to make proclamation throughout the city, forbidding anyone to refuse to take in payment "all suche pennyes that be of the crowne of our said Lorde and Fader, be they never so litell, excepting "Irish Spurret pennyes with litell molettes."¹

Queen Elizabeth, in the second year of her reign, issued an order dealing with the base money in circulation.²

One Harvey of Knutsford was hanged, drawn and quartered in 1587 for clipping money, and his quarters were set on the four gates of the city.

There was constant interference on the part of great noblemen and persons of influence with the appointment of officials in the City of Chester and the representation of the city in parliament. Thus, the Earl of Leicester urged the nomination of Mr. Peter Warburton as one of the city members, but the citizens were stout enough to make their own choice. There is no doubt that Lord Leicester would write as assuredly as the Earl of Essex did to the Burgesses of Shrewsbury.³

The same sturdy spirit was shown in resisting the attempts of the Earl of Derby, supported by Sir Francis Walsingham and the

¹ Welsh Recog. Rolls.

² 2 Eliz., Oct. 12, Hampton Court. "Elizabeth R." to the . . . brethren . . .

Since the proclamation for the decay of base testons, inconvenience arose from the inability of some persons to distinguish one from the other, and the marks first added to the basest testons are worn out; she has therefore appointed persons to be at certain places to inform the people and stamp the said testons, and directs to appoint a justice of the peace, and another to use for stamping the testons the two stamping irons and a round plate of steel which she sends, one of the irons bearing the print of a greyhound, and the other a portcullis. She gives particular directions for the use of them. She trusts within a month to send down a quantity of fine money.—*Hist. MSS., 5th Report*, p. 343.

³ 27 Eliz. Election of Members of Parliament. My Lord of Leicester's letter well commending therby Mr. Peter Warburton for thon [the one] citizen, which motion Mr. Maior and Mr. Sheriff Aldersey furthered to the utter moste, yet was yt not avaylable, xlvi voices with and fourscore and 5 contrary, and that greater voice chose Mr. Ric' Birkenhed and Mr. Ric' Bavand, Ald' the ii citizens for this city.

1597, Aug. 13. Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to Bailiffs, Burgesses, and Commonalty of the town of Shrewsbury. Being at Plymouth, expecting a good wind, hears that

Lords of the Privy Council, to force on the city the appointment of Peter Proby as Clerk of the Pentice.¹

Several attempts were made by the civic authorities in Elizabeth's reign to check the overcrowding, which in Chester, as in other important centres, endangered the health of the citizens, and which, with the constant neglect of sanitary laws, rendered them more liable to the ravages of epidemics. The constables of the several wards were directed to report all cases of overcrowding, and fines of xii^d and upwards were freely imposed.²

To be set in the Pillory was a not infrequent punishment of Tudor times. One of these stood by the High Cross, close to the Conduit, in company with the Whipping Post and the Stocks, elevated to some height, for there was space sufficient for one or more shops.³

It was part of the culprit's punishment to be raised on high in full sight of the public, a mark for their unwelcome attentions,

"Where elevated above the gaping crowd
Clasp'd in the board the perjured head is bowed;
. . . . Here—thick as hailstones pour,
Turnips and half-hatch'd eggs (a mingled shower)
Among the rabble rain."—*Gay's Trivia*, ii., 221.

The offender would stand having his face turned towards Bridge Street, and he would have affixed to his breast and back a paper with his offence inscribed in large letters. To complete his

Her Majesty is resolved to call a Parliament, and asks that they will grant him the nominating of their burgesses, nothing doubting he shall be returned from the present expedition for her Majesty's service in time convenient for the nomination.

Interference with City Appointments and Burgesses [Members of Parliament]—

Letter 7, Sir John Dutton for Rob. Broine; 106, Wm. Bp. of Chester for Wm. Knighte; Earl of Denbigh for R^d. Wright, inkeeper; Bp. of Chester for his man to be free; Sir J. Savage for training soldiers.

¹ See Assembly Book, and Letter Book No. 105, 7, 106.

² The following are examples of the constables' presentments:—

22 Eliz., 1580. Edm. Yardeley quia mantenet tres les inmates in domo sua contra ordinem civitatis viz. quosdam Joh^m Calvet et uxorem ejus et Annam Prees et Margeriam Jenson.—Fine 12^d.

— pro consimili, recipiend' diversas mulieres suspiciosas cum pueris in domo sua.—12^d.

1590 Thomam Moldinge quia mantenet Owen ap Rob^t. ut inmate: xii^d. et abolend' and several others. Thomam Stanley quia mantenet uxorem Thome Poole gen. et filiam ejus in domo sua ut inmate. Gill Neell quia man' virum et mulierem et un' le charwoman in Cuppings lane: two other cases. Presentament del les inmates.—ii^s. vi^d.

S. Thos. Ward.—An old woman and a child in a little cottage upon John Doby's Backside. Johan Shurlok, Kath, Tailer—Strange Manxwomen in an house of Rad, Healy without chimney, and dangerous to the gorst stacks for fier. Patrick Skinner and his wief, lusty yonge people comen Beggars abroad.—47 presented.

³ 2 Ed. IV. (1462.) Two laborers for two days riddinge the ground-worke of onld Pentice, 6/8; Repayre of shop under the pillory.—*Hart. MSS.*, 2158, 206.

punishment, his ears, which might have been nailed to the cross-board, would be cut off or mutilated.¹

Another pillory for the county stood at the top of Castle Street.

The Treasurers' and Muragers' Accounts contain several entries of payments for the pillory and stocks.²

For wrangling women and scolds the city authorities had other modes of punishment, the scold's bridle, and the cuck-stool.

Dr. Brushfield, *Chester Arch. Journal*, O.S. ii., 46, enumerates thirteen specimens of the brank or bridle found in Cheshire, and, for illustration of the cuck-stool, he quotes from Randle Holme's *Academy of Armory* (Book iii., 8, 351) his heraldic reference—"He beareth azure, a Cuck-stool or a Ducking Tumbrel, or—Born by the name, or rather known for the cognizance of a scold, being an instrument to cool Hot Fiery-Tongued Women, which have their

¹ 30 Eliz. Wm. Bushell of Chester, Mylner, having on 30 July in Chester spoken "false seditious, slanderous, and contumacious words of and againste the Righte Honorable Fardinando Stanley le Strange, sonne and heire apparante of the Rt. Hon. Henry Earle of Derby, &c., and one of the aldermen of this city."—ordered by the Maior with the consent of his bretheren that the said Wm. Bushell shall, upon Saturday nexte beinge 24th daye of this monethe of Auguste, and alsoe the Market daie within the said citie, and in the laste daie of the same moneth, beinge likewise a market daie, from one of the clock in the afternoone of the same severall daies till three of the clocke in the afternoone of either of the saide daies, beinge the tyme of the full markets stand upon the pillory in the open market place within this Citie of Chester, haveinge papers upon his breste and backe, whereupon shalbe written in greate lettres these words, viz., for slanderous words. And in the saide laste daie of Auguste the said William Bushell shall have bothe his eares cutt of as a condigne punishment for his offence, and in terror of others hereafter not to commit the like offence.

20 Hen. VI.	Rob. Doo pro redditu Colligistrigii [city pillory]	-	-	iii ^s .	iii ^d .
1 Ed. IV.	Making a new pillory, to carpenters and laborers	-	-	6/8	
1464.	Rob. Weryngton pro una shopa subtus Piloriam	-	-	v ^s .	
1 May [1553.]	Benett for a day and a half at the pilory	-	-	xvi ^d .	
	Paid for planks to make the stocks	-	-	v ^s .	ii ^d .
	Paid John Hunterton for making iron work to the stocks	-	-	i ^s .	iii ^d .
	Paid Wm. Crosbee for makynge v paier of stocks and certain timber	-	-	ix ^s .	
	Paid for xxviii. iron to the makynge of the stocks	-	-	ii ^s .	vi ^d .
	Paid Stedmen for mendyng the olde stocks	-	-		vi ^d .
1555.	Payd for a lode of clay and a lode of sand for ye pillory by Roger Smythe	-	-	xv ^d .	
1556.	Mending a payre of stocks	-	-		vi ^d .
1561.	Item payd for dressyng a payre of stocks (Muringers' Accounts)	-	-		iii ^d .
1564.	A payre of stocks	-	-		iii ^d .
1564.	Paied to John Tasker for makynge the Cowkestolle and for the tymber that made it	-	-	xii ^s .	ii ^d .
1577.	Ran'us Eaton pro portacione les stocks usque ad altam Crucem	-	-		iii ^d .
	Wyrby Cutler pro una shopa subtus Piloriam	-	-	v ^s .	
1588.	x <i>z.e.</i> 10 Dec. for makinge a tre to Mr. Cotgrave and for makinge therof a newe pillorie with bastinge and carredge of the same	-	-	xviii ^s .	x ^d .
1593.	To Mr. Fyshe als. taylor that was allowed in his fyrm for a tree that made the gybbett	-	-		viii ^s .

R^d. le Pillori, is mentioned in Vale Royal Charter of Edward I.

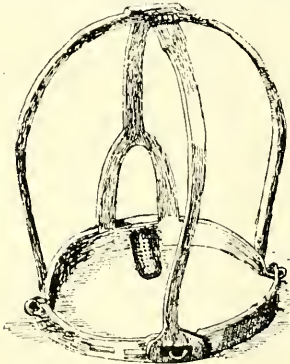
"Tongues set on Fire by the Devil, which nothing can tame except
"it be well ducked."

The punishment, according to Domesday for the brewer of unwholesome ale was to be placed in the tumbrel (*cathedra stercoris*), or to pay *iii*s. to the prefects.

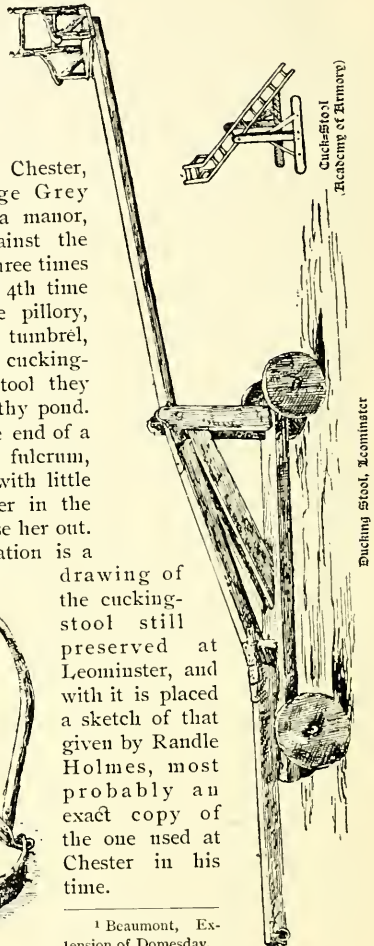
"In a plea in Eyre at Chester, 14 Henry VII., George Grey claimed, as the lord of a manor, to punish offenders against the assize of bread and beer, three times by amerciamment, and the 4th time to set the bakers in the pillory, and the brewers in the tumbrel, and the scolds in the cucking-stool."¹ Seated in this stool they were immersed in some filthy pond. The stool was fixed to the end of a long beam, moving on a fulcrum, which was so arranged as with little effort to souise the offender in the pond, and then quickly raise her out. The accompanying illustration is a

drawing of the cucking-stool still preserved at Leominster, and with it is placed a sketch of that given by Randle Holmes, most probably an exact copy of the one used at Chester in his time.

¹ Beaumont, Extension of Domesday.



Scold's Bridle, Chester City Gaol



21 Henry VII., 1505, Katherine Walsh was condemned to this as a scold and wrangler.¹

There was more than one gibbet or gallows at Chester, apparently erected at the three entrances into the city, as a warning to evil-doers. That which stood longest in position was at Boughton on Gallow's Hill, marked in Braun and Speed's maps.²

A second stood in a field on the Wrexham Road close to the boundary stone and the mile stone, called Hangman's Hill, next to "Longfield." A third was near Saltney, erected by the "old Earle of Derby" ["following the same Poole [Blake poole] where a payre of galowes standith, which place is now cauled Gallos poole."] The Mayor was obliged (as has been mentioned in a former chapter) to set up a gibbet at the High Cross to terrify into order the unruly soldiers who were on their way to the Irish wars.

An interesting letter from the Mayor of Denbigh to his brother mayor, shows that the business of executioner at Chester was brisk enough to induce the hangman to be resident within the city, and thus available for employment in neighbouring districts.³

It must be remembered that the Chester documents at the Record Office were all distinguished by the special figure of a gallows.

Amongst the "Claims of the Citizens of Chester" (the date of which is between 1385 and 1410) it is stated that there are sixteen

¹ Et quod Katerina Walsh est communis objurgatrix et communis chider infra civitatem. Memm. po. super le Cokstole [for ponatur, let her be put on the cuckstole].

Le Pinfold ex opposit' le Crosse flat cuidam fovee in vendella ibidem vocat' Handbrigg lane ducent' ex dicta civitate usque ad Eccleston. Ultra jannam voc' le Crosse flat gate.

1582, 24 Eliz. Prope Crucem que dicitur the Crosse without the barrs ex parte ejusdem vie que ducit versus Spittle, Boughton.—Indent. 39.

² Whereas by the continuall runninge and great aboundance of the water arisinge after the fall of weete wether downe and throwe the queenes highe way leadinge from Spital Boughton, towards the said citie, a greate porcon or pece of grounde near Boughton Jebbet or the Gallowes, at Boughton, and betwene the same Gallowes and a certen horse milne lately built by the said John Hankie out of the said highway unto the ryver of Dee is broken, decayed, hollowed, and made verie dangerous, and albeit the same heretofore hath by many helpes and travells ben amended upon the charge of the said citie, yet in verie short tyme hath ben become as dangerous as at firste, worne downe by suche aboundance of water there hursting over, &c., therefore the parcel of ground is granted to John Hankie on condition of keeping it in repair.—Indent. 47.

³ Worshipfull Cossen with my verie hartie comendacons.

Forasmuch as I thinke some urgent busines will fall out to be donne for the Quene here the latter end of this weeke, And that iff it should soe fall I am unprovided of eny to supply the office of ane Executioner, And being geven to understand that one dwelleth within your cittie that can and will accomlishe the worke, I am the therfore to request your good friendshippe to have hym sent hyther with all speade and I will fully consider his paynes whether I have cause to use hym or not. Thus hoping you will stande my cossen and good friend herin, I bid you hartely farewell. Denbigh this iiiiith of Julii, 1594.

Your loving cossen to use,

GRUFFITH WYNNE.

customary tenants who were bound to watch the city on three nights in the year (Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and St. Stephen's Day), and to keep and bring up to the gallows felons and robbers, whether condemned in the County Court of the Justiciary of Chester, or in the City Court, or Coronmote before the Mayor. In return for these services they were to be free from attending upon inquisitions, juries, and assizes, except when held before the Lord Earl himself. They paid also an annual rent of 16^d. Five of these gable rents were in Eastgate Street, the tenants at that time being Hugh Holes, "Chivaler," John, son of Robert Lanncelyn, Maria del Wiche, John de Wygan, and Nicholas Gyne; five in Bridge Street, John de Whytemore, Roger de Dytton, Robert le Chamberlyn, John le Taverner, and Richard de Strangeways (*pro tenementis in le Seldes*); four in Watergate Street, Henry [Sutton 19th] Abbot of Chester, Ralph Corbyn, Laurence de Doncaster, and Elizabeth, widow of John de Hawardyn; and two in Northgate Street, Henry de Bircheles, and John de Whitmore. In 27 Henry VIII., Alderman Henry Gee had one of these tenements in Watergate Street, which he sublet to Edward Dimock.

The Domesday Survey has preserved for us some interesting particulars of the administration of justice in Chester when Hugh Lupus was earl. We read that there were the king's laws and the bishop's laws. To prevent disturbances at public gatherings, such as fairs, markets, the administration of justice, &c., recourse was had to the usages of the "King's Peace," and the "Peace of God."

The King's Peace was proclaimed, as was necessary in an unlettered age, by putting up some visible symbol, as during the Chester Fairs a hand was suspended from a pole in front of the old Pentice at the City Cross by St. Peter's Church.¹ In 1803, when the Pentice was removed, this hand was hung up, till 1836, from the south-east corner of St. Peter's Church.

The Peace of God, which recurred on every Sunday and Holy Day and was guarded by a double penalty, needed no special proclamation, and thus, for drawing blood, the fine which on ordinary days was 10^s. was double on a Sunday or holiday, as an offence against the "Peace of God." So for ordinary homicide, *heinfarc* or enticing away a servant, *forestel* or waylaying on the high-road, the penalty was £4 on a Sunday or holiday, on other days only 40^s. For working on a holy day, the offender, according as he was bond or free, paid a fine of 4/- or 8/- to the Bishop of Chester, a very heavy penalty when a day's wage of an ordinary workman was only 1½^d.

¹ "Peter Catheral, clerk of St. Peter's Church was paid 3^s. 9^d. a year for putting it up at the commencement and taking it down at the conclusion of the fair."—*Sheaf*, ii., 326.

and the price of an ox was 2/-. A merchant who opened a bale of goods without the bishop's licence between the hour of nine on Saturday and Monday morning forfeited 4/-, and the same fine was imposed upon any one loading within a league of the city on Sunday. The penalties for breaking the law and the king's peace varied according to the rank of his authority who promulgated the law. For breaking the king's peace the fine was 40/- if proclamation was made by the king's prefect or the earl's minister, but if given by the king's own hand, or by his representative the penalty was 100^s. All offences, civil or criminal, common trespasses or heinous sins, were alike atoned for by fines. The single exception was homicide in a house, which involved the forfeiture of all the offender's property, with the sentence of outlawry, which could not be remitted except by the king's own order. The user of false measures and the brewer of bad ale were subject to the same fine of 4/-, but the latter had also the option of working out the money penalty at the cost of personal discomfort in the tumbrel (*cathedra stercoris*).

There were twelve lawmen in the city, who were summoned indifferently from the men of the King, the Bishop, and the Earl. The penalty for absence from the sitting of the Hundred Court, without sufficient reason, was 10^s.¹ This attendance at the courts of inquiry was felt by many to be most burdensome, and one of the most valued privileges granted to monastic bodies and other communities was exemption from such service.²

The Abbey of St. Werburgh's had very early its own court for trying certain cases, which was held in Edward's reign, in St. Thomas' Chapel outside the Northgate. So had the Nunnery. There was also from Norman times a court of the Dee Mills. The first mention of any court in the city occurs in Charter 12, 28 Edward I., 1300, when the king, confirming certain grants made by Henry III. and Randle Blundeville, concedes to the citizens the privilege of electing for themselves coroners, to hold pleas of the crown before the mayor and bailiffs of the city;

¹ A less penalty was exacted in 12 Ed. II. Richard Russel, Roger le Mund, Hugh de Whetelegh, William de Lestok, Roger le Calf, William le Clerk, Richard de Forgate, John le Marker, Alan de Smetheton were fined each 6^d. for absenting themselves from an inquisition between Hugh de Vaureal (Abbot of Vale Royal) and Robert Daa.

² Thus in answer to a Quo Warranto of 27 Ed. 3, the Abbot of St. Werburgh claims for himself and his convent and all their tenants *esse quieti de omnibus sectis hundredorum et com' ubicunque infra comitatum Cestre*. The same privilege was granted to St. Mary's Nunnery, the Hospital of St. John's, and St. Giles' Hospital.

to have *Sok, Sak, Tol et Theam infangenthef et utfangenthef*. That no king's bailiff or any other officer save the bailiffs of the city should serve summons, &c., unless in case of default of the citizens' and bailiffs' action; the right of imprisoning their own citizens in their own gaols.

The great Charter of Henry VII. gives permission to the sheriffs to hold a monthly county court on Monday, and a court on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday in each week, and to the mayor and citizens to have cognizance of all pleas, real, personal, and mixed of lands and tenements, debts, trespasses, covenants, &c., within the city or its limits (the courts being called Portmote and Coronmote) and the citizens were not liable to be impleaded elsewhere. These privileges, especially the last-named, were jealously guarded, and more than one Order of Assembly prohibits the carrying of suits to any "foreign" court, *i.e.* outside the city,¹ to the prejudice of the Portmote and Pentice Courts. Much annoyance was felt at a citizen, Foulke Aldersey, in 1562, who pursued an action for debt against Alderman Thomas Green in the Exchequer of Chester before the "Chamberlain of Cheshyer," A. O. 81.; for this he was committed to ward, and, later, being still defiant and contumacious, he was incontinently disfranchised. This was the beginning of the long and unpleasant dispute about Charter privileges with William Glaseor, the Deputy-Chamberlain.

In 1574 another Aldersey, John the Elder, merchant, sued Roger Smith, citizen and merchant, in an action for debt and trespass, in the Exchequer, A. O., 176-8.

There was some excuse for this transference of business, because the sheriffs appear to have been so negligent in attendance at the Court of Pentice that formal complaint is made of the great delay of justice, the non-levying of fines, and disregard of recognisances,² and it is ordered that the sheriffs be fined in 20s. for each neglect henceforward.

In the Portmote Court, held in the Common Hall, the greatest number of cases were *de pace ferenda*, or *de bona gestura*, for binding over defendants to keep the peace.³

The Pentice Court held by the sheriffs, and traditionally

¹ 6 Hen. IV., 1403 and 1410. These orders are referred to in Assembly Orders 15 and 45.

² A.O. 125, 15 Eliz., see also A.O. 157, 160, 179.

³ The following is the number of cases at twenty-six sessions during the year of 8 Hen. VII., 1492-3:—10, 4, 5, 6, 5, 0, 29, 4, 8, 5, 6, 0, 3, 16, 12, 10, 13, 6, 19, 3, 2, 9, 8, 4, 4, 27.

believed to have been the oldest of the city courts, was chiefly concerned with acknowledgment of debts, but also took cognizance of misdemeanours and petty crimes.¹

In the Coronmote court cases of felony were tried. In 24 Henry VII. the cases at the several sessions were 9, 5, 3, 2, 2, 1, 0, 2.²

6 Hen. IV. (1403.) Item ordinatum est in plena congregacione tenta die lune prox' post festum . . . coram Rad'o de Hatton majore Joh'e del Hatt et Joh'e de Arwe vice-comitibus Civitatis Cestrie . . . pro communi utilitate ejusdem Civitatis q'd nullus de libertate [Civitatis predicte brevia domini] Comit' Cestr' persequatur seu persequi faciat nec aliquod attemptaret [sic] [quod esset in detrimentum] lesionem seu prejudicium legis seu consuetudinis libertatis dicte [per quod] Curia Portmoti seu Appenticii Cestr' quovismodo perturbari seu occasionari poterint in futuro sub pena foris' libertatis sue hoc probato coram majoribus qui pro tempore fuerint.

10 Hen. IV.—Tempore Joh'is de Eulowe. Inprimis ordinatum est in plena congregacione tenta die Sabbati prox' post festum S. Dionisii pro communi utilitate ejusdem Civitatis viz. q'd nullus de libertate Civitatis predicte brevia domini Comit' Cestrie prosequatur seu prosequi faciat nec aliquod attemptaret nec ageret quod esset in detrimentum, lesionem seu prejudicium legis, seu consuetudinis libertatis ab antiquo usitato per quod curia Portmoti seu Appenticii Cestr' quovismodo perturbari vel occasionari poterint, in futuro sub pena foris' libertatis sue hoc probato coram majoribus qui pro tempore fuerint et aliis fidedignis comitatis civitatis predicte.

¹ An example 16 Ed. I., is "Petrus de Dutton recogn' se teneri Hugoni de Brichull civi Cestr' in x libris et xvi solidis argenti solvendis viz., unam medietatem ad festum annunciationis beate Marie et alteram medietatem ad festum Ascensionis prox' seq'. Et nisi fecerit concedit quod vic' fieri fac' de terris et catallis ipsius Petri."

22 Ric. II., John de Colsull and John de Seynesbury came and acknowledged themselves and either of them to owe Henry Hoggekynson of Wyrvyn vi^s. viii^d. to be paid iii^s. iiiii^d. by Christmas, xx^d. by Easter, and xx^d. by St. John Baptist's Day.

Another instance is of a different kind. Gruff' le Taverner indictatus de diversis transgressionibus coram vic' in appenticio Cestr' 10 Jan., mancaptus est per Joh'em Mynes Tailliour essend coram vic' die Jovis prox' futur' et etiam idem Joh'es manucepit pro predicto Gruff' de pace ferenda omnibus hominibus *Principatus Cestrie* sub pena xx^{li} usque predictum diem Jovis.

34 Ed. III. Galf' le Dauber de Fleynt, Hugo de Tudintiam, Adam le Taylur cognoverunt se debere Roberto le Taverner xiii sol. et viii den. eidem solvend. ad festum St. Martini proximum seq' medietatem dicte pecunie et alteram medietatem ad festum Natalis domini prox. seq. et ni fecerit, &c.

² The following extract is from the Mayor's Book, 8 Henry VII.

8 Hen. vii. Placita Coronmoti Civitatis Cestrie tent' apud Cestriam coram Rogero Hurlton majore.

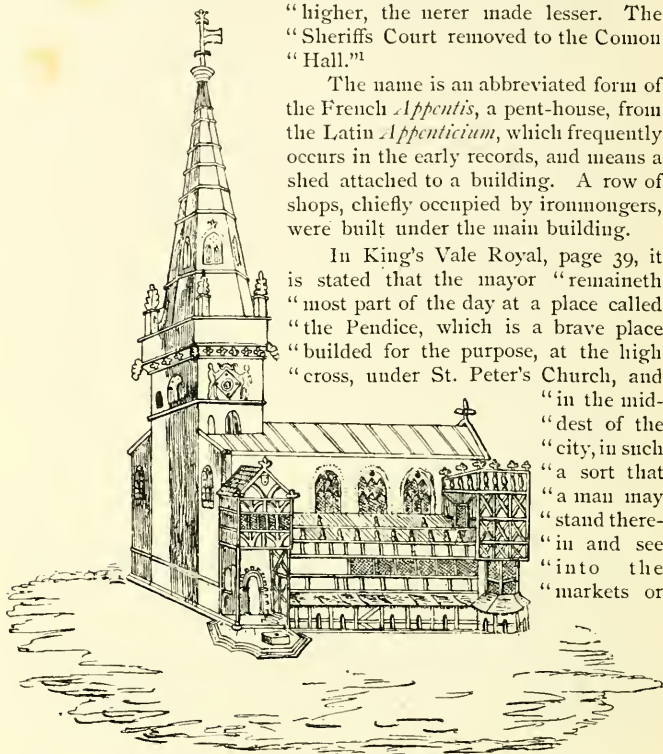
M'. Joh'is Sondeford indictati de felon' ad comparend in propria persona sua ad prox. Coronmotum Civitatis Cestrie prox. futur. apud Cestriam tenend' et abinde non recedendum quousque, &c. Alias Coram Rido Sharpe et Henrico Fraunces Coronatoribus domini Principis Civitatis Cestrie per sacramentum xii Jur' presentatum fuit q'd ubi Thomas Johnson fuit in pace Dei et dicti Domini Principis quidam Johannes Sondeford, nuper de Macclesfield in Com. Cestr', laborer, die sabbⁱ in festo St. Michaelis Archangeli extra portam boralem

The Pentice

In "1497 the North syde of the Pentice was new buylded, and, "1573, the Pentice was enlarged, and the inner Pendice made "higher, the uerer made lesser. The "Sheriffs Court removed to the Comon "Hall."¹

The name is an abbreviated form of the French *Appentis*, a pent-house, from the Latin *Appenticium*, which frequently occurs in the early records, and means a shed attached to a building. A row of shops, chiefly occupied by ironmongers, were built under the main building.

In King's Vale Royal, page 39, it is stated that the mayor "remaineth "most part of the day at a place called "the Pendice, which is a brave place "builded for the purpose, at the high "cross, under St. Peter's Church, and "in the mid- "dest of the "city, in such "a sort that "a man may "stand there- "in and see "into the "markets or



St. Peter's Church and the Pentice

Civitatis predictae super predictum Thomam Johnson insultum fecit et ipsum Thomam Johnson adtunc et ibidem cum quodam pollax ad valenciam duodecim denariorum super caput felonice percussit et dedit ei plagam mortalem (unde idem Thomas Johnson adtunc et ibidem prox obiit) et sic dictus Joh'es Sondeforde predictum Thomam Johnson dictis die anno et loco felonice interfecit — non culpabilis — ideo quietus.

Et eciam Jur. predicti dicunt, &c., q'd die Sabbati prox. post festum S. Martini in yeme quidam bos precii sex solidorum et octo denariorum de bonis et catallis Hugonis Alen percussit Johannem Benet super tibiam suam dexteram et tibiam predictam fregit ac dedit ei plagam mortalem unde dictus Joh'es Benet obiit die martis prox. post festum S. Andree Apostoli.

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

"four principal streets of the city. There sit also (in a room adjoining) his clerks for his said maior's courts: where all actions "are entered and recognizances made and such like."

The Muragers (the name occurs in several forms, Muringers, Murengers), whose duty it was to see to the maintenance of the walls and the repair of the streets, received for this purpose the customs levied upon goods entering Chester.¹ The articles subject to custom were various, as may be seen from a summary of the pages of the account for 1554, p. 1. Herryngs, salmon, &c., vii vis vi^d.; p. 2 Tallow, whitefysh, iiiis. ix^d.; p. 3 Tallow, wyu, brasse, xxxviiiis. viii^d.; p. 4 Herrings, hides, wyn, xxxiiis. ii^d.; p. 5 Portingalls cloth, iiiiii iii^d.; p. 6 fryses, pakks, xxxvis. viii^d.; p. 7 Millwell, iron, iiiis.; Summa Rec'. xviii xiiis.; Sol. [Payments] xviii vis. iii^d. Amongst the items of payment for this year are iii laborers for dressing about the Wattergatt against good tidsday, xiii^d.; viii bushells of lyme, iiiis.; v women for carryage of fillying vi daies at iii^d. vii^s. vi^d. For the drynkyng at the making of the last accompts, iiiis. iii^d. For tyme and laborers towards the mending of the hoolle in the walles, xiiis. v^d. Dressing the walls Lammas Paid Muragers' fees, xiiis. iii^d.

In 1553 the receipts were £12 15s. 11^d., and the disbursements £9 os. 7^d.; 1555, receipts £17 2s. 10^d., payments £27 12s. 9^d.; leaving a debt due to the Muragers of £10 10s.; 1556, £16 3s. 8^d. and £10 9s. 2½^d.; 1557, receipts £13 15s., and payments £13 2s. 1½^d.;

¹ The following list of dues is for some year in the reign of Edward VI.

Ed. VI. The Murengers' Custome--

Item For every ton wyne, oyle, iron,	For rese cotton or fryse ob. [½ ^d .]
trane, honny or anny suche lyke	— all other maner of wares comyng
merchaundyse iii ^d .	in to this citie or goyng forthe
For every holle bale wool v ^d .	on the Adventure of ye mer-
— every halfe balle ii ^d . ob.	chant stranger for every xx ^s
— every Co ^e shepe felle ii ^d . ob.	worthe of wares ii ^d . ob.
— Co ^e flegs or Ruggs ii ^d . ob.	For every Co ^e salt lyng, mylwyll or
— ston' oolle ob.	hanke ii ^d . ob.
— Co ^e herte, hynde, bucke, or doo fell	— brode lynyn clothe iii ^d .
— Co ^e lambe, kydde, or cony felz . . ob.	— Co ^e narre [narrow] lynyn clothe . . iii ^d .
— Co ^e Iresshe calfe felz undyghte . . ob.	— Co ^e yorne ii ^d . ob.
— mantell 9 ^u	— ton beyffe iii ^d .
— butt or hogshede salmon viii ^d .	— packe skyns or other suche lyke
— barrell beryngs ii ^d .	things beyng in packs v ^d .
— dycker lether tannyt or untannyt	— fardell ii ^d . ob.
— doz. calfe skyns tanyt ob.	— Royle Flegb if it be not packett
— doz. gotte skyns ob.	in packs vi ^d . 9 ^u
— every doz. brode clothe i ^d .	For every ston Tallo —
— — rofe (rough) frise iii ^d .	

² This year a great deal of stone was used for the walls.

1558, £9 2s. 4d. and £6 18s. 4d.; 1559, £10 15s. 2d. and £10 5s. 4d.; 1560, £13 6s. 6½d. and £11 13s. 11½d.; 1561, £15 12s. 9½d. and £27 13s. 2d.; 1562, £15 8s. 11d. and £18 6s. 0½d.; 1563, £8 7s. 9d. and £7 5s. 9½d.; 1564, £15 6s. and £18 9s. 4d.

It does not appear how the deficit in 1561, 1562, and 1564 was made up; but, in 1555, when there was a deficiency of £10 10s., they were able to provide for the usual refreshments deemed so necessary at the "making up of accompts." Paid the day iiid.; Item appuls iiid.; Item in wyne, 11 galons 1 quarte, iis. iiid.; Item in ale iiid.; Item more in brede vd.; Item 1 pottel Malvosy xviid.; Item 1 galon meth[e] [mead] xiiid.; Item gynger iid.

There are, besides these, the Treasurers' Accounts, in which a statement is given of the amounts received for the city property, and expended upon repairs to buildings and apparatus, and entertainments.

In 1547 the receipts were £50 12s. 7d., and the payments £45 19s. 10d.; 1555, £71 6s. 7½d. and £84 12s. 7d.; 1556, £66 19s. 2d. and £66 2s. 1d.; 1558, £50 11s. 7½d. and £48 8s. 1d.; 1564, £50 10s. 2d. and £45 14s. 7½d.; 1569, £58 12s. 6d. and £73 4s. 2d.; 1572, £63 9s. 8d. and £70 7s. 11d.; 1589, £380 7s. 11½d. and £191 18s. 4d.; 1593, £159 8s. 11½d. and £155 2s. 9½d.

The citizens of the Plantagenet period met in their moot hall which gave its name (41 Edward III.) to "Mothalle lane," out of Bridge Street, afterwards called Common hall lane.

In 1545 a new Common Hall was "built in St. Nicholas' Chapell, towards which the profite of a comon bargaine of iron "was devoted." "The chapel of St. Nicholas serving to little use, "the citizens purchased it unto themselves, and made thereof a "twofold use of great conveniency, and dividing the same by a "floor in the middle thereof, the lower room was appointed for the "stowage of wool, corn, cloth, and other commodities, to be rented

An extract from the accounts of 16 Richard II. will be useful for comparison.—"Revenue of City Wards. Est' de ter nino Annunc' Beate Marie 16 Ric. II. xiiij. iiij. ix. ob. De quibus solvit 27 die Sept' argento & alloc' viij. ii. ob & in vad' xs. id. ob et debet iiiij. xid. ob. Item sol' 4 Octobr xl. xs. x. & in vadiis iiij. viij. et alloc' ei iij. Waterate de eodem termino 8. 14s. De quibus solvit 3 Octobr in argento 104s. 2d. & eodem in vadiis 11s. 6d. & 16d. condonantur & debet 4s. de quibus solvit 4s. 6d. Brug' de eodem termino 9. 4s. 7d. & ob De quibus solvit 5 die Sept' in argento & alloc' liij. viij. Item eodem die in vadiis 15s. 9d. & debet 116s. Item de quibus solvit in argento & vadiis 28s. 9d. North' 4. 16s. 2d. ob de quibus solvit 2 Sept' in argen 54s. 11d. ob. Item in condicionibus & arrer' 6s. 10d. Item in vad' 13s. 8d. ob et debet 20s. 8d. Item solvit 17 Septembr Johanni de Preston 12d. Item solvit 6d. Item solvit 17 Sept in argento 3s. 6d. Item solvit 2s. Item solvit 12 Sept 12d. & debet 12s. 2d. Summa totalis 34. 15s. 7d. ob.

“and sold by foreigners and strangers, at times allowable in the
“city. And the upper room for a stately senathouse for the
“assemblies, elections, courts of his highness, coron-mote for pleas
“of the crown, kept there before the mayor, recorder, and alder-
“men, that are his majesty’s justices of the peace, every six weeks,
“and for the portmote of common pleas every fortnight, and for
“the court of record for the city, called the pentice court, held
“before the sheriffs thrice a week, except sometimes other business
“will not permit; and the county court for the county of the city,
“according as the law appoints.”

In 29 Elizabeth, 24 November, an Assembly order was made for repairing this Common Hall.

567. And alsoe it is agreed upon that there shalbe reparacons
Common Hall made of the Comen Hall above and belowe and A Chamber in
repaired. the Inuer howse withe A priveye for easements in such sorte
as shalbe Appointed by Mr. Maiore.

The meetings of the Assembly were held sometimes in the Common Hall, sometimes in the Inner Pentice.

The keeper and clerk of the Common Hall was an official of some importance as through his hands passed the customs and duties paid at the Hall. In 1573, William Dymock, merchant, was appointed by the Assembly, but later some trouble arose through the dishonesty of his subordinate.

Memorandum that at the said assemble [23 Oct., 1573]
156. William Dymock of the citie of Chester, merchant, was by the
Wm. Dymock made said maior [R^d. Dutton], aldermen, sheriffs, and comon coun-
Keeper & Clerk saile, elected, chosen, and apoynted keper and clerke of the
of comon hall of the said citie, geving a true accompt of all the
Common Hall. customes and duties of the said citie coming to his handes for
hallage quarterly upon his othe to the maior and sheriffs for the tyme
beinge. To have and to exercise, occupy and enjoy the said office and
charge with all ffees, wage comodities, duties, proffits, and recompence as
any other former keper or clerk of the said hall heretofore hath had and
enjoyed, and in as ample, beneficiale, and large mauer and forme, provided
that he occupie and exercise the said office himself in his owne person.

Richard Dutton, maior
William Gerard
Johu Cowper
Thomas Greue
Wyllyam Ball
Roger Legh
Thomas Belling

Edward Hanmer
Edward Martyn
Richard Bavaud
Wm. Wale
Wm. Goodman

364. And at the said assembly [6 April, 24 Eliz.] complainte
Wm. Dymock, was made of the keper of the comon hall, William Dymocke,
Keeper of the as well for that his underkeper, Richard Cooke, is suspected
Common Hall. of his daylinge thereof, and not of sufficiente credicte to take
that charge upon him, but alsoe for that by a former order of the admitment

of the said William Dymocke—to the said charge he was directed and soe admitted to supply that charge in his owne person and alsoe for that he yerely accompteth for the profitts of the said comon hall without othe. It is therefore now concluded upon that the said William Dymocke shall enter into bands for his better dealinge in that charge and yerly yeld up his accompte therof upon his othe to the maior of the same citie for the tyme beinge in the Inner Pentice.

The office of Clerk of the Pentice was of great antiquity, but the earliest name which can be given of the holder of this office is that of William de Hawardyn in 1404. Hemingway mentions John Farrar in 1510, and Rauff Wryne in 1540. The office was held for life, and not seldom the duties performed by deputy. William Newhall succeeded in 1543. Thomas Glaseor was appointed 1 Mary, followed by John Yearmouth and Anthony Harper. In 11 Elizabeth, William Knight who had acted for seven years as deputy to Mr. Harper was elected, and his successors were Ellis Williams in 1600 and Robert Whitby, 9 April, 44 Elizabeth.

44. John Offley, Mayor, 1 Mary. Memorandum that at an assemble had in the Pentice of ye citie of Chester by John Thomas Glaseor elected Clerk of the Pentice for life. 2nd Aprill, in the fyrest yere of the reigne of oure Sovereigne Lady Mary, by the grace of God of England, Fraunce, and Ierlande Quene, defendour of the saythe, and of the Church of England and Ierland in cyrthe the supreyme hede, upon receipt of the Quenes majestes letters for her Highnes unto me the said maire, aldermen, and comon counsell addressed That we shoulde graunte by Patent under the sele of the said citie unto Thomas Glaseor, being then clerke of the Pentice of the said citie, the same office of clerkship for tearme of his lyfe, with all fees and p'syts [perquisites] to the same office belonging, and to constitute the same Thomas Glaseor our clerke of the Pentice of the said citie as by the same leters more playnely apperith. Fforasmuche as by the saide maire, aldermen, and comon counsell ys thought mete for dyvers considerations to staye ther graunte of the said office by patent under ther seale, yet nevertheles by cause the said Thomas Glacire was heretofore elected and admyted into ye said office by hus, and hath ever sethenes right well and honestlye used and occupied the said office as clerke of the pentice *He* the said mayre, aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsell do by one hole and mutuall election and assent ffreliie agreid, nominat and elect and appoint hym the said Thomas Glacire to remeyne clerke in the said office, and do graunte unto hym the said office and everything appertening to the same as hath been accustomed, taken and received by former clerks of the said office during the will and pleasure of the said mayre, recorder, aldermen, and comon counsell. And we do order and decreie that the said Thomas Glaseor shall not be expellyd nor removid from the said office by any persone or persones except onely by the consent of the maire, Aldermen, and comon counsell of the said citie for the tyme beinge at assemble therof to be houlden upon sufficient faulte to diserve the same expulsion from the said office and no other wyse.

114.
William
Knight chosen
Clerk of
Pentice.

Temp. William Baſh, xi Eliz. Whereas thoffice of the clarkſhipp of the Citty of Cheſter called the Clerke of the Pentice hath bene executed by John Yearmouth, eſquire, or his deputie, and by Antony Harper by William Knight his deputie by the permiſſion and ſufferaunce of the maior and recorder, aldermen, ſheriffes, and comon counſell of the ſaid citty, and wherealſo the ſaid rowme or office of clarkſhipp by the departure from theſe of the ſaid Anthonie Harper is nowe voide, and havinge good likinge of the ſaid William Knight who hath executed the ſame office as deputie by the ſpace of vii years, and by all that ſame tyme hath right honeſtly behaved himſelf therein, and alſo for that he hath accordinge to thorders of the ſaid citty paid his ffyne for his ffredome to the uſe of the citty. Therefore at an Aſſemblye holden in the comon hall within the ſaid citty before us William Baſh, Maior of the ſaid citty, William Gerrard, eſquire, Recorder thereof, thaldermen, ſheriffes, and common counſaile of the ſaid citty, the fryday that is to ſay the xiith day of Aprill in the xiith yeare of the reigne of our ſovereigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, &c., We the ſaid Maior, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriſſes, and Common Counſell of the ſaid citty, for us and our ſucceſſors and with one whole free and mutuall aſſent and conſent, and at the ſpeciall request of William Gerrard, Recorder of the ſaid citty, who hath graunted to the ſaid William Knight all his intereſt in the ſaid office, have elected choſen nominated and appointed the ſaid William Knight to be and remaine clerke of the pentice of the ſaid citty and cheeffe towne clerke within the ſame citty, and cheeffe clerke as well of the pentice court as alſo of the portmote court crowne mote and countie courts within the ſaid citty, and we do geve and graunt for us and our ſucceſſors unto the ſaid William Knight the ſaid office rounge and preferment and all and every thinge and thinges fees and duties appertayninge to the ſame, and as have bene accoſtomable taken or received by the clerke of the pentice as incident to office or otherwiſe, to have and to houlde occupie and enjoy the ſame office as clerke of the pentice with all fees and duties therunto belonginge and as have bene accoſtomed to be taken and received by former clerkes of the pentice within the ſaid citty And further as aforſaid duringe the lyffe naturall of the ſame William Knight, and alſo we the ſaid Maior, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriſſes, and Common Counſaile of the ſaid citty for us and every of us and every of our ſucceſſors do covenante premiſe graunt order and decree by theſe preſents that the ſaid William Knight ſhall not be expelled nor removed from the ſaid office of clerke of the pentice by the Recorder for the tyme beinge, nor by any other maner of perſon or perſons whatſoever at any tyme duringe the naturall lyffe of the ſame William Knight, except the maior and common counſell at an aſſemblye to be holden by a full and whole agreement of the maior, aldermen, ſheriffes, and common counſell of the ſaid citty for the tyme beinge, ſhall for ſome notable and worthie fact beinge duely examyned and truly tryed, expulſe him from the ſame.

A.O. 1168—Friday 9th of April 44 Elizabeth. In Common Hall of Pleeſ. John Ratclyffe maior. At which Aſſemblye Robert Whitbie gent exhibbited his petition to have his freedome to be graunted unto him And alſoe to be admitted unto the office of the Clarkſhippe of the Pentice within the ſame Citie being then voyde by the death of Ellis Williams gent deceaſed late Clerke of the Pentice there Whereuppon and uppon

declaration and notice given openlie in the Assemblie of severall Letters written by the Right hoble Sir Thomas Egerton knight, Lo: keeper of the greates seale of England to the Maior and Aldermen of this citie in the behalf of the saied Robert Whitbie to have him to be elected and admitted to the same office and att the speciall request of the saied recorder (whoe had graunted to the saied Robert Whitbie all hls interest in the saied office). It was thereuppon att the same Assemblie by the saied Maior, Mr. Justice Warburton, Mr. Recorder, and by the greater parte of the saied Aldermen, Sheriffes and common Counsell of the saied citie ordered assented concluded and agreed that the saied Robert Whitbie shall be admitted to be free of this encorporac'on payinge therefore ffive powndes :

And it was alsoe at the same Assemblie with a free and generall assent and consent of the whole assembly ordered assented concluded and agreed that the saied Robert Whitbie should be Clarke of the Pentice and of Crownmoote Portmoote and countie Courts within the same citie. And the saied Maior Recorder Aldermen Sheriffes and common Councell of the same Citie for them and their Successors with one free and mutuall assent and consent of the same Assemblie did give and graunte to the saied Robert Whitby the saied office Roome place and preferment of the Clarkeshippe of the Pentice And of all the saied courts within the same citie And all and every thinge and thinges fees proffitts and duties appertaininge and belonginge to the saied office and place which have bene heretofore accustomed to be taken Receaved and had by the Clarke of the Pentice Clarke of the Crownmoote Portmoote and Countie Courts in the same city incident and belonginge unto that office he payinge and discharginge the somme of fforty Seaven pounds Thirteene shillings and ffowre pence lately disbursed and laied oute for the obtaininge of a Statute for fynes to be levied before the Maior for the tyme beinge of lands within the saied citie : To have occupie exercise use and enjoy the said office roome and place and all fees and duties incident and belonginge thereunto to perceive receive take and have to the saied Robert Whitbie duringe his naturall lieff unles for some notorious offence to be duly examined and proved against him at any tyme hereafter he shalbe by the saied encorporacon adjudged unwoorthie to enioy the same office anie longer. And the same Robert Whitbie was thereuppon elected and admitted to the same office and therein placed and installed by the saied Maior Recorder and Sheriffes accordingly.

The following Orders of Assembly throw an interesting light upon the mode of election to the shrievalty and the common council. The sheriffs were required, under heavy penalties, to have held the office of levellooker [A.O. 31, 601], and had imposed upon them the unpleasant task of collecting fines. This duty one pair of sheriffs declined, with the consequence of being forthwith committed to the very prison which was under their official control [A.O. 26, 268]. It is to be noticed that one of the sheriffs is called the Queen's Sheriff [A.O. 102].

The sheriffs were from very early times responsible for finding

money to pay the Fee Farm rent to the Royal Earl, taking for that purpose various fines and forfeitures.

A.O.—181 And it is also ordered that every the sheriffs for the tyme
Sheriffs to beinge shall make and yelde a perfect and true accompt of the
give account. tresurers of the said citie for the tyme beinge of all such fines
forfeitures and amersements at such tyme and tymes as they thereunto
shall be required by the maior and of thou [theore] half thereof by them
receyved shall mak true and undelaied payment to the tresurers aforesaid
for the use of the said cyty imedyatly upon such accompt. And also it

182. was then and there further ordered that the sheriffs for the
Sheriffs to tyme beinge upon every their last accompt shall have and truly
pay gather and levy all such fines forfeitures and amersements
the farm of according to the said estreats and all and every some and
£20. somes of money containued or to be specified in such estreats or sufficient
distresses for the same together with the estreats deliver up into the hands
of the said sherriffs at such time as the same sherriffs shall demande the
same, or to bringe before the maior every person denying to make
payment thereof or refusing to deliver or not suffering to take sufficient
distres for the same: to be used and ordered as shalbe thought meete and
requisite the fee ferme of twenty pounds which yerely is to be paid to
the Queenes majesty receyvor at the feast of St. Michael tharchangell
and those xl^s. yerely by them paid accostomably to the maior and the
charge of all those gownes which they have been accostomed to finde to
certaine of the serjants of the said city for the tyme beinge, defalkted and
deducted in and out of the hole fines and amersements accruing in that
hole yere before and the same to be allowed unto them, and the rest to
be divided into two parts whereof thon moitie to be paid to the said
tresurers for the use of the said cyty and thother moyty thereof they the

183. same sheriffs to detaine and kepe for their owne uses. And
Serjants to further it is ordered then and their that the said iii^{or} serjants
have fees. shall have for their paines in levying of the said estreates such
consideracon as the maior for the tyme being shall appoint.

184. *Provided* and it was then and ther also ordered that the
Sheriffs to sherriffs which now are and those which hereafter shalbe, shall
have have all proffits casualties fees and duties to them due and
profits and belonging by chartre and arysing in the court of Pentice and
fees. for any returne or enquest to their only proper use and behof (the said
order or anything therein contained to the contrary thereof in any wise
notwithstanding.)

230. Also it was then and ther debated how in what sorte and
Sheriffs to by whom the fines forfeitures and amersements due to the said
have all citie from hensfurth shalbe levied. And therupon yt is now
fines, &c., for ordered condissented and agreed upon by the said maior,
discharging aldermen, and comon counsaile that the sheriffs of the said
the fee farm. citie for the tyme beinge shall yerely levy, receive and have all the said
fines forfeitures and amersements and therwith discharge the Fee Ferme
of the said citie and other charges as auy the sheriffs heretofore have
been chargeable with or accostomed to discharge, pay, finde, or support,
and in such orderly manner and sorte.

231.—And further yt was then and ther by the said maior aldermen
sheriffs and comen counsaile explaned and agreed upon that the sheriffs

Sheriffs committed to prison

of the said cyty for ye tyme being shall levy have and take to their owne uses all fines, forfeitures and ameracements.—7 *January, 17 Elizabeth.*

31.
Sheriffs must
have held
office of
levellooker.

Also yt ys ordred the said daye & yere at the foresaid assemble by ye said mayre sheriffs aldermen & comen counsell of ye citie of Chester that from hensforth ther shall no man be elictid & made shiriff of Chester except the same person so elictid & chosyn have byne levellooker of the same cytye & yf any be elictid contrary to this ordenaunce then he to pay to the comen box foure marks before he be sworne shiriffe. [3 Ed. VI., 1549.]

507.
Sheriffs to
have all and
pay all for the
ferme of £5.

And as towching the levyinge & haveinge of all thestraits, fynes & forfeitures due to the Citie It is nowe fully ordred that the sheriffs that nowe are shall have & receive to there owne uses all & singuler those fynes estreates & forfeitures without accompte, yeldinge paying & fyndinge the fee ferme of this Citie the serjants & officers gownes as are accustomed & in suche sorte as suche like sheriffs have had the same before tyme & alsoe yeldinge & payinge to this Citie fyve pounds in respecte of the ferme therof: Provided that if they in their Consciens shall think they have not gained soe moche thereby, then to defalte of the same ferme of ^{vli} soe moche as they shall please upon there Consciens & Credict. [29 Oct., 27 Elz.]

xxiiii die Januarii anno regni domine Elizabeth Regine, &c., decimo octavo in Interiore Penticio civitatis Cestr' tempore secundo predicti Henrici Hardware majoris civitatis predictae tentam per predictum majorem alderman' et commune consilium ejusdem civitatis.

At which assemble declaracon was made to the same by the said maior that he the same maior acordinge to a former order taken the xiiith day of January laste paste for the due levyinge of fynes issues

267.
Sheriffs refuse
to receive
estreats,
committed to
prison and fined
£40.

and ameracements assessed at the session of the peace holden within the saide cittie the xxiith of December laste paste the saide maior and Richard Birkhened, esquior, Recorder of the same citie, Will^m. Aldersey, John Cowper, Thomas Grene, Richard Dutton, William Ball, John Hankie, and Roger Lea, aldermen and justices of peace within the saide city hadd acordinge to the lawes and statutes of this reallme and lawdable usage and customs of this citie caused the said fynes issues and ameracements to be estreated and indented and sealed with the usuall seale of his office and the same hadd tendred to Will^m. Golburne and David Dymock, nowe sheriffs of the same citie, in the presence of John Cowper, Thomas Greene, and Richard Dutton, Justices of Peace within the saide citie, to be by them levied collected and gathered as by the lawes they are and be bounden and ought by reason of their office to doe.

And the saide sheriffs then refused to receyve the same estreates at the hands of the saide maior, upon which refusall the saide maior by thadvise of his bretherne the aldermen called this assemble, and whereas alsoe the saide maior at this said assemble did openlie in the saide assemble make like tender of the saide estreates to the saide sheriffs requiringe and comaundinge them in the Quene's highness name and upon their othe for the due execucon of their saide office, and allsoe upon their othe by them made to this citie to take and receyve the saide estreates into their hands and levie the same acordinge to the saide former order and as by their saide office they be bounden to doe. And yet that notwithstandinge in the same assemble they the saide sheriffs did not onlie denye to take

and receyve the saide estreates to the great contempte of their dutie to the queenes highnes and to the contempte of the saide maior and of the saide assemblee, to the evell example and encorageunte of others like disobedient officers and mynisters to comytt and doe the like offence, if this offence shuld escape without condigne ponishemente. Wherefore it is now ordered and agreed by and at the same assembly that the saide sheriffs shalbe comytted to prison for their saide offence, and there remayne untill they shalbe enlarged by the said maior with thassente of his bretherne and pay for a fine to the saide citie the some of ffortie pounds.

268.

Submission of the citie of Chester. William Golburne and Daniel Dymock
Sheriffs.

To the Right Wurshipfull Mr. Henrie Hardware, maior of
nowe for this yere sheriffs within this citie and under custody of the Gaile of the Northgate of the same citie by your comyttement doe acknowledge that the veray cause which moved us to refuse the takinge of the estreates and the gatheringe of the ffynes according to your Wurships appointment and the agreamente of the assembly, and for which our contempte we remayne in warde arose of our simple conceyvinge that the fynes and forfeitures apperteyned to the sheriffs of the citie and not to the citie, of which mynde we were perswaded that all the sheriffs heretofore have bene by reason they ever gathered the same and no other, they compounded for the same at their wills without gainesayinge of the maior and citizens, and for thes proffetts ever paide and discharged the fee ferme. But now we be resolved fullie that as those were graunted to the maior and citizens, soe the yerly sheriffs gatheringe the same were but collectors thereof to the use of the citie, and that the cause why they made no accompts was in that the maior and citizens were pleased they shulde deteyne all thos fynes and forfeitures towards the discharge of the fee ferme, whereof if wee had hadd the like understandinge wee nowe have wee wolde not have done as wee did with our ignorance wee acknowledge, and because the same grew not of anie willfull mynde or meaninge wee hadd to contempne or disobey anie your wurships lawfull order or comaundemente but throughe wante of knowledge: Therefore wee humblie besече your Wurship so favorable to accepte of this our acknowledge of offence and submission as wee may of our imprisonmente where wee have remayned theis iiij^r dais be enlarged with discharge of suche fyne as is sossed upon us. And like as wee submytt us to what order you shall take towchinge the gatheringe and levyinge of the fynes and forfeitures to be cessed and forfected for this yere to com soe it be without bande, so shall our diligence in the same hereafter fullie recompence all former defalties.

"WILL^M. GOLBURNE."

"DAVID DYMCK."

600.

Refusal to hold beinge chosen to the office of sherifwicke of the said Citie
Sheriffwick refused the same office and did put him selfe to what fine this Assembly woulde assesse upon him in that behalfe hath nowe at this Assembly exhibited his supplicacon shewinge his disabilitie and unhablesnes and withall sheweth howe the order in that behalfe is in these wordes, "every person chosen beinge hable" and he him selfe not hable supposinge him selfe to be out of the compas of that order and not to be fyned and therefore prayeth due consideracon of this Assembly both of the order as of his habilitie the same is considered of but not determyned but differred untill the nexte Assembly. [20 Oct., 29 Eliz.]

601.
Fines for
election as
Sheriffs, not
having been
Leveloukers.

And where alsoe Mr. Thomas Harebotell was chosen to be the Quenes sherife for this yere to come not beinge Levelouker And therefore thought to pay x^{li} before his othe and wherasoe Mr. John Will^{ms} was chosen the Comen sheriffe not beinge Levelouker and therefore thought to pay Liii^s iv^d. before his othe whereupon ye orders of this Citie in that behalfe were considered of and the severall choise well remembered, It is nowe at this Assembly ordred by the said Maior the Aldermen sherifes and Comen Councell of the said Citie that the said Mr. Harebotell and Mr. Will^{ms} shall presentlie pay to the handes of the Tresurers of the said Citie there said severall fines accordinge to the said several orders and thereupon it is alsoe ordred by the said Maior the Aldermen sherifes and Comen Councell of the said Citie that in consideracon that the said Mr. Harebotell and Mr. Will^{ms} were chosen to the said severall Callinges not by the vocacon of the said Maior but by the whole Comens against there willes that there said severall fines shalbe upon the said severall payntes returned backe and repaied unto the said Mr. Harebotell and Mr. Will^{ms} gratis by the said Tresurers w^{ch} was repaied to the said twoe sherifes by the Tresurers in the sight and presens of the said Maior accordingle and thereof the Tresurers discharged.

602.
Sheriffs to have
fines.

Alsoe at the said Assembly it is ordred wth whole consente that the nowe sheriffes shall have all fines forfeitures estreates and other custumes belonginge to the said Citie w^{ch} shall happen duringe the time of there office as like sherifes have had without eny accompte therof yeldinge.

Temp. Thome Grene. Memorandum that at an assemble houlden in the pentice within the Citie of Chester the nente [9] daye of October A^o domini 1566, yt was orderid and decryed by the saide mayre, aldermen, sheriffs, and comen counsell of the same cytye that yf at any tyme hereafter the mayre that shalbe chosyn shall disier the rest of his brethern thaldermen to geve ther voyces that one person which he shall name and who hath not borne the office of levelouker may be the quenes sheriff for that yere to com and that thay do therunto assent that then the said mayre or such as shall make request for the mayre yf the mayre chosyn be then absent shall eyther fourth-with pay to the tresurers twenty pounds of lawfull monye of England for hym that shall be so namyd to be shiriff or els to delyver a suffycent paune to the tresurers of the same cytye for the tyme being by them to be kept by the space of twentye dayes next folouing. And if the xx^{li}. be not payed to ther handes before thende of the said xx^{li}. dayes that then the paune in open courte before the shiriffs to be praysed and soulded and the xx^{li}. to be delyveryd to the tresurers to the use of the saide cytye and the overplouse to the partie. And yf the mayre chosyn and his brethern prosede to election without assenting to the mayr's nomynacons then they to chose suche one as hath borne the office of the levelouker before and no other.

102.
Appointment
of Queen's
Sheriff.

The BOUNDS of the city were perambulated by successive mayors, and the subjoined copies of the report of their perambulations, made at long intervals, afford an interesting record of the changes which occurred.

THE MEYRES AND BOUNDS of the circuite of the liberties of the Citie of Chester newly viewed by Henry Gee, mayre of the same citie, by

ye advyse and consent of his most auncient and discrete brederne, in ye second tyme of his mairaltie and as ye same now be known and cauled. [Anno 31 Hen. 8.] (1540.)

That is to witt from the Iron brigge to Claverton high waye and so over the sayde waye to a certene sicke which goithe through the medes of a grene croft of our soveraigne Lorde the Kyng, late of the monystorie of the nones of the Citie of Chester and now in the houldinge and occupacion of one Mathew Elles and so extendinge by a certeyne syche or dyche cauled the myre dyche and otherwyse cauled the gray dyche, beinge betwene ouer Sovereing Lord the Kinges Lands of the monystarie of the nones aforsaide upon the northe partie and the lands of William Lawrenson of the southe partye, and this is thest [east] ende of the saide Gray Dyche; and at the West ende thens folowing the same Dyche lyeth Sir Peres Duttones land of the northe partye and our saide Sovereinge Lorde the Kynges lands of the late nones aforsaid upon the Southe partye; and so from thens streght over Broumfeld High Waye unto a certeyn close in the Lordship of the lynch now our said Sovereinge Lorde the Kinges; and so folowing ther a lyke Gray Dyche unto the west partie of a felde cauled S. Martyne felde; and thens folowe the saide dyche northward tyll you come to the Erle of Oxford's Lands, some tyme the land of Robt. Bradford; and then folowe an other lycke dyche westward lying betwene the said Erle's lands on the northe partye and oure said Sovereigne the Kyng's lands on the southe partye, and so folowing a longe the same dyche betwene our said soveraigne [Lord the Kyng's] Land and the saide Erles land unto you com to a dyche in ould tyme cauled a syche, which syche and dyche goith northward unto Kynarton Lane the waye from Chester, and upon the est partye of the same syche or dicke lyeth the saide Erles of Oxford's Lands and upon the west partye of the saide dicke or sicke lyeth our saide Sovereng Lorde the Kyng's lands, and over that waye westward folowe a lane through the toune of Layche betwene oure said Sovereinge Lorde the King's Landes late of the nones aforsaide, lyinge on the West partye and the said Erle's Lands liing on the Est partye, and so folowe the same Lane tyll you come to Lame pole in Saltney otherwyse caled Blake Poole, and so in folowing the same poole tyll you come to a place wher a payre of galowes standith which place is cauled Gallos Poole, and so folowe the same Poule to you come to the rever of Dee and so on the rever of De to Poole Brige which is now cauled Porte Poole, and so folowe that rever to a Stone bryge beinge in Molyngton high waye and from thence up a lyttill sicke or rever unto Bayche poole and from thens up a lyttill syche or rever cauled Newton broke and so folowe the same syche or rever unto Flokers Brouke unto a playce cauled Bispediche is betwene the lands of the King's College of Saynt Warbouroug of the Citie of Chester on the south est partye and the Spittill felde upon the north west partye and so folowe that dyche southward to the High waye from Tarvin unto you come to a certen dyche of the est partye of the Chappill of Boughton, and folowe that dyche unto a high waye that leds from Chester towards Tarporley, and so over that high waye to A mere Stone leving the Lepors housys on the west partye unto the houlghe [Hollow] waye that ledes unto Butter bache under the hill of the water of De; and so in folowing the Ripe of that water unto Hontyndon Wod and from thence unto the Irne [sic] Brige aforsaide. [*Assembly Book*, page 35a.]

THE MAYRES and boundes of the liberties of the Citie of Chester of olde tymes ex'cisett'. [Translation of Charter of 1355. *Assembly Book*, p. 36a.]

That is to Wyt from Claverton waye anyndeze the iron Brygge, and also ascendyng by a certen syche unto a grene diche also called the Meyrediche in folowyng that diche unto a certen way that ledith from Bromfild unto Chester unto an old diche now nere a certen Marle pit and so in foloyng that diche anyndeze the occidentall partie betwene the land of Robert Bradeford unto the land of Michayll Scot unto the hed of the same dyche; and so in foloyng the land of the forsaid Robert of Bradeford unto the land of the Prioress and the Nunes of Chester, the whiche forsethe lands before was the land of Thomas Danyers, and from thense in foloyng a sicke unto a way that ledythe from Chester towards Kynarton and over that waye unto the toune Lache, and so by the middis of that toune of the northe parte unto the Land Pull in Saltney, otherwise called Blakepull; and so in folowyng that pull unto the water of Dee unto a certen ryver of the other partie of the water of De descending into the same water at the Pulbrige; and so in foloing that rever unto the Stanenbrige and from thens unto Bachepull and so in foloing the side of the water of Bachepull unto a certen sicke called Flokeresbrok unto Bispediche and so foloing that toward the est parties and afterwarde foloing that diche anendez the southe partie unto a waye that ledis from Stanford Brige toward Chester in foloing that waye unto a certen diche of the est parte of the Chapell of Boghton, and from thens unto a waye that ledeth from Chester towards Torporlegh; in foloing that waye in lefyng the grange of the lepurris of the est parte unto the Holghe waye that ledys unto Botherbach under the water of Dee and from foloing the Rype of that water unto Huntynghdon Wode and from thens unto the Iron Brige aforsaid.

H.O. 195. THE MEARES AND BANDS of the circuite of the
 The meres and liberties of the Cittie of Chester as they were vewed and seene
 bounds of the the xxixth daie of December in the sixtenth yeare of the raigne
 City liberties of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth, by Richard Dutton, esquier,
 (taken in in the seconde tyme of his maioraltie accompanied with the
 Christmas persons whose names are subscribed.
 Week.)

That is to wett from the ryver of Dee at a certaine place there called the Irenbrige betweene a certen clausure or pasture of the lands of John Poole, esquier, nowe in the occupacon of Thomas Bellin, alderman, upon the north parte and a certaine clausure of the lands of the heires of Sir Peeres Dutton, knight, decessed, and nowe in thoccupacon of Margarie Thorneton, widowe, upon the south parte ledinge up to Claverton highway. And soe over the saide highway to a certaine siche whiche goeth throughe the middeste of a certaine greene crofte late belonginge to the late dissolved monastarie of Saint Anne's [? St. Mary's—See 31 Henry VIII.] of the said Cittie of Chester, late in thoccupacon of Mathewe Ellis and nowe in thoccupacon of Nycolas Brenes (whiche Brenes by this survey is appointed throughe such clausure to make a perfect diche) by and throughe a certaine siche or diche called the meire ditche als [alias] greyditch beinge betwene the lands late of our soveraigne ladie the queen's, late belonginge to the late monastarie of the nones dissolved and nowe in thoccupacon of John Plethin upon the north parte, and the lands late of William Lawrenson and nowe the lands of John Dee and in thoccupacon of

Thomas Burges upon the south parte. And this is theste ende of the same grey diche and at thende of the said landes now in thoccupacon of the saide John Plethin there semeth an highe wey by the saide ditche con- teyninge in bredthe xiii yardes, called by some *Barnes wey*. And so ledinge upp the same by the saide diche to a crosse wey cominge from Chester towards Eccleston and thens folowinge that diche by the lands late belonginge to the queenes majestie now in thoccupacon of John Smithe al. [alias] Cooke upon the north parte and upon that side by a certaine closure of lands late of the quenes majestie nowe in thoccupacon of Richard Haslewall and allsoe by other lands late of the queenes, nowe in thoccupacon of John Smith alias Cooke northwards where ought to have bene a highe way for ii waines to meete, and nowe encroched wholie by the same John Smith alias Cooke, and passinge by upon that Northgate a pasture of the lands of the heires of Sir Peeres Dutton nowe in thoccupacon of Thomas Burges. And at the weste end of the said grey diche folowinge the same diche lieth the landes of the heires of the saide Sir Peeres Dutton upon the north parte, and the lands late of the saide nones upon the south parte, and so from thence streight unto and over an highe way called Bromfilde highe way in whiche highe way there is a little hill or bancke called Hangman's hill where in tymes past weare a paier of gallowes : And owte of that way directlie to passe throwe a certain clausure or pasture within the lordshipp of the lache late belonging to our soveraigne ladie the quene and nowe the lands of Sir Urian Brereton, knight, and in thoccupacon of Richard Barton, and so folowinge there a like grey diche but the weste parte of a filde called Swartens filde and then folowinge the saide dyche northwarde untill yow come to the landes of the heires of Sir Peeres Dutton nowe in thoccupacon of Thomas Streete and late in thoccupacon of Richard Hewer, northwarde unto the lands of therle of Oxforde northward ; sume tyme the landes of Robert Bradforde, and late in thoccupacon of John Booth, esquior, or his assignes, and nowe in thoccupacon of Symon Montforde and John Cooke. And directlie folowinge that ditche from thence right betwene the saide Earle of Oxford his lands upon the north parte aforesaid and the said late noones landes nowe the lands of the said Sir Uriann Brereton upon the south parte, whereof at theste ende of the saide Sir Urian Brereton's such lands one clausure or pasture nowe is in thoccupacon of Thomas Wooswall and Raufe Hilton. And then folowinge one other like diche westwarde lyinge betwene the saide earle's lands northwarde, and the saide Sir Urian Breretone southwarde, and so folowinge alonge the same diche betwene the same earle's lands and the saide Sir Urian Brereton's lands late belonginge to the saide dissollved monastrie of the noones, untill you come to a diche in oulde tyme called a sitche, which sitche and diche goeth northwards unto Kynnerton lane the wey from Chester and upon theste parte of the same sitche or diche lieth the landes of the saide earle, and upon the north parte of the same sitche or diche lieth the saide Sir Urian Brereton's lands, and over that way westwards folowe a lane throwe the towne of the Lache betwene the said Sir Uryan Brereton's lands upon the weste parte, and the saide earle's landes lyinge on theste parte, and so folowe the same lane till yow come to Lane Poole in Saltney, otherwise called Black poole ; and so in folowinge the same poole till you come to a

place where a paier of gallowes stande, whiche place is nowe called gallowes poole (the same gallowes the olde Earl of Derbye caused to be sett up to serve for the execution of a person comyttinge a murder or felonie in Flintshierte) and that meareth and devideth the liberties. And so folowe the same poole till you come to the ryver of Dee and so on the ryver of Dee to Poole bridge which is nowe called Port Poole and is the first ston bridge that you come unto from the tower called the newe tower of this citie, and so from that bridge folowe the ryver cominge or issueinge under that bridge northwarde to the next stonne bridge to the saide citie beinge in Mollington higheway, And from thence up a little sitche or ryver northestwards betwene the lands of William Chauntrell, esquior, upon the north parte and the lands of the Deane and Chapter of Chester nowe in thoccupacon of John Delahey and of the lands in the towne filde of the said citie upon the south parte unto a water milne nowe in thoccupacon of Margaret Bavande. And from thence to the Bache poole at the weste end betwene one clausure or pasture adjoyninge to the highe way ledinge from Chester to Upton and that way which clausure or pasture is nowe or late was in thoccupacon of Jane Smith, widowe, and William Knight, and certeine lands nowe in thoccupacon of the saide Margaret Bavande upon the north parte. And from thence ledinge up a certaine little sitche or ryver betwene the comen filde of the Cittie of Chester upon the weste parte called Newton Brooke. And folowinge that sitche or ryver untill you come to Flowkersbruck and so foloinge on unto and over the highe wey ledinge to the saide cittie from Hoole, Frodsham, and that way. And over a little stonne bridge beinge in that highe way and passinge estward and folowinge Flowkersbruck right by the lands of Robert Vawdrey, esquior, and betwene one clausure which Roger Radford nowe holdeth by lease upon the Northparte and Chester filde upon the Southparte, and unto a little pingle or clausure nowe in thoccupac'on of Thomas Richardson ; whiche Richardson hath there turned that brooke called Flowkersbrook out of the right course upon a filde called Spittlefilde southwestwarde. And so folowinge that brooke untill you come to an highe way leadinge from Chester to Hoole Heath to a lake called there in olde tyme St. Anne's lake and over that waie folowinge Flowkersbruck untill you come to a place called bispediche which is at the ende betwene the saide clausure nowe in thoccupac'on of Thomas Richardson and betwene the lands late of the colledge of St. Warburge of the Citie of Chester, nowe in thoccupacon of Thomas Browne of Boughton upon the southest parte of the Spittlefild upon northwest parte, and so folowe that sitche or diche untill you come to a certaine clausure of errable [arable] lande nowe in thoccupacon of Thomas Cooke and then turne southwarde folowinge the saide diche betwene the said lands now in thoccupacon of the saide Cooke upon theste parte and the said Spittlefild upon the north-weste parte up to and throwe the highe way from Tervin and so folowinge that highe waie towards Chester untill you come to a diche next adjoyninge upon theste parte to the Chappell of Boughton and folowe thrughe that diche estwarde unto an highway that leadeth from Chester towards Tarporley, and so over that highe waie to a meirston levinge the late lepers howse on the weste parte unto the highe waie that leadeth unto Butterbachie under the hill of the water of Dee. And so in folowinge the ripe

[? bank] of the water unto Huntington wood and from thence unto the Iren bridge aforesaid.

Richard Dutton,	John Jewett	William Wall
Esquior, Maior	Richard Case	Thomas Sandford
John Cowper, Ald'	Richard Dawbie	John Sconce
Thomas Greene, do	Thomas Richardson	John Delahey
William Ball do	William Richardson	George Hulton
John Hankie do	Thomas Case	Mr. Farmer
William Massie, Sheriff	William Case	Thomas Jones
Pawle Chauntrell, do	Henry Hocknell	Thomas Burges
Thomas Bellin, Ald'	Owen Ap Ellis	William Brid, sen.
John Harvie do		William Stiles
Edward Hanmer do	Henrie Primrose	Thomas Bildon
Edward Thompson	Thomas Thropp	John Hulton
Edward Marten	John Delahey	Robert Wildinge
William Chantrell, esq.	Thomas Hasellwall	Fulk. Foxe
John Middleton	Henrie Sefton	William Rees
Richard Wright	Richard Foxley	Peter Litherland
William Goodman	John Browne	John Hixon
Thomas Lyniall	Nicolas Brewes	Robt. Parker
William Knight	James Banester	Hughe Skynner
Edward Dutton	Edward Banester	Robt. Eaton
John Lynyall	Thomas Rogerson	Thomas Robinson
John Middleton	Tho. Dowchman	John Ball
William Ball	Hugh Rogerson, Ald'	William Callie
John Aspshaw	Robt. Brok, gent.	Hugh Stockton
William Corkill	Walter Foxe	

20th September 35th Elizabeth.

878.
McCaes
and
Bounds of
the City.

THE MEARES AND BANDES of the Circuit of the liberties of the Citie of Chester as they were viewed and seene the 20th day of September in the sixe and thirtieth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth &c., by David Lloid, major of the sayd Citie accompanied with

the persons whose names are subscribed. That is to witt from the Ryver of Dee at a certayne place there called the Iren Bridge betwene a certayne Clausure or pasture of the Landes of John Poole esquier nowe in thoccupacon of Will^m. Walle Alderman and lately purchased by Rauffe Warmingham late of the Citie of Chester sadler decessed upon the North parte and a Certayne Clausure of the landes of the heires of Sir Pieres Dutton knight decessed and nowe in thoccupacon of the saide Will^m. Walle Alderman upon the Sowth parte Leadinge up to Claverton highe way and soe over the saide highe way to a certayne sitche which goeth through the middeste of a certayne greene Crofte Late belonginge to the Late dissolved Monasterie of St. Annes of the saide Citie of Chester Late in thoccupacon of Mathewe Ellice and nowe in thoccupacon of John Starkie throughe which such Clausure one Nicholas Breues nowe decessed late tennant thereof by a late survey of the premisses was Appoynted to make a perfecte ditche; by and through a certayne sitche or ditche Called the Meire ditche als grey ditche beinge betwene the landes Late of our soveraigne Ladie the Queene Late belonginge to the late Monasterie of the Nonnes disolved and nowe in

thoccupacon of Jonn Plethin upon the Northe parte and the Landes Late of Will^m. Lawrenson and nowe the Landes of John Doo and in thoccupacon of Thomas Doo upon the Sowth parte and this is theste ende of the same grey ditche and at thend of the saide Landes nowe in thoccupation of the late John Plethin there seemeth an highe way by the saide ditche Contayninge in bredeth thirteene yardes Called by some Barnes way and so leadinge up the same by the saide ditche to a Crosse way Cominge from Chester towardes Eccleston and thence folowinge that ditche by the Landes Late belonginge to the Queenes Majesties nowe in thoccupacon of John Smith als Cooke upon the North parte and upon that syde by a Certayne Clausure of Land late of the Queenes Majestie nowe in thoccupacon of Richard Haselwall And alsoe by other Landes of the Queenes nowe in thoccupacon of John Smith als Cooke Northward where ought to have bene an highe way for two wayes to meete and nowe encroched wholly by the saide John Smith als Cooke and passinge by upon that Northe parte a pasture of the Landes of the heires of Sir Peeres Dutton nowe in thoccupacon of Hugh Rogerson Alderman And at the west end of the saide grey ditche folowinge the saide ditche lyeth the Landes of the heires of the Sir Peter Dutton upon the Northe parte and the Landes Late of the saide Nonnes upon the sowth parte And so from thence streight unto and over an highe way called Bromfilde highe way in which highe way there is a Little hill or bank Called Hangmans hill wherein tymes paste were a paire of gallows and out of that way directlie to passe throwe a Certayne Clausure or pasture within the Lordship of the Lache Late belonginge to our soveraigne Lady the Queene and nowe the Landes of the heires of Sir Urian Brereton knight and in thoccupacon of John Mutchell and soe folowinge there a lyke grey ditche unto the weste parte of a fiede Called Swartons fiede and then folowinge the saide ditche Northe warde untill yow Come to the Landes of the heires of Sir Peeres Dutton nowe in thoccupacon of Richard Meycock and Late in thoccupacon of Richard Hewer Northwarde unto the Landes of therle of Oxeford Northwarde some tyme the Landes of Robert Bradford and late in thoccupation of John Booth esquier or his Assignes and nowe in thoccupacon of Edward Clapham. And directlie folowinge that ditche from thence right betwene the saide Earle of Oxford his Lands upon the North parte aforesaide and the saide Late Nonnes Landes nowe the Landes of the heires of the saide Sir Urian Brereton upon the sowth parte whereon at theste end of the heires of the said Sir Urian Brereton such landes one Clausure or Pasture nowe is in the occupacon of John Wade Butcher and then folowinge one other likle ditche westwarde lyinge betwene the saide Earles Landes northwarde and the heires of the said Sir Urian Breretons southwarde and soe folowinge alonge the same ditche betwene the same Erles Landes and the heires of the saide Sir Urian Breretons Lands Late belonginge to the said dissolved Monastery of the Nonnes untill yow Come to a ditche in old tyme called a sitche which sitche aud ditche goeth Northward unto Kynerton Lane the way from Chester and upon theste parte of the same sitche or ditch lyeth the Landes of the saide Earle and upon the weste parte of the same sitche or ditch lyeth the saide Sir Urian Brereton his heires Landes and over that way westwarde folowe a Lane throwe the middeste of the towne of the Lache upon the North parte betwene the Heires of the saide Sir Urian Breretons Landes upon the weste parte and the saide Earles Landes lying on theste parte and soe

folowe the same Lane till you come to Lame Pool in Saultney otherwyse called Black Poole and soe in folowinge the same Poole till you come to a place where a paire of gallowes stand which place is now called Gallowes Poole the same gallowes the olde Earle of Derby caused to be sett up to serve for thexecucon of a person committinge a Murder or felony in Flintshere and that meareth and devideth the Liberties and soe folowe the same Poole till you come to the ryver of Dee and thence right over that water unto a certayne Ryver upon thother syde of the same water of Dee dessendinge into the same water at the Poole bridge which is now Called Port Poole and is the first stonen bridge that you come unto from the tower called the newe towre of this Citie and soe from that bridge folowe the ryver runninge or issuinge under that bridge Northward to the nexte stonne bridge to the saide Citie beinge in Mollington highe way and from thence up a little sitcher or ryver Northestwarde betwene the Landes of Will^m. Chauntrell esquier upon the Northe parte and the Landes of the deane and Chapter of Chester nowe in thoccupacon of widowe Delahey and of the Landes in the towne field of the saide Citie upon the sowtheste parte unto a water milne nowe in thoccupacon of Richard Bavand Alderman and from thence to the Bache Poole at the weste end betwene one Clausure or pasture adjoyninge to the highe way leadinge from Chester to Upton and that way which Clausure or pasture is nowe or late was in thoccupacon of Elizabeth Glasier and Will^m. Knight or of their Assignes and Certayne Landes nowe in thoccupacon of the saide Richard Bavand upon the North parte and from thence Leadinge up a little sitcher or Ryver betwene the Common field of the Citie of Chester upon the weste parte called Newton brook and folowinge that sitcher or Ryver untill yow come to flowkersbrooke and soe folowinge on unto and over the highe way leadinge to the saide Citie from Hoole Frodsham and that way and over a little stonen bridge beinge in that highe way and passinge Eastwarde and folowinge Flowkersbrooke right by the Landes of Robert Vawdrey esquier and beinge one Clausure which one Henry Bennett nowe holdeth upon the Northe parte and Chester felde upon the sowth parte and unto a Little puggle or Clausure Late in thoccupacon of Thomas Richardson which Richardson hath there turned that brooke called Flowkersbrooke out of the right Course upon a field called Spittle field Sowthestwarde and soe followinge that Brooke untill yow come to an highe way leadinge from Chester to Hoole Heath to a Lake there called in old time St Annes Lake and over that waye folowinge Flowkersbruck untill yow come to a place Called Bispediche which is at the ende between the saide Clausure Late in thoccupacon of Thomas Richardson and betwene the Landes Late of the Colledge of St. Warburge of the Citie of Chester nowe in thoccupacon of Thomas Browne of Boughton upon the Sowtheste parte and the Spittle field upon the Northweste parte and so folowe that sitcher or ditche untill yow come to a certayne Clausure of errable Land nowe in thoccupacon of Will^m. Cooke and then turne sowthward folowinge the saide ditche betwene the said Landes nowe in thoccupacon of the saide Cooke upon theste parte and the saide Spittle field upon the Northweste parte upp to and through the highe way from Tarvin and soe folowinge that highe way towards Chester until yow Come to a ditche nexte adjoyninge upon theste parte to the Chappell of Boughton and folowe through that ditche Eastward unto an highe way that Leadeth from Chester towards Torperley and soe over that highe way to a Meare

Election of Councillors

stonne Leavinge the Late Lepers howses on the weste parte unto the highe way that Leadeth to Butterbache under the hill of the water of Dee and soe in folowinge the ripe of the water unto Huntington wood and from thence unto the Iren Bridge aforesaid

David lloyd, Maior	Thomas Richardson	Rob'tus Cowper
Thomas Green, Ald'	Jasper Gillam	Will'm's Edwards
Will'ms Balle, Ald'	Will'm's Richardson	Hugo Hyne
Will'ms Bird, Ald'	Rob'tus Amery	Jesse Smithe
Richard Bavand, Ald'	Thomas Meoles	Will'ms Adams
Valentinus Broughton, Ald'	Ric'ns Hasselwall	Rob'tus Leene
Edmundus Gamull, Ald'	Thomas Smith de Han-bridge	Lodovicus Will'm's
Thomas Lynyall, Ald'	Ric'us Wright, Laborer	Georgius Boyes
Joh'es Litler, vic'	Oliverns Laborer	Will'm's Grafton, gen'
Willm's Aldersey, Ald'	Thomas Lowker	Joh'es Owen
Ric'us Rathburne, Ald'	Rob'tus Bles	Will'm's Ashton
Edwardus Marten	Ran'us ffinchet	Will'm's Glynne
Paulus Chauntrell	Joh'es Hixon	Thomas Alcock
Rob'tus Walle	Ric'us ffoxley	Hugo Crompe
Joh'es Will'ms	Henrics Pimrose	Thomas Kettle
Joh'es Ratcliff	Joh'es Halwood	Arthurus Chauntrell
Thomas Werden	Joh'es Searle	Thomas Morgan
Edwardus Dutton, gen'	Thomas Asmore	Joh'es Gregory
Joh'es Morgell, gen'	Rob'tus Ridley	Will'm's fletcher
Petrus Bennet	Will'm's Coughley, stringer	Will'm's Whitle
Will'm's Knight, gen'	Rob'tus Shamous	Will'm's Liverpoole
Thomas Browne, gen'	Thomas Ince	Rob'tus Hatton
Matheus Ellice, gen'	Willms Alcock	Ric'us Roberts
Joh'es Robinson	Rob'tus ffazaker	Ran'us Whitby
Adam Bles	Nich'us Banester	Rad'us Modesley
Will'm's Leicester	Joh'es Burton	Joh'es Laborer
Will'm's Holland	Joh'es Houghton	Ric'us Byram
Ludovicus Rob'ts	Will'm's Andrewe	Joh'es Lynyall
Rob'tus Dodd, sword-bearer	Ric'us Newton	Ric'us Bavand, jun.
Joh'es Ridley	Thomas Done, gen'	Daniel Bavand
Thomas Throp	Georgius Harpur	Will'm's Gamull
Ran'us Eaton	Owinus Harries	Joh'es Willms, jun.
Thomas Case	Rob'tus Bennet	fil Joh'is W. mercer
		Rad'us Broughton
		Hugo Holland

In the election of common councillors, evident care is very properly taken that those chosen should be persons of substance ("a sadde and substanciall counsayle"), and regulations are made for regular attendance at the monthly meetings. (A.O. 20, 41, 19 Henry VII., 125, 21b.)

Sexto die Octobris, xxv Hen. VIII. Whereas ther should allwayes be xl common counsellors of this citie and that ever as eny of them fortune to dye ther shuld be other of the saddist & most substanciall comynors of the citie newly chosen in their place which many times heretofore have byn appoynted & sworne by the mayre onely wythout consent of his brethern wherby the sadde & discrett counsell of the citie hath bene sore decayed & gretely

mynysht by reason that the mayre often tymes hath for favor & affection taken in such parsons as have lacked convenient qualities for the same be it therfore enacted for the establishment & obteyning of a sadde & substanciall counsaile to be had & contynued that from hensforth all such persons as shall want of the said number of xl shalbe allwayes chosyn by the mayre aldermen & the resedue of the comon counsell within ther counsell house at the pentice of such wyse discrete & shalbe [sic] substanciall comynors as by them shalbe thought most convenient to supply the roumes that were voyde for the welthe & sadde orderyng of the Citie.

19 Hen. VII. It is ordered and enacted that if any of the brethren beyng of the xxiiiith have reasonable warnyng to be and appere afore the maire in the Pentice at eny house to hym prefixed: if he or thay so have appere ner kepe his owre, then he so not apperyng, if he have bene his contempt to pay for every defaulte viii^d, and if he have been shireff to pay for every defaulte iiiii^d, and this to be levied furthwith to the use of the comyn boxe: and [if] the officer do not duly warne hym or theym, then he to pay for every defaulte iiiii^d.

Temp. John Hanky, maior 1571. Whearas the maior of the Cittie of Chester for the tyme beinge hath heretofore bene accustomed and may lawfullie by poynte of Charter cause an assemblee of his bretherne the aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsaile of the
 124.
 Neglect to attend Council Meetings. same cittie to mete together to consult and conferre upon things and matters concerning and towchinge the comon welth of the said cittie whan and as often as occasion shalbe requisite. And wherealsoe notwithstandinge lawfull warnings made by the maior for the tyme beinge as well to the aldermen and sberiffs peres, as to the comon counsaile to appeare at an hower appointed the daie folowinge suche admonicon and warninge at the comon hall yet the most parte more respectinge their pryvate busynes then the care of the comon causes appertaynyng to the cittie or their othe taken, to come uppon due warninge to geve their advice and consent for the comon wheale of the same have absented them selves, whereby not onlie many tymes the maior, for want of sufficient number to conferre and consulte with, hathe bene forced to breake upp without mocion of anie order to be taken for things necessarie by them then to have bene considered. But alsoe the orders taken by suche fewe present have after bene brought in question for wante of a competente and sufficient number for redresse whereof it is nowe, the sixt daie of November in the thirteenth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth quene of England that now is by John Hanky maior of the said cittie, the aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsaile of the said cittie, ordered concluded and agreed at an assemblee then holden in the comon hall of the cittie aforesaid that when and as often as the maior for the tyme beinge shalbe disposed to have anie assemblee that he shall cause the officers of the cittie thereof to geve knowledge to everie alderman, sheriffs pere, and comon counsaile in maner and forme folowinge: That is to say if wolde have the metinge and assemblee in anie forenone: than the serjants to geve the warninge before seven of the clock the eveninge before, either to the partie himself or in his absennce to his wiew or some of his famely beinge above the adge of nyne yeares and in his warninge to notify the hower that the assemblee shalbe. And if anie person beinge of the degree of an alderman make defalte to appeare at

the same hower at the Pentice and then and there be redie to attend uppon his said maior to the said comon hall and kepe his abode there duringe the saide assemblee, to forfeite and paie to the treasurers of the said cittie to the use of the same cittie three shillings foure pence; every sheriffs peere making defalt and havinge the like warninge to pay twoe shillings, and everie one of the comon counsaile making the like defalt and having the like warninge to paie twelve pence. And it is further ordered and agreed that if anie person so make defalt as is aforesaid and refuse to paie the payne and fynes lymitted as is aforesaid beinge required that then the maior for the tyme beinge without respect to commit all suche to warde and in warde to deteyne him untill that he have paid the same, and if the serjant who is appointed to geve the same warninge faile to geve warninge in sorte aforesaid than the serjannte to paie the fyne for the partie absente and he thereof to be excused. Neverthelesse for that it many tyme happeneth that some of the persons to be warned maie be sick or in daunger to have execucons served uppon him if he shulde travell abrode or necessarilie forced to travell the assemblee oute of the cittie: It is therefore ordered that all such after warninge geven may declare or cause to be declared to the maior for the tyme beinge his cause of absence and the maior for the tyme beinge to manifest the same to the assemblee, and thereuppon the trothe knowen and made apparaunte the partie to be dispensed with his apparaunce and with the nonpayment of the fyne. Provided alwaies that all suche as were out of the towne at the tyme of the warninge and not retorne before the assemblee shall not encurr the daunger of anie paine by reason of their absence. And for the better triall of suche as at all suche assemblee shalbe absent, it is further ordered that every assemblee before anie matter be entreated of, the names of all aldermen, sheriffs peeres and comon counsaile shalbe called, and such as at the tyme of the callinge shall not be present to be noted and all those to paie their fyne although they shall come after the same callinge.

21b.
Election
of
Officers. Item yt ys orderyd that from hensforth no man shall be suffered to occupy the office of eny of the sergantships at the mace within the citie nor to beare eny mace nor attache nor present in eny courte processe within the citie nor to have eny corne in the market nor mete drinke nor leveryes of the mayre or sheriffs nor eny other feese or profytes of the cities charge but such person or persons as shal be fyrst therunto admyttyd by the mayre & his brethren with the comon counsell of the citie.

It only remains to refer to the very important office of Recorder, instituted by the Great Charter of Henry VII., and which was held by a long succession of eminent lawyers.

The first Recorder was Ralph Birkenhead, who belonged to the Birkenheads of Huxley. He was succeeded by Richard Sneyd, whose name occurs in 1512, and who represented the city in four successive parliaments. Rauf Wryne was appointed in 1535, and William Gerard, who afterwards was made Chancellor of Ireland, held the office in 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, and in 1574. Richard Birkened was appointed to the Recordership 17 Elizabeth [A.O. 232]

and, after holding it for twenty-six years, resigned it on account of ill-health to Thomas Lawton, Alderman, who was appointed 12 January, 44 Elizabeth. (A.O. p. 271*b*.)

Tempore prefati Johanis Savage militis majoris xxiii^{cio} die Regni regine Elizabeth, &c., xvii^{mo} in interiore Penticio civitatis predictæ. At which day, yere, & place, Richard Birkenhed of the said citie
 232.
 Recorder esquier, was with one hole & entier voice by the said maior
 Elected. aldermen sheriffs & comon counsaile of the said citie elected, chosen & sworne to be a freeman of the said citie elected, & then an aldermen of the same citie & afterwards to be recorder of the citie afore-said in such manner & forme as others like heretofore have ben chosen receyved and sworne.

The following list of the City Fathers in the 22nd year of Richard II. will be interesting:—

Joh'es de Hawardyn, Ric'us Stalmyn, vic' (Sheriffs.)

xxiii^{ior} Senior' (Aldermen)—Gilbertus Trussell, Joh'es le Chamberlein, Rob'tus le Mareschall, Joh'es de Eulowet, Joh'es Leche, Rob'tus Danyell*, Rogerus de Dyton, Joh'es de Bebynton, Rad'us de Hatton, Rob'tus Coly, Joh'es de Preston, Rogerus le Potter, Will'us de Bradburn, Gilbertus le Bellyett', Thomas Hurell, Ric'us le Heuster, Ric'us de Stranweys, Joh'es del Hall, Vynt', Joh'es de Madelegh†, Will's del Heth', Joh'es de Arwe, Will's de Prestbur'†, Henr. de Byrchenehagh, Rad'us de Pytton*, Ric'us Stalmyn†, Stephanus de Chorley†.

Specimen of a Report of a Jury, 8 Edward IV. :—

Fraunces Hasulhurst come to Jhon Buttler's house
 and stell' a chafin from hym and also —

Pho is a comyn bordinholder

Cisly Abram a borderholder

Marger' Blymyll a border holder

Davy Bulkley a nygt walker

Davy Layot we dyt hym of felony for takyn of

Jhon husbonds cloyes w^t oy' dyvers

and for resset of jeffrou his brother a follo (? felon)

Also we dyt jeffrou layot for sleying

A mon at london and in a barge at Pauls swarfe

and y' felons-ly kept hym downe ye watir and y^s toke
 from hym a kasket of divers guds.

Also we dyt Jams of ye greneway and his wyfe o
 trespas for betyng ye comyn servande of ye towne.

Also we dyt Richarde ye mon for dez of ye mon y^t

wos kylde in Patriks waterleder house and also

Thomas ye mon a trespas and rogge Harrison a trespas
 and robyn bucsy a trespas. Also Jhon a Walley

we dyt hym of felony for kyllynge Thos Waterford.

* Against these names is appended vi^s viii^d possibly a fine for non-attendance.

All except those marked † have "jur" following the name.

CHAPTER V.

The Walls, Gates, and Streets of Chester



THE four principal gates of the city were held by sergeancy under the Earl of Chester.

1. THE EASTGATE Henry de Bradford received from King Edward (2 Jan., 3 Edward I.) in exchange for messuages and land in Bradeford in De la Mara Forest. With it he had the grant of land in Bruardeshalgh,¹ Marleston, and Lache, common pasture on Saltney Marsh, and the issues and bailiwick

of the Eastgate with the houses and buildings above and below belonging thereto, and three marks of rent to be received of the heirs of Richard de Pulford. For this Henry de Bradford was to pay *id.* annually.

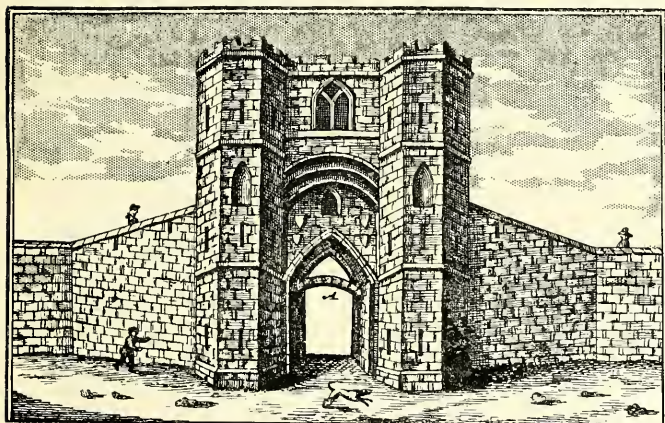
The bailiwick and other rights were bought in 1376 of Thomas de Pulford by Sir William Trussell, Knight, of Cublesdon, and in 1380 transferred for life to William de Blumhull.²

¹ William Briwer, Bruer, Brewer, was in the confidence of four successive monarchs. He is said by Camden to have been a foundling, and to have received his name from having been discovered by Henry II. on a heath (*bruyère*), while hunting in the New Forest. The king caused him to be taken up and placed under proper care, and when he arrived at man's estate employed him in his service. This does not agree with the account in Dugdale, who gives his father's name and other particulars. He was a favourite with Henry II. and King John and Henry III., the rolls teeming with grants of all kinds of manors, lands, markets, custodies, wardships, licences for building castles, &c., and it is quite possible that he might have had a grant in Cheshire, and that Bruardeshalgh is called from him. He was associated as justice itinerant with Thomas de Husseburn, who was entrusted by Henry with the custody of St. Werburgh's. He was one of the council appointed by Richard to assist the Bishops of Durham and Ely in the government of the kingdom during his absence on the Crusade. He died previous to Dec. 1, 1226 (11 Hen. III.)—*Foss' Judges II.*

² Welsh Recog. Rolls.

In an Inquisition post mortem 2 Henry IV., Margaret, wife of Fulke of Penbrugge, Knight, cosen and heire of William Trussell, Knight, was found to be possessed of "the Manor of Bruardeshalgh "and the Sergeanty of the Eastgate, the issues of which bailiwick "are estemed by yeare to be xiii^{li}, held in chief of therle of Chester "by the service of i^d., and also to fynd and present one bailiff to "serve therle of Chester, the mayor, sheriffs of the city in the office "of bailliwick of the Estgate for all services."¹

The bailiwick, &c., passed to the Veres, Earls of Oxford, and subsequently by sale to Randolph Crewe, through whom Lord Crewe holds the office. The keepers of the gate had the inspection



Old Eastgate
as it appear'd when the Buildings were remov'd.
A. Old Roman Arch.

of weights and measures, and were bound to find a crannock and bushell for measuring salt.²

The articles enumerated as paying toll are very numerous, a distinction being made between those produced within and without the county: coals, lead, iron, steel, dishes and pots of metal, cutlery; crockery and earthenware; turf, brushwood, timber, cattle, fish, fowls, vegetables, hay and grass, cheese, &c., &c.

Pennant describes the gate which was taken down in 1768

¹ Pent. Chart. 66. ² Inq. 14 Ed. III.

as consisting of two wide circular arches, the east side covered with a large tower.¹

According to the Lease Ledger Folio, page 11, Aug. 1, 1573, there were six towers connected with the Eastgate, which were let to Richard Wright, Draper.² Richard Wright continued to hold this lease until 13 July, 24 Elizabeth, when he was refused permission to transfer the holding to Mr. Thomas Mercer, the city resolving to "rehave the same towers, lest that in adjoyninge of "those towers to the lands of Sir Christopher Hatton, knight, now "in the occupacon of the said Thomas Mercer, in tyme the righte "thereunto of the citie might be ympered or come in question."

A.O. 377.—13 July, 24 Eliz. And where Richard Wrighte, draper, hath in leas for the citie for divers yeres the towers in thestgate, he saith he is mynded to departe with the same to Thomas Mercer. It is considered of by this assembly and fully ordered by the assente of the said Richard Wrighte, that ther shalbe allowed and rebated of his yerelie rent receyved by his said leas from the citie of those towers and other comodities fyve shillings by yere, viz., to be defaltd of such his yerelie rent and to be indorsed upon his leas vs. yerelie for those towers to be defaltd, and that the citie shall rehave the same towers, lest that in adjoyninge of those towers to the lands of Sir Christofer Hatton, knighte, now in thoccupacon of the said Thomas Mercer, in tyme the righte thereunto of the citie might be ympered or come in question.

A.O. 382. *Sir Christopher Hatton's Claim to the Towers of Eastgate.*—Alexander Cotes hath demanded that where Sir Christopher Hatton, knyghte, had before written to the majestrates of this citie to shewe by what clame the citie have the towers in and buildings above and beneth the Eastgate he mighte receive answer in that behalf and thereupon motion was made what answer was likest to be made and by whom but not concluded upon.

1555.	Rauff Wright for the lower part of ii toures upon eyther syde the Estgate	- - - - -	ii ^s . iiiid.
1564.	Wm. Houser, stringer for the tower over the Estgate	- - - - -	iii ^s . iiiid.
1588, 1589.	Stuards of the Joyners for the tower over the Estgate	- - - - -	vi ^s . viiid.
1593.	Mr. Bavard for the towle of the Estgate	- - - - -	x ^s .

[So also for several years previous.—*Treasurers' Accounts.*]

² All that one shopp now divided into two partes and one chamber or loft directly over the same lyinge and beinge within the said citie adjoyninge the Estgate. And also all those *two* towers directly under the said gate all of which late were in the occupacon of one Rauff Wright deceased; and also all those *four* other towers lyinge and beinge directly over the same gate, with all houses, buildings, comodities, advantages, &c., late in the occupacon of William Hurst, stringer, deceased, for 60 yeres at rent of 21^s. 8^d.

Provided that it shall be lawfull for the said maior and comynaltie into the said towers at all tymes in tyme of warre for the defence of the said citie to enter, and the same to use at their pleasures duryng such tyme of warr—the same Rd. Wright to nphold, repaire, and kepe in good reparacon (the stounes and stoun work of the said towers excepted). Mem. 13 July 1582, ordered at open assemblie by the assent of the within named Mr. Wright that 5^s. of the yearly rent within mentioned shalbe hensfurth defalked for and in consideration that the citie shall rehave the four towers within mencioned, and the same to use other wise at the citie's pleasure for avoiding other claims to the same, viz., the four towers directly over the gate within specified late in the occupation of William Huwster.

This very difficulty arose later, for in 1590, 18 July, Lord Chancellor Hatton, in a letter to the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen lays claim somewhat peremptorily to some part of the Eastgate as his lawful inheritance.

In 28 Elizabeth, 1 April, one of these towers called the "Harre tower" was let to the Company of Joiners for a rent of vis. viii^d.

The lease of the Town Ditch and other buildings at the Eastgate, late in the occupation of John Smith, Alderman, was asked for by Thurstan Hollinshed, 31 Elizabeth (A.O. 644.)

THE WATER-GATE was held in 1345 [19 Edward III.] by William de Doncaster, who received it from William de Neston and John de Neston, chaplains. The duty, according to an Inquisition June 23, 1432, was to find one man, as well in time of peace as in time of war between England and Wales, to open and close the aforesaid gate when necessary, and to receive certain profits there of old accustomed, and one other man, bearing a club, called the sergeant of Watergate Street, to make attachments and distrains, and perform other old accustomed duties within the City of Chester. The yearly value of the sergeancy and custody was 4/-. The sergeancy was held until 1788 by the Earls of Derby, but it is not known how it passed from the Doncaster family to the Stanleys. In the Muragers' Accounts for 18 Edward IV. is an entry, "Joh'es Wilkynsone pro firma de "Watergate et Northgate per totum annum, vis. viii^d." The

A.O. 773.—1 October, xxxii Elizabeth. At which Assembly it was moved what answer is to be made to the letter of the Righte honorable Sir Christopher Hatton Knight Lorde Chauncellore of England towching his claime to some parte of thestgate of this Citie whose clayme therunto is thought to have bene made upon wronge informacon and not upon eny iuste cause and that parte thereof thought rather to be the ordinary passage to and from and upon the walles of the said Citie then otherwise; wherefore it is nowe fully concluded and agreed upon by the said Maior Aldermen the Sheriffes and Comen Councell of the said Citie that Mr John Knight and Mr Nicoll officers to his ho: and now in this Citie shall be intreated to vewe and see the same And therupon or otherwise if they refuse soe to doe such answer shal be made to his ho: saide letter as Mr Maior Mr Recorder and any other vi of there bretherne shall devise and appointe meete in that behalfe.—*See Letter Book i, 107.*

A.O. 516.—1 April, 28 Elizabeth. Wheras the Company of Joiners have exhibited there bill to have a leas for lxi yeres of the towers in thestgate for vis. viii^d. yerelie rente it is nowe ordred that the said Joiners shall have a leas for xxi yeres of the Harre tower for vis. viii^d. per annum, & for the lower Rowme that they shall agree with the Treasurers of the said Citie to be contayned in the said leas with provisoe therin to be contayned that when & soe often as this Citie shall have juste occacon for defence or use of this Citie then that leas to be voide.

receipts of this gate are entered usually "nil," but in 17 Edward IV. there are the following amounts—First week in Lent, xx^{d.}; week after St. John Baptist's Day, ii^{s.} x^{d.}; week after S.S. Peter and Paul, ix^{d.}.



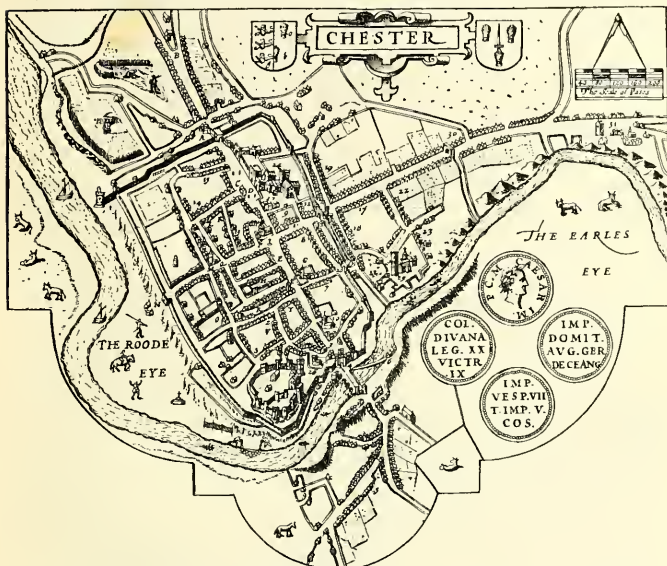
The Water Gate
From a drawing of 1770.

The sergeant of this gate was bound to execute the mayor's processes on the River Dee. The gate would most probably be closed by a double door, strengthened by a portcullis, and a draw-

Sergeance of Watergate.	Sciunt presentes et futuri q'd nos Will' de Neston et Joh'es de Neston, capellani dedimus &c. Will'o de Donecastr Civi' Cestriae et Cecilie uxori ejus omnia terras et ten' n'ra cum pertinen' in Civitate Cestr' subscripta viz. duo messuagia adjacent' in Watergate Strete juxta le Glov'estones civitatis predictae cum shopis et celar' subtus predicta messuagia construct' cum pertinen' inter ecclesiam paroch' Sⁱ Petri Cestr' in latitudine ex parte una et terram quondam Robti de Macclesfeld ex altera et se extend' in longitudine a regia strata predicta usque ad terram quam Ric'us de Waynflet de nobis tenet ad terminum annorum, et unum messuagium cum shop' et celar' cum pertinen' in Northgate Strete quod predictus Ric'us de nobis tenet, &c., jac' inter ecclesiam predictam in latitudine ex parte una et terram Ade del Wode et Marie uxoris ejus ex altera et se extend' in longitudine a regia strata de Nortgate Strete, &c. Dedimus eciam, &c., predictis Will'o de Donecastr' et Cecilie serjantiam de Watergate Strete cum custodia portae de Watergate. <i>Quae quidem omnia supradicta terras et ten' serjanciam et custodiam cum pertinen' habuimus de dono et feoffamento predicti Willi de Donecastr', habend' et tenend' omnia predicta terras et ten': serjantiam et custodiam cum pertinen' predictis Will'o de Donecastr' et Cecilie et</i>
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bridge, of which there are indications in the openings on the outer side of the gate as sketched in an old drawing of 1770.

The water of the Dee is represented in Braun's Map, dated 1580, as coming up to the Watergate; but in Speed's more



Speed's Map of Chester

<i>A</i> —North Gate	<i>O</i> —Black Friars lane	8—Fleshmongers lane	20—Newgate
<i>B</i> —North Gate Stret	<i>P</i> —S. Peters Church	9—S. Wereburgs lane	21—Dee lane
<i>C</i> —Corne Market	<i>Q</i> —Trinitie Church	10—S. Tooloys Church	22—Love Lane
<i>D</i> —Shambles	<i>R</i> —S. Martins Church	11—Eastgat Stret	23—Barkers lane
<i>E</i> —Bridge Strete	<i>S</i> —Nunnes lane	12—East Gate	24—S. Wereburgs
<i>F</i> —S. Brides Church	<i>T</i> —Cupping lane	13—Gose Lane	25—St. Johns Church
<i>G</i> —S. Michaells Church	<i>V</i> —Bunse lane	14—Parsons Lane	26—S. Maries Church
<i>H</i> —Old Comon Hall	2—Castle lane	15—Barne lane	27—Comon Hall
<i>I</i> —White Fryers lane	3—Sheepe lane	16—Little S. Johns	28—Clavering lane
<i>K</i> —Gerards lane	4—Bridge Gate	17—Foregate Stret	29—S. Nicholas lane
<i>L</i> —Trinitie lane	5—Hanbridge	18—S. Johas Lane	30—The Barres
<i>M</i> —Watergate Stret	6—Fulling mills	19—Cowe Lane	31—Boughton
<i>N</i> —Watergate	7—Pepper Stret		

heredibus de corporibus ipsorum W. et C. legitime procreatis de capitalibus dominicis feodis, &c.

Hiis testibus Ric'o de Capenhurst tunc majore Cestr' Madoco de Capenhurst et Barth'o de Northworthyn tunc vic' Cestr' Joh'e Blound, Rogero Blound, Rob'to de Ledesham, Joh'e Bass, Hug' de Ruxcroftt, Thoma de Hegreve, Ric'o le Bruyn, Ric'o clerico et aliis Dat' apud Cestr' die Sab'ti prox' post festum S'te Lucie virginis aº regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum decimo nono. [1345.]

accurate map of 1610, there is shown a considerable tract of ground between it and the Dee. The gate could not have been close to the water's edge, and there must have been even as early as 14 Edward III. a space in front of the gate, for in the Inquisition taken as to the customs levied at the gates it is found that the keeper of the Watergate "takes of every cart entering with brush-wood, one branch; of every horse load of fish, five fishes." Further, it is added that he takes of "every ship or boat coming to "the aforesaid gate with large fish or salt salmon, one fish; with "herring, fifty."

In an Assembly Order, 12 Aug., 28 Elizabeth (203*a*), directions are given that a certain quantity of rye, bought as a "common bargain," should be sent up to the Watergate *by and in severall boats*, and two members of the council are deputed to "attend at times "convenient at the Watergate for recepte of the said corne and of "the boates." The explanation may be that, though the ships could not come right up to the gate, there would be a wharf in the immediate neighbourhood, and the goods would be brought in by that gate.

THE BRIDGE-GATE was held¹ by the ancestors of Richard Bagotte, who, being incompetent from poverty and other causes to discharge the services, particularly in war time, released it before Thomas de Boulton, Justiciary, to Philip the clerk, citizen, of Chester, about 1267. The sergeancy passed subsequently to Robert de Raby [the Raby family held for generations the garden of the castle], and later, in moieties, to the houses of Holes and Norris. One of these moieties descended through the Holes and Troutbecks to the house of Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury.² A mansion attached to the sergeancy, near the Bridge Gate on the west side of Bridge Street, was reserved by the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Randle Holmes has³ preserved a sketch representing the Bridge and Bridge Gate as they appeared before the siege of Chester. The Bridge Gate is described as an arched gateway,

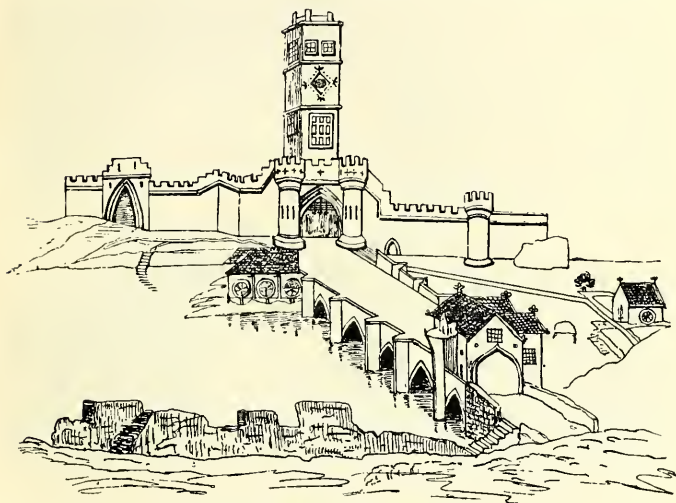
¹ Ormerod i., 278.

² George, Earl of Shrewsbury, Oct. 15, 1524, has a moiety as well of the sergeanty of Bruggestrete as of the custody of the gates of the bridge of the Dee. And 1550-1 Wm. Troutbeck Kt., was found by inquisition to be seized of one moiety of the sergeanty and custody of Bruggate, held of the King by fealty only, value 6/- yearly.—*W. R. R.*

According to an Inquisition 43 Ed. 3, Philip Raby died, seized of the custody of the gate of the Bridge of Chester with the sergeanty of Bruggestrete, whereof the moiety was held in capite of the heirs of Wm. Bagot by the service of a halfpenny yearly, and the other of the heirs of John Hose by service of one pound "Cimine"—that the aforesaid gate was of the yearly value of 13s. 4d.—*W. R. R.*

³ MS. 2073.

flanked by two strong round towers, on one of which was erected a lofty octagonal tower, called John Tyrer's Water Tower. The whole was taken down in 1781. Close by the Bridge Gate was another smaller gate, the Ship-gate,¹ shown in Randle Holmes' sketch and Speed's map, as opening upon the ford across the Dee. This gate, which has been supposed to be Roman, was most probably built in the time of Henry III. or Edward I. It was known in modern days as "the Hole in the Wall," and was removed in 1838, when the opening was blocked up, and the



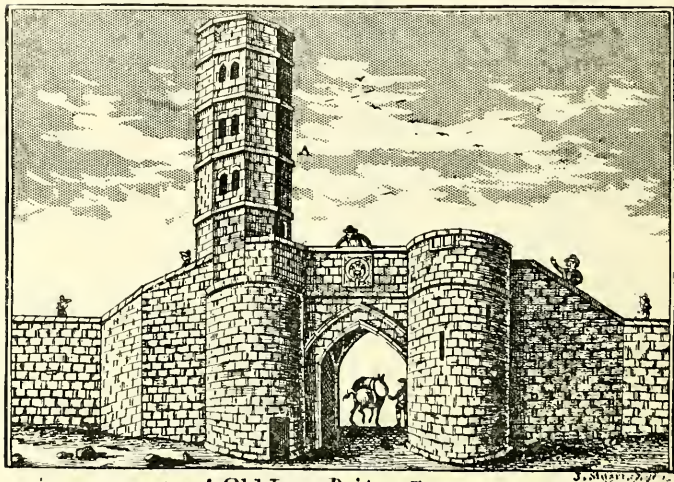
Dee Bridge, Water Tower, and Ship-Gate
From a drawing by Randle Holmes in the British Museum.

stones of the two arches, carefully numbered, were carried away and set up in the garden of the late Mr. Finchett Maddock.² It was in charge of the keeper of the Bridge Gate, who, according to an inquisition taken in 14 Edward III., was bound to find locks and keys for the two gates, and a man to open and shut the Ship-gate. The articles upon which duty was levied were very various, and the charges differed according as the load was a man's load, a horse-load, or a cart-load. They consisted of timber and

¹ In one document termed Shepe gate.
in the wall at the exact spot where they formerly stood.

² It is proposed to re-build the arches up

brushwood, boards, bark for tanning; coals and turf; herrings, salmon, ray, and other fish large and small; oysters, welks, and other shell-fish; fowls, and farm produce generally, eggs, cheese, vegetables, apples and other fruit, nuts; hay and grass; knives, pots, and dishes of metal; ploughshares, felloes, casks, and barrels; bows and arrows; beasts are mentioned, the duty in time of war between England and Wales being one from every lot taken as booty (*de qualibet preda bestiarum*).¹



A. Water Tower int^o Old Inner Bridge Gate.

In the Treasurers' accounts for 16 Hen. VI.² is an "item "Senescallus de Mercers *pro redditu de Shipgate*, viii*d*." showing that tolls were taken there as well as at other gates.

The Bridge, now consisting of seven irregular arches, is mentioned in Domesday, in the time of Edward the Confessor, when "the prepositus could summon one man from each hide of the "county to come to repair it. The citizens of Chester proved, "14 Edward I., that they were free from the duty of repairing "it, but the inhabitants of the county were bound."³ S. John's Hospital showed, 15 Henry VII., that they were free from pon-

¹ See also Murengers' Accounts, 17 Ed. IV.

² Harl. MSS., 2151, 194*b*.

³ Harl. MSS., 2003, 725

tagium (*de operibus pontis*). The bridge was at first built of wood, and three times carried away by floods—1227, 1297, 1353.

Edward I. was especially urgent, as we have seen, that it should be repaired forthwith, as a most important communication with Wales. In 1387, July 25th, King Richard grants to the citizens "the issues of the passage of the Dee at Chester and of the murage accustomed to be given for the repair of the walls, to be applied to the rebuilding of the bridge there, the destruction of which caused the inhabitants and those resorting to the said city much danger and inconvenience, and was a source of great loss." The bridge continued for several years to be in a ruinous condition; for thirty years previously it is stated that the proceeds of the passage or ferry, 27 Edward III. [1353], amounted to xiii^{li}. v^s. i^d. (*quia pons ibidem diruptus fuit et non reparatus in toto*.) Persons apparently made a contract by the year for the passage of themselves and their followers. In the accounts for this same year, William Pymme, who has charge of the passage, acknowledges to have received 3/4 from Hoel ap Oweyn Voil for the passage of himself and his men during the year by agreement. Sir John Danyers paid the same sum with arrears for two previous years.

As late as 5 Mary, 1557, the Murengers' Accounts mention "iii planks unto Dee brygg ii^s," showing that wood entered largely into its construction. The rule was strictly enforced that no carts with iron-bound wheels should cross by the bridge, and in all probability they would be sent across by the ferry. In 1499 it is stated that the "further end of Dee Bridge was buylded."¹ In 16 Elizabeth the Town Council make order that the Treasurers of the City "with all convenyent expedicon shall cause the arche of Dee bridge and that Bridge now in Ruyn and decay to be repaiered and amended" (A.O., 215.)

At either end of the Bridge was a tower and a house.² The right is reserved to the mayor and citizens to "re-enter in time of warre within the the realme of England, either with or against the said realme." In 4 Edward VI. complaint is made that the battlements on Dee Bridge were suffered to be broken down.

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125, 203.

² These were let, the two houses (26 Henry VIII.) to Henry ap Res for 2/8, and the tower at the south end of the bridge for 2/- (Harl. MSS., 2150, 262.) This Henry ap Res was presented, 24 Henry VIII. [1532], for having extorted money on several occasions from the king's lieges, and also for allowing carts (bigæ) on wheels bound with iron to pass over the Dee contrary to the order. ("Perdonatus per majorem" added in the margin.)

In 16 Eliz., 1582, the Lease Ledger speaks of two towers now in the holding of Wm. Kent and John Horton [glover] at a certaine gate called the Brudgagate, and upon the northe ende of a certaine bridge called Dee Bridge, which with all rounes, casements, &c., are let to Wm. Goodman for 3/8.—See A.O., 219.

THE NORTH-GATE was specially in the charge of the sheriffs of the city, who received the tolls, in return for which they kept the gate and the prison, attended to the pillory and the stocks of which they had the keys, hung felons and robbers after sentence, published the earl's proclamations, and called the citizens to assembly of Portnote by sounding the horn. The tolls taken, according to the inquisition made 14 Edward III., were as follows:—Of each cart-load of herrings, ten herrings; of a horse-load five, and of a man's burthen one herring; of a cart-load of great-fish one fish; of flukes and plaice, five or one according as the load was carried by a horse or a man; of smaller fish, such as merling and sparling, in the same proportion; handfulls of mussells, two or one; of oysters and wheelks, five or one; of "atterpille's and the like," one small dishfull; of eggs, five or one; handfulls of apples or vegetables if

Ind. 62b.—Grant to Thomas Lyniall, 36 Eliz., of tower at Dee Bridge and arches upon s. side of bridge, and all pillars, outcastes, and foundations thereof, and all howses and buildings thereof and thereupon, and wh: hereafter shalbe therupon built on condition that within 3 years he build comely faire and bewtifull howses and buildings upon the tower situate on Deebridge, and upon s. side of bridge, and bewtifie the same and to make such parte thereof in good and substantiall reparacons which is nowe in ruine and decaye, at rent for three years of pepper-corn—after of 10/- . The Mayor and citizens to uphold and keepe in good reparacons all the foundacons of stone worke and all other things therunto needfull.

A.O. 554.
Thomas
Lyniall
rents Tower
on
Dee Bridge.

Alsoe where Thomas Lyniall, Marchant, moveth to have in fee ferme the tower and all buildinges upon ye sowth part of Dee Bridge and all foundac'ons thereof, It is ordred that the same Thomas Lyniall in respecte he shall with all expediticon make bewtifull buldinge upon the same shall have ye said tower buldinge and foundacon therof with thappertinances in fee ferme yeldinge therefore to the City x^s. saveinge to have the same rent free for three yerres next Comeinge in Consideracon of the faier buldings thereupon to be made And kepeinge Reparacon.

And where Mr. Richard Bavand alderman moveth to have the Toune in ferme to the intent to buld thereupon it is further to be considered of.

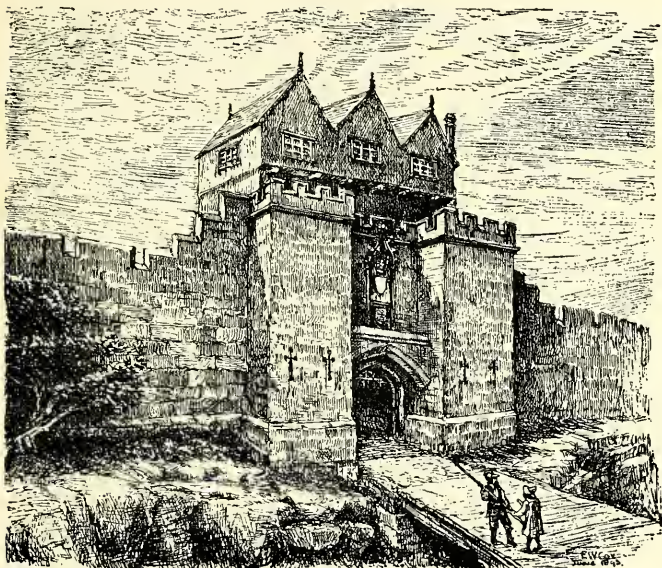
A.O. 275. 18 Ap., 18 Eliz. And allsoe a lease for lxi yeares then
Lease of Tower graunted to Willm. Goodman merchaunte, of the towre or
on Dee Bridge howse uppon Dee Brudge for x^s yearly Rente and Keping
for 61 years. all reparacons.

1547. Making iii links of chayne at ye Bridg yate ye syds of Iron vii^d.
1555. Henry Bromley for a Towre upon the Este side of the
bridge yate - - - - - ii^s.
W^m. Aldersey, Alderman, for Towre at the southe ende of
the Bridge [also 1590-1591] - - - - - iii^s. iiij^d.
and for a shope on the ende of the bridge - - - - - xii^d.
Robart Grice, a towre uppon Weste syde of the brydge yate xv^d.

—*Treasurers' Accounts.*

brought by a cart, or one handful if a man's burthen. After the same rule they took three shingles, one spoke or felloe, one colbrond, one branch of brushwood ("neither the better nor the worse.") These were the old-accustomed tolls, but complaint is made that they have claimed additional tolls, viz., of every horse-load with millweles and great fish, a quarter of a fish, or a head or in lieu one penny; of every ship or boat with herrings coming to the gate between Bonewaldesthorne and the Portpoole, fifty herrings, and one salmon or ray. Toll was exacted also on bows, cheese, knives, harps, eels, fowls "great and small."

The keeper of the prison was entitled to take of every prisoner confined for felony, 4^d, if he remained beyond one night; but prisoners for debt, recovery, or simple trespass, did not pay anything.



The Old North Gate
From a Drawing by Randle Holmes

The Gate, which was removed in 1808, consisted of a dark, narrow, and inconvenient passage, under a pointed arch, over which was a mean and ruinous gaol, the "Franchehouse" or

"Freehouse." The late Mr. William Denson, who was born in 1800, stated that a tall load of hay would not pass through under the arch. Toll was still in his day demanded for anything brought in or taken out of the city which could not be carried in the hand. If this toll was refused, the keeper of the gate was authorised to take the bridle off the horse. Mr. Denson saw the last toll exacted in this way, and, as it resulted in the horse running away and causing some mischief, the custom was abolished. It had a postern on the east, the entrance to the gaol being on the west. Under the gateway was a horrible dungeon, to which the only access of air was through pipes.

To this prison were committed the whole company of butchers by the mayor, William Jewet, 30 May, 20 Elizabeth, for forming a confederacy against the sale of meat by foreign butchers. On the 3rd of June they were released on certain conditions, "in consideration of the lamentable waylinge and humble submission of the said company, there great charge of wives and children, their imbesilitie and wekeness, and danger of the tyme beinge verey fervent hott, the company many in number and the straightness of room in the said gaol." [A.O. 304.]

The gate was defended on the north by a deep fosse crossed by a wooden bridge (in earlier days, of course, a draw bridge), to which reference is frequently made in the city accounts.¹

The repairs of this bridge were undertaken by the City Treasurers.² This duty was not always attended to properly, and fines are inflicted for neglect, as in 12 Elizabeth 1570, when 2/- fine is imposed for the ruinous condition of Northgate Bridge.

There were sixteen tenants of the city who by their tenure were bound to watch the city for three nights in the year, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and St. Stephen's Day. These days were specially fixed possibly because it was a time when festivities were going on in every house and special care had to be taken for the watch. It is indirect evidence of the insecurity of the times. These tenants had also to attend upon the Pentice, and the execution of felons.

¹ 1555. Wm. Sneyde, Elder, Ald' [1556. Thos. Massey, Ald'] for the quarell without ye Northe Gate iiis. Wm. Leche, for thoder quarrell upon the est syde of Northe Gate iis.

1559. Payd for mendyng the Northgate Bryge for sande stonys and workmanship x^d. [Muragers' Accounts.]

1569. For making the Northgate Bridge new—grette joists, thicke planks iiisⁱⁱ. iis. iij^d. [Treas. Accounts.]

² A.O. 96.—"The Treasurers shall from tyme to tyme as often as nede shall require to repare, uphould, mayntayne, renue and amend the bridge of the Northe Gate of the saide citie so fare as the same on bothe bredeth and lengthe extendyth."

At the setting forth of the watch the tenants were singly called upon to come forth and do homage.

Edward, Lord Stanley, come forth and doe thy homage for thy messe or tenement in the Watergate Street, in the occupation of Henry Gee, on payne of x^l.

The Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, come forth for your lands in Watergate Street.

Keeper of the Watergate come forth and doe thy homage in delivering up the keyes of the same gate upon payne of x^l. The keepers of the other gates were summoned in like manner, and the Worshipful the Sheriffs of the County of the City of Chester for Northgate.

The proclamation followed—

Oyez, Oyez, Oyez.

The right worshipful the maior of this city chargeth and comandeth all persons here assembled to keepe the peace and be of quiett and civill behaviour duringe the tyme of the wach now in hand upon payne of imprisonment and a fine at his worship's pleasure.

Oyez, Oyez, Oyez.

All those who hould land by sute service or homage to this court come forth and make your appearance in answaringe to your names upon payne and perill that will fall thereon—*Hart. MS.* 12, 250.

An interesting record is preserved of one of the speeches delivered by the mayor on these occasions.

Mr. Rob. Brerewood's [Mayor] speech at Maior's Watch 1584, on Xmas Eve, but was made by Mr. Wm. Knight then clerk of the Pentice and by the sayd maior learned by hart and by him pronounced: for although he could nether write nor read yet was of exelent memory and very brave and gentile otherwise.

Stand neere good fellows and heare your charge.

Most of you as I understand are such as are well acquainted with this kind of service, therefore I will ose but few words at this tyme. You represent by this your appearances the stalls and places of such honorable and worshipfull personages as have been called, whose auncestors and themselves tyme out of mynd rightly have done this service and homage to the maior of this citie for this night and to the sheriffs for the two next nights for the better preservation of this citty, and as this maner of service first arose as I learne in tyme of wars with the Welsh; this citty beinge most endangered by the enemy at Xmas tyme, so it is contynued of duty for such termes, for that every artificer and other persons in this citty agaynst this holy feast of Xmas accustomed to be paynfull and watchfull in their trades and occupations, and now theis holly days expect rest and quietnesse, therefore you are to use your selves as watchmen having the care and charge of this citty referred to you, and diligently and paynfully to shew yourselves and oversee that no hurt or hindrance happen or come to this citty or inhabitants during your watch, nether by fire, nor by any lewd roges or vacobonds or other disordered persons in robbinge of shoppes, stealinge or conveying out of backside or

otherways, nor wandringe abrode gaminge, drinkinge, or disordring themselves at any undue tyme, if you find or knowe of any such suppresses them, and if you see just cause commit them to ward so as they may be forthcominge in the morninge to answere their misdemeanores. Also I charge you to devide yourselves into severall companies throughout the streetes and lanes within this citie, wherby you may the better accomplish the service, and withall if you shall perceave any man's children or servants in any place to use themselves wantonly or other ways not as they ought or is convenient, reforme them in orderly sort, if they shall resist you use them as the rest, &c.—*Harl. MSS.* 2150, 182.

This tenure involved the finding of an armed watchman to act as substitute for the citizens, and so Edward Dimock [27 Henry VIII.] covenants with his landlord, Henry Gee, to "find an able watchman well harnessed yearly at the watch, so that the said Henry Gee may be clearly discharged of the duty. If the usual rent was not paid or the watchman not found or had as is aforesaid as well for the Pentice as for the execution of felons, there is reserved the right of re-entry.

The Watch on
Christmas Eve
and two nights
followinge and
who are called
to do
the bomage

Here after ensuyth divers notable things to be had in memorie and expedyant, compendiously writen and lately set furthe by y^e Right Worshipfull William Bexwyk, mayre of this citie [1542], most dilygently chereshed to be used and frequented within this citie as herafter at large appeirith.

Ffirste the maner and forme of the wache to be called on Christemas even brefly set furthe before ye mayre for ye tyme beinge and on Christmas daye at nyght before the king's sheriffs and allso on Saint Stennes [Stephen's] day at nyght before the other sheriffs.

Custumarii Civitatis Cestr. anno xxxiiii^o H. viii^{vi}. (Octavi.)

Watergate Strete :

Edvardus dominus Stanley Comas Darbey pro mes' modo in tenura Henrici Gee de Cite Cestr. Alderman.

Decanus et capitulum ecclesie chathedralis X^{ti} et beate Marie virginis de Cestr. pro Ry modo in tenura Thome Gruff Vaghan de cite predicta Irenmong'.

Heredes Johannis Hawarden pro messuagio modo in tenura Thome Mascie de cite predicta generosi. Johannes Glegge pro messuagio modo in tenura Henrici Lucas hopper.

Predicti decanus et capitulum ecclesie predictae, &c., pro messuagio modo in tenura Radi Thornton de citie predicta Iornmong'.

Estgat Strete :

Heredes Johannis Talbote militis pro messuagio modo in tenura Petri Tonge de cite predicta shomaker.

Fratres Sancte Anne pro messuagio modo in tenura Radi Bostocke de citie predicta draper.

Heredes Radi Eaton pro messuagio modo in tenura Roberti Wall de citie predicta baker.

Heredes Joh'is Talbote militis pro messuagio modo in tenura Petri Strete de citie predicta bochar.

An additional gate was opened for the convenience of those who wished to pass in the direction of St. John's. This was called in the Murengers' Accounts of 6 Edward VI. "New Gate,"¹ and there is a statement of considerable sums expended on setting it up. The gate very probably was placed there much earlier than this. Afterwards it received the name of Wolf's Gate, or Wolfeld Gate, and by this designation it is mentioned in the 'Treasurers' Accounts of 1555.² Webb describes it as having had sometime a hollow grate, with a bridge for horse and man. In 1603 it was enlarged for the passage of carts at the costs and charges of the inhabitants of St. John's Lane.³

Webb relates an interesting romance in connection with this gate. It was closed up and shut because a young man stole away a mayor of Chester's daughter through the same gate, as she was playing at ball with other maidens in the summer-time in Pepper Street, giving rise to a variation of the old proverb about locking the stable door after the horse is stolen—"When the daughter is stolen, shut the Pepper Gate." The story has been repeated by

Brudge Strete :

Johannes Whitmore armiger pro messuagio modo in tenura Rogeri Orton de citie predicta sherman.

Willelmus Godeman Aldermanus pro messuagio modo in tenura Roberti Percyvall de citie predicta cardemaker.

Heredes Thome Starkie pro messuagio modo in tenura Johannis Ley de citie predicta smythe.

Heredes Johannis Chamberleyn nunc Laur' Smyth Armiger pro messuagio modo in tenura Will. Breste, draper.

Northgate Strete :

Johannes Whitmore Armiger pro messuagio modo in tenura Johannis Yeu'n de citie predicta wyver.

Laur' Smythe Armiger pro messuagio modo in tenura Thome Tulker mariner.

Vic' com' civ. Cestr. pro le Northgate etc.—*Assembly Book*, 52a.

¹ NEWGATE—iiii great bordes for making of the Newgatt	-	-	-	xiii ^s . viii ^d .
A Pece tymbers to make the barr to the same	-	-	-	v ^d .
P ^d . the Wrights for makynge the same yatte	-	-	-	x ^s .
Ric. Gaye for makynge the hynges, hooks and great nayles for the same yatte	iiii ^s .	vi ^d .		
Wright and Mason for setting up the yatte	-	-	-	xviii ^d .
xi sparres to the same	-	-	-	iii ^s . viii ^d .
xxiii ^{li} . ledde	-	-	-	xx ^d .
c gadds to the yatt	-	-	-	ix ^d .
For piche and cloutt nailles	-	-	-	ij ^d .
cxxvii ^{li} . yron for the makynge of the hynges, hooks, the bolte and loke	-	-	-	xii ^s . viii ^d .
John Harrison Smyth for makynge the loke the bolte and other thyngs	-	-	-	ii ^s . viii ^d .
ii laborers for castynge yerthe to the walls	-	-	-	xii ^d .
More in Iron to mende hooks of the Newegatt	-	-	-	iii ^d .
More for viii ^{li} . lede	-	-	-	v ^d .
Cartage of the iii ^{or} greatt bords for the gatt	-	-	-	iiii ^d .
For stones that went to the mendynge of the Newgatt	-	-	-	xx ^d .

² Nicholas Newhouse for a howse bnylded on Wolff's Gate, iiiij^d.

³ A. O., p. 278.

successive writers on Chester history, but the names of the fair heroine of the elopement, and of the mayor whose action in the matter added another proverb to the Cheshire collection, have not been given. In the Assembly Book, vol. I., are two entries following one another, the juxtaposition of which suggests that by them the father (an alderman, not a mayor) may be identified. At a meeting of the council held 14 Jan., 1573, reference is made to "a certaine gate or passage through the walls, called Wolfe-gate or New-gate, which for divers good causes, and for the avoiding of divers enconveniences heretofore happened thereby as by old records apeareth, was shutt up and now of late sett open to the encreasinge of the said enconveniences." An order is made that "the gate shall forthwith be stopped, made up, and fenced substancially, and as surely as the said maior shall cause it to be made up," and "no passage to be suffered in the nyght, and the same to be opened in the day." At a meeting four days later (18 Jan., 1573), Hugh Rogerson, alderman, and Richard Wright, draper, are charged with aiding and furthering the enticement and stealing away of Ellen, daughter to Alderman Rauff Aldersay.

Tempore Ric'i Dutton arm' maioris civitatis predicte ad congregationem tentam xiiii die Januarii anno Regine Elizabeth xvi^{to} in communi aula placitorum eiusdem civitatis.

H.O. 185. Whereas heretofore a certaine gate or passage through Newgate to the walls of the saide citie called Wolfe Gate or Newgate, for be kept shut at divers good causes and for the avoiding of divers enconveniences heretofore happened thereby as by old records apearith, **Right.** was shutt up and now of late sett open to the encreasinge of the said enconveniences, which daily more and more encrease and like more to grow if spedly remedy thereof be not had. It is therfore now the day, yere, and place [aforesaid] ordered by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsaile of the said citie that the said gate and passage shall [furthwith be stopped made up and fenced substancially and as surely as the said maior shall cause it to be made up wherby at any tyme] (erased) hereafter no passage through the same shal be had don nor suffered in the nyght, and the same to be opened in the day.

186. Item also it is ordered and decreed that the order heretofore **Keeping of** made concerning the keeping of swyne within this city shal be **Swine** from hensfurth put in execution, and also that no swyne from **in the City.** hensfurth be kept nor suffered to be within forty foote of the walls of the said citie.

187. And further it was then and there ordered that where **Impost** ther is feared a charge of impost to be hadd upon secks **on** transported to this citie by thinhabitants of the same, which **Secks.** wold tende to the utter impoverishment if the same should take place, that the said maior shall with all expedicon provide for the delay or preventinge of the same, and that the suite thereof shalbe prosecuted as a comon cause of the said citie.

It is added that the young lady was married "by an unlawful minister to one Rauff Iaman, draper, without the consent and goodwill of any other kinsfolk or frends, to ther great heviness and greif, and contrary to any good civile order." The elopement was made the subject of harangues from the pulpit, the preachers

Tempore Ric'i Dutton, ar' maioris civitatis predictæ at an Assembly, holden in the Inner Pentice of the same citie, the xviiith daie of January, anno Regine Elizabeth, &c. decimo sexto.

188 Fforasmuch as of late ther happened within the said
Stealing citie one Ellen, daughter to Rauff Aldersey, of the said citie,
away of alderman, to be entised and stollen away and also within the
Ellen same citie by the aiding assistance and furtheraunce of Hugh
Aldersey Rogerson of the said citie, alderman, Richard Wright of the
and Marriage. same citie, draper, thon [the one] an alderman and thother a sheriff's
peere, with divers others, maryed by an unfeull minister to one Rauff
Iaman, draper, without the consent and good will of any other Kinsfolk or
Frends to their great heviness and grief, and contrary to any good civile
order, and not to be suffered without ponishment in any good or well
governed city and whereas the preachers in open pulpit exclaine and
burthen the majestates of the said citie for their negligens in suffering
the same: for the ponishment whereof, and to thentente that the like
hereafter shal not be comytted, and for that the like heretofore was not
heard of within this citie in any mans remembraunce, and for that ther
is nether law, order, nor any direct means heretofore taken or provided for
ponishment of such disorders and forseing the inconvenience which
therby hereafter may ensue if redresse shuld not be spedely had. There-

189 fore the said Hugh Rogerson and Richard Wright were now
Rogerson called before this assembly in examynacon of the said disorder
and who presently confessed their being at the said maryadge,
Wright and then demanded whether for such their fact they wold
presant submitt themselves to the said maior and comon counsaile and
at the to stande to what order they shuld therin take, they severally
Marriage. answered at first with refusall, but afterwards the said Hugh Rogerson
submitted himself, and the said Richard Wright persevered in his obstinacy.
Wherupon it was then and ther ordered by the said maior, aldermen,
sheriffs, and comon counsaile of the said citie that the said

190 Hugh Rogerson shall presently be comytted as prisoner into
Rogerson his owne dwelling house and therein remaine all this day,
fined £10. and also pay to the use of the said cyty before his enlargement x^s. being
this mitigated by reason of his submission, and that the said

191 Richard Wright by reason of his said disorder and disobedience
Wright to the said maior and maintayning of the said disorder shall
disfranchised. be disfranchised and hereafter to be taken for no freeman.

192 And further yt was then and ther ordered and fully agreed by
Order the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsaile that
forbidding whatsoever alderman, sheriffs, sheriff's peere or other citezen
the taking at any tyme hereafter shall consent assent further and be
of an present at or privey of taking away, or maryadg of any
Alderman's alderman's daughter within the said city, sheriff's peeres or
daughter. other citezens by themselves or by any other person or persons to be

blaming the magistrates for their negligence in suffering the same. "For that the like heretofore was not heard of within this citie in "any man's remembrance," and to check this evil, Hugh Rogerson was fined 10^s. and committed a prisoner to his own dwelling house until the fine was paid. Richard Wright, refusing at first to

maryed within the said city or ellswhere without the assente and consent, and also the good will of their parents if they be lyving, or of their other nere kinsfolks or frends shalbe presently upon due proff thereof disfranchised, and at all tymes afterwards to be (held as no free men.)

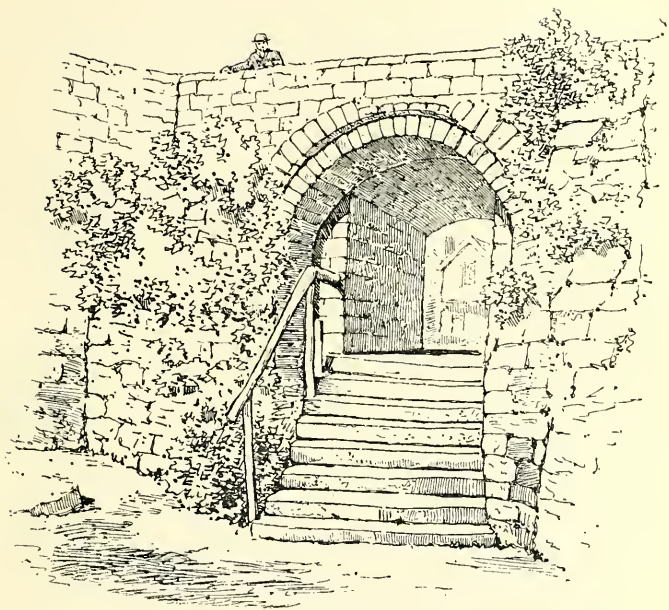
Tempore predicti Ricardi Dutton arm' maioris Civitatis Cestrie at an assembly holden in the Pentice of the said cittie the Wednesdaie, that is to say the xxth daie of Januarie, anno domini 1573.

193.
Submission
of Richard
Wright.

Whereas at an assemblie holden within the said cittie before the said maior uppon Monday, being the xviiith daie of Januarie, 1573, it was fully concluded and agried by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and comen counsell of the said cittie that Richard Wright of the cittie aforesaid draper for that he was consenting and present at the unorderlie mariage of Ellen Aldersaie in the said last order named, and for the consideracon therein mencioned was disfranchised and disgrated of his freedom. And whereallsoe the said Richard Wright thereupon hadd his shopp windowes letten downe and shutt and barred from his utterannce accordinglie, who nowe callinge to remembrance and acknowledging his said fact to be unorderlie and deserved ponishment, and that his said disfranchisement was wurthelie deserved, by reason thereof hath exhibited at this presente his petition of submission in his owne person to this hole assemblie in these words—

To the ryght worshipfull Richard Dutton, esquire, maior of the cittie of Chester, the aldermen, sheriffs, and comen counsell of the said citie: In most humble wise beseceth your worships your orator, Richard Wright of the said cittie, draper, that wheare your orator the xviiith daie of this presente Januarie was called in question before your worships for consenting unto an unorderlie contract of the mariage of one Ellen Aldersey, and your orator beinge gentlie required and moved by your worships to stande unto suche punishment and fyne as shold be appointed and agried upon by your worships for the saide fact your orator without advice and disobedientlie refused soe to doe. Whereupon your wurships with one hole and entier voice have all fullie agried that your orator shalbe disfranchized, which your said orator doth acknowledge by him to have bene ryght fullie deserved, and now most humblie submitteth him self unto your worships willinge and desiringe you all to stand good unto him and to remytte his former said disobedience and to receive your orator againe into the libertie of the said citie as a freeman for suche fyne and ponishment as to your wurships shallbe thought consonante to equity and justice and to your discreate wisdomes, protestinge unto your wurships at all tymes hereafter to be and contynue and [sic.] obedient true citizen during his lieff. And thus for God's love.

Whereuppon and after the said submission well waide and considered by the maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and comen counsell, and allso uppon owteward shoves it appeared he submitted him self as



The Shipgate
From an old Drawing

submit to punishment, was disfranchised and had his "shopp" "windowes letten downe and shutt and barred for his utteraunce," but later, acknowledging his fault, was restored to the franchise on payment of 13^s 4^d., and imprisonment at the mayor's pleasure.

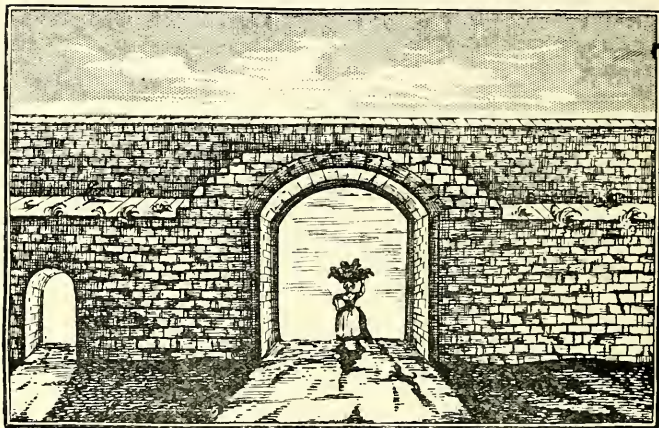
The closing of the gate was one of the matters of complaint made by Mr. Glaseor against the city in 1574, when the Lords of the Privy Council ordered, 9 April, that it should be shut by night only, and open in the daytime.¹

Another postern called the Cale-yard gate was granted to St. Werburgh's Abbey, 3 Edward I., for convenience of access to the abbey kitchen-gardens. A difficulty arose at a later period between the abbot and those responsible for the safe-guarding of the city, and 16 Edward II. it was covenanted that "the abbot" "and convent and their successors should hold the said postern" "closed in time of peace, on condition that they made a draw-bridge across the ditch in the garden of the abbey, and supported" "the said bridge and took such measures for the safeguard of the" "city as they should deem fit, by the custody of the keys and" "drawing the said bridge, and that they destroyed the great gate" "erected by them in their own proper wall and kept the place" "closed. In lieu of this the abbot was permitted to make" "another postern in the place outside the walls of the convent" "where the swine-sty used to be, the said door to be of such

well in harte as in woorde and was very pensive and sorrowfull
^{194.} for the same. Therefore at this assemble holden the said
 Wright xxth daie of this Januarie it was ordered, determined, decried,
 restored to the franchise. and fullie agried upon by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs,
 and comen counsell in respect of the said submission and repentance of
 the said Richard Wright, and in hope that hereafter he will contynue a
 good and true citizin that he the same Richard Wright shall presentlie be
 restored into his said freedom and liberties of the said cittie as a freeman
 and to his former state and vocation and be sworne thereunto accordingle,
 and shall aswell presentlie content and paie unto the hands of the
 treasurers of the said cittie xiii^s. iiiii^d. as allso suffer and induce such
 further ponishment of his bodie as to the said maior shalbe thought
 reasonable, and thereuppon ymediatlie then and there the said Richard
 Wright was admitted and sworne into the franchise and liberties and
 receaved his fredom and sworne allso of the comen counsell and restored
 into his former degree as a sheriffe peere and paid the said some of
 xiii^s. iiiii^d. and indured his imprisonment in all respects accordinge to this
 order.

¹ Whereas a certaine postern or gate, comenly called Wolfe gate, in the said Cittie of Chester, hath ben sitbe Christmas daie last shutt up both by daie and night, which tendeth to some discommoditie of divers persons as well as officers of the said Court of Exchequer, as others that were accustomed to have their passage thereby. It is also ordered by their lordships that the said gate shall stande open all the daie tyme and be shutt upp or locked only in ye night season.

"dimensions that a man on foot might lead a horse through
 "without difficulty, the same to be closed in time of war, should
 "the safety of the city require it." Later, owing to complaints
 that these gardens were frequently robbed and the monks insulted,
 the abbot obtained a license in 2 Henry V., which was renewed in
 1450, March 18, to close the two gates leading to them. One of
 these gates still exists, and is locked at night.²



The Bars.

J. Stuart sculp.

Outside the City Walls, at the entrance into Boughton, stood a gateway which existed in the time of Edward III., called The Bars.

P.C. 79. - Memorandum that Thomas [de Byrch-Hylles, Abbot 1291-1323] Abbot of Chester & William the sonne of Peter of Brikhill maior of the Citie of Chester came into the Checker afore Olyver of Ingham Justice & Richard of S. Edmunds Chamberlayne of Chester the fieste daye of Auguste in the yeaere of the raigne of Edward sonne of Richard [sic, for Edward] the xvith & as well the foresaid Abbot for himself & his convent as the said maior for himself & for the commynaltie of the said cittie to knowledge that upon dissension which was betwene the Abbott & convent of thone partie & the said maior & commynaltie of thother partye by reasonne of stoppage of the posterne of the saide Abbaye in the wall of the saide cittie of thabbay aforesaide by which the said Abbot & convent do affirme themselves to have free entre & outgate as often as is nedefull for them & hath ben used tyme out of mynde.

¹ Placita Ed. II., Record Office.

² 1450-1, March 18—License to John, abbot of the monastery, to close two small gates, "*supra muros*," of the city of Chester between the east and north gates of the said city, on the representation that the public had access to gardens of the monastery by the gates

It is referred to in the survey of that reign as being at the point where is a lane called Payne's loode [Dee Lane], and is marked on Speed's Map of 1610.

It was useful as a defence for the houses between the Eastgate and Boughton, but it proved in later times a nuisance, and in 1608 Mr. David Dymocke obtained permission from the Town Council to make a postern gate "upon his owne costes for foote passengers "through the barrs, which open gate and thoroughfare, by reason "of the continuall passages of cartes and horses, the said "Mr. Dymocke hath complained to be often pestered and stopt, soe "as his majestie's leige people manie tymes are letted and dis- "turbed in their passage throughe the same."

It is fortunately not necessary to enter upon the question whether the present walls of Chester were built by the Romans, or by Ethelfleda, or by Edward I. That has been sufficiently discussed elsewhere. Whenever they were built, their repair was a heavy and constant charge upon the citizens. Towards this the Earls of Chester granted the murage which, though by its original meaning it would be used for the sustentation of the walls, was also spent at one period upon the repair of the streets of the city and on the conduit. The fund, which was collected by the "Murengers," was raised by toll upon certain articles entering the city. Partly on account of the perishable nature of the stone used, partly owing to defective workmanship, certain portions of the walls were frequently in a ruinous condition, and not seldom persons are indicted for breaking down the city walls and taking away the stones.¹

In 1555 frequent and extensive repairs were carried on, and in

1065. And at the same Assembly motion is made for some
 Repair of means to repayre the ruins of the citie walls in regarde the
 City Walls. Muringers receipte are soe small as not sufficient to amende
 the breaches, whereuppon it is ordered that John Crouck shalbe sworne
 to make a true account of all toll-corne which he hath or shall gather
 and receive in the Cities Right from St. Nicholas day last past unto
 St. Nicholas day next coming, and the proffitts thereof shall pay over
 unto the Muringers towards the repairinge of the said walles.

being left open, and that much damage and inconvenience accrued thereby to the said abbot and monks; the said abbot and monastery to hold the keys of the said gates, reserving right of entrance for the "muragers" or guardians of the said walls in the execution of their office, and in time of war for those to whom should belong the custody of the said walls, as more fully contained in a former licence to the abbot and monastery, for closing the said gates, dated 3rd Dec., 2 Hen. V.—*W.R.R.*

¹ 11 Hen. IV. Walter Stokes and 22 Hen. VIII. Thomas Rider, Carter, fregit parietem juxta novam Turrem et abinde cariauit diversos lapides ad domum et ad alia loca.

1556 a good deal of stone was used for the walls, and a large amount of female labour employed for carrying loads. [Treas. Accounts.]

In Elizabeth's reign the work of repair was let out by contract to a mason, Thomas Wosewall, for 40/- and a livery gown, but the contractor was unable to fulfil the covenant, and, after the custom of the times, when every patent was carefully retained, his son surrendered the patent in 2 January, 1590, for 30/-.¹

He had evidently done his work badly, for in January 28, 1589 [31 Elizabeth], the walls are reported to be "in greate decay and dailie like to grow into further ruyne." The sum of £100 is voted for their repair, to be raised by assessment upon the inhabitants [A.O. 647.] The assembly are instructed, April 18 of the same year, "that the walles are ruynous and gretelie decayed," and that "a sufficient workman offered to repaire the same for xii^d. the yard "benethe and xviii^d. the yard above" [A.O. 659.]

The walls were strengthened by several towers, chiefly on the north and north-east, placed within bowshot of one another. There is first the New Tower, or Water Tower, which, for all its name, was built so long ago as 16 Edward II., and is now a good distance from the water of the Dee, which once washed its base. It was erected by John de Helpston, mason, for £100. In the contract² he undertakes to make a round tower, 10½ ells thick, and

¹ 4 April 4 Eliz. Indenture between Maior and Citizens and Thos. Wosewall the elder and Thomas his son, Masons, whereby those Masons obliged themselves, during their lives, in all things belonging to a Masons worke, substantially to make, repaire, maintaine, and upholde all the walls of the City—finding all manner of stuffe as stone, lime, sand, and water, and also iron and steele for sharpening their tools and instruments, and also 2 laborers att such tymes as they shall sett and none otherwise in consideracion of an annual fee of 40/- and a livery gown.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2046, 40.

² 2 Jan., 1590. Thomas Wiswall, mason, having by patent under the seale of this citie a graunte for terme of his lief of xl^s. and a lyvery gowne for the maintenance of the walls compassinge rownde about the said citie, hath surrendred and delivered up to the maior and citizens the said patent and made void the same in respect that he was not hable to kepe the reparacons of the said walls nor to performe the covenants menconed in the said patent which upon his partie are to be don, and so in consideracon of the sum of xxx^s. to him truly paid by the said Mr. Maior in presence of Mr. Edmund Gamull and Wm. Knight. . . .

³ The original, in the Chester Muniment Room, is almost illegible, but a copy is preserved amongst the Harl. MSS., 2046, 26b. Indentura facta 16 Ed. II., inter majorem et Cives Cestr., Will^m. Clarke majorem Ric^um de Lewode et Rob^tum de Strangwas cives de eadem et Joh^{em} de Helpston Cimentarium testatur quod predictus Joh^{es} de Helpston pro c^o libris sterlingorum faciet et fundabit quandam turrin rotundam spissitudinis x ulnarum et dim. cum concavitate distantem a turri de Benewaldestham usque in fluvium aque de Dee per estimacionem viii ulnas quarum quilibet continet viii ulnas regias, que quidem turris erit altitudinis 24 ulnarum regiarum a sabulone usque ad borialem. Et idem Joh^{es} faciet et fundabit ibi quandam murum solidum altitudinis viii uln. reg' cum quadam porta . . . cujus quidem muri solidi spissitudo crit iv uln' reg' et qui quidem murus super collocatus . . . crit sufficienter bacillatus ex utraque parte ita quod hi qui ibidem fuerunt sufficienter et secure se defendere possint ubicunque. Et idem Joh^{es} inveniet omnia et

24 ells high, with a connecting wall 8 ells in length, 4 ells in thickness, with battlements.

In this indenture mention is made of Benewaldestham Tower, or Bonewaldesthorne at the north-west angle of the walls. The north-east angle is defended by the Phoenix or Newton Tower, which derives its name of "Phoenix" from the crest of the Painters' and Stationers' Company, who rented it for their meeting place.

Not far from the Newgate, towards the north, stands Wolf's Tower, mentioned in the Treasurer's Accounts of 1555.¹

Two other towers were let, 1557-1565, to the Saddlers and Barbers for a rent of 4/-, and in 1565, 2/- was paid to John Villam for one old tower and a dore. A place on the Walls, on the side of Roodee, was known in 1573 by the unpleasing name of "Lowse Tower,"² and another, called "Goblin or Dilles' Tower,"³ bore afterwards the name of "Pemberton's Parlour," from John Pemberton, ropemaker (Mayor, 1730), who used to sit in this alcove and watch his men at work under the Walls.

18 Aug., 29 Eliz. Alsoe at this Assembly Mr. Domvill moveth to have the newe tower without the Watergate of the said Citie to lye in phisicke duringe the pleasure of this Citie payinge for the same as the Maior and he shall agree, w'ch motion thought not inconvenient but well liked of.

singula que ad predictam operacionem pertineant sumptibus suis propriis calc' et cap' lapid' in quarrera predictae operacion' contigua *non sufficiat* [sic]. Et continue in predicta operacione pro posse suo morabitur et residebit [in Cestria usque ad] . . . consumacionem operis supradicti. Et ad hec omnia et singula in forma predicta perficienda prefatus Joh'es . . . se heredes et executores suos et omnia bona sua et catalla et eciam fidejussores invenit subscriptos, viz , Ra'nun de Daresbury, W^m. de Dalbye, W^m. de Sunden, et W^m. le Serjeant de Ruthyn qui simul cum predicto Joh'e . . . majore et civibus. Hiis scriptis indenatis alternatim sigilla sua posuerunt. Dat' apud Cestriam die et anno supradictis. Et præterea si predictus Joh'es aliquid augeat in predicta operacone ultra convenconem supradictam predicti Major et cives concedunt allocare eidem Joh'i quicquid juris fuerit et rationis. ["No seale at it."]—*Harl. MSS.* 2046, 266.

¹ 1555. Christofere Warmyncham for the ground betweene the walls and the towne diche alongeste his orchard from the tower callide Wolfes Tower xii^d. Nich. Newhouse for a howse buyld on *Wolffs Gate* iiii^d.

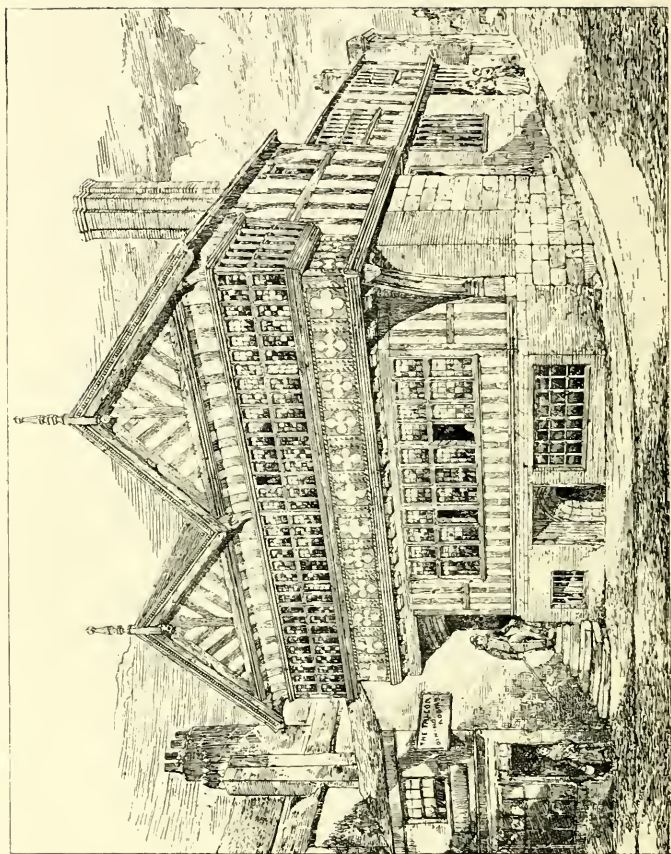
1556, 1588. Rob. Pova for Wolffs Gate under and over with a garden on the North side betweene the walls and towne diche.

1575, 1589, 1591, 1592. Pro le tailour's carriage house prope Wolfs Gate ii^s. vi^d.

1564. Bordes to make a dore for the Newe Gate ii^s. iiiii^d.; xxiii^{li}. qr Iron to make ii hinges and crokes ii^s. iiiii^d.ob; for making the same x^d.; a great stocke locke ii^s. iiiii^d.; a stable i^d.; cc gades and cc spikes viiii^d.; gadds ii^d.ob.

² 4 August, 16 Elizabeth [1573.] Lease to Robert Brerewode, glover, and William Stiles, mercer, of all that clausure, pasture or parcell of grounds called and comonly knowne by the name of the Roode Eie, and all maner grounde warth and lande lyinge nere the same citie, lyinge in length from the new Tower without the Walls upon the Northe side of the said pasture unto certaine Railes right over against a certaine place upon the Walls in tymes passed called Lowse towre upon the south side, and in breadth from the said Walls unto the water of the Dee from and betweene the said Towers as the same water now runeth,

³ "Northgate Street, 26 Hen. VIII. The occupac'on of the Smythes for a place to sett their cariage adjoyning to the Shermen under the Wallles nigh unto a Towre called the Dilles Towre, iiiii^d."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2150, 262.

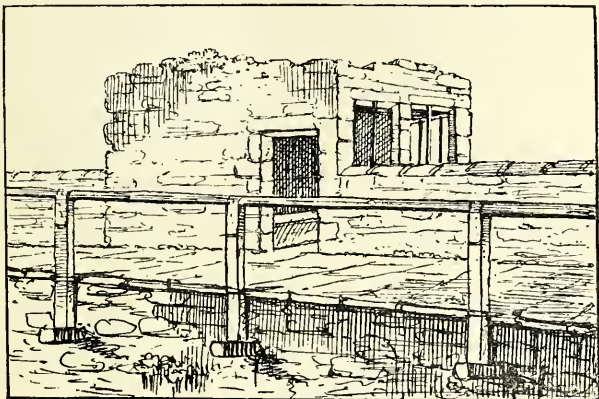


"THE FALCON," LOWER BRIDGE ST., CHESTER

There were, besides, alcoves which served as resting places for the watchmen upon the Walls.

This watch was a very real business in the time of Edward the First's wars and Glendower's rebellion, and exemption from the duty (*vigiliæ*) was valued as a great privilege. The penalty for neglect in attendance was heavy.¹ It is not surprising that some of the citizens would prefer to ply the needle and shuttle at home to taking their turn in keeping ward and watch on the City Walls.

As late as 36-7 Henry VIII., John Wodekok is fined xii^d. for not obeying the sheriff's orders in the watch.



Watch Tower, opposite St. John's Church
Taken down 1813.

The large majority of the houses in Chester during the Plantagenet period were entirely built of wood, of poor construction, as may be inferred from the reference in "*Bradshaw's Life of St. Werburge*" to the great fire of 1180, when

"Some cried for water and some for hookes dyd call
Some used other engins by crafte and policy
Some pulled down houses afore the fire truly."

The hook and the cord (required as late as Elizabeth's reign to be part of the provision in each ward against fire) were sufficient to pull down the houses of those early times, showing that they were little better than mean hovels, roofed with straw, or wooden

¹ Several cases are reported in the Mayor's Books, e.g., David le Gardyn' de Abbathia de fine pro defectu vigilae—John Menal—Will' Tylling, John del Hull Wever—John le Tailliour—Thomas le Tailliour.

shingles. Hence the frequent fires with which Chester was devastated.

The houses of a better class belonging to the merchants and rich burgesses would also be chiefly of wood, upon a basement of brick or stone.

“When it was wrought als it sold be
Bath of stane and als of tre.”

A stone-built house at this time is remarkable enough to be mentioned as a landmark, and would be tenanted only by a person of importance.¹

These better houses would consist of (1) a hall, often called “domus,” in which the family took their meals; (2) a solar or private chamber, which was a sitting room and bedroom in one; (3) a kitchen; and (4) a cellar, which about the time of Henry III. would be vaulted and of considerable size. The roofs were high-pitched, covered with shingles of wood or tiles, and the gable ends turned to the streets, with a narrow frontage. This is the characteristic feature of the aspect of the city in maps of old Chester in Elizabeth's reign, and it is very probable that the houses of that time were but copies of those of an earlier age. The windows were for a long time not glazed, except in the best houses, guarded only by wooden shutters, for more than one entry occurs of persons presented for eaves-dropping.²

The flooring of the rooms on the ground floor would sometimes be boarded, though often there would be nothing but the natural soil well rammed down, which would be strewn over with dried rushes in winter, and green fodder in summer. Thus even as late as the time of Elizabeth “the Cathedral Church was “unpaved as a barn floor.”³

In 1540 the Treasurers were charged 2/- for rushes and cleansing on Good Friday for the Pentice, and 3/4 for the whole year.

The cellars of which there were very many, in all the principal streets, Northgate, Eastgate, Watergate, and especially Bridge street, were used sometimes as stables—frequently as beer-houses, and many complaints are made of some being houses of ill-fame.⁴

¹ 1310, “versus solarium lapideum Ric'i de Whiteley in Northgate Strete”; he was sheriff.

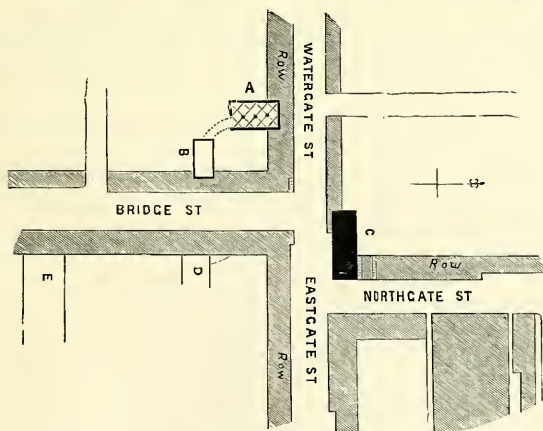
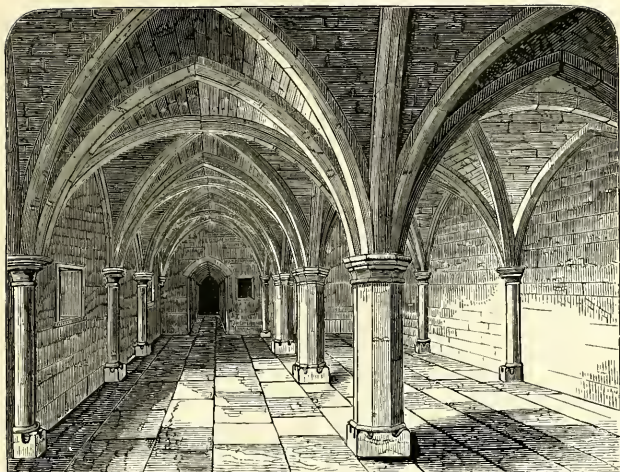
² 13 Hen. VII., 1497, Wife of John Bower and Katarina Knyght fined 4d. each for standing sub domicilio civium Civitatis ad audiendum diccionem civium.

³ Hen. VIII., 1509, Wm. ap John is a common vagabond walking about in the streets at all hours of the night, and looking in at the windows of neighbours (*speculat in fenestris*)

⁴ Harl. 2071, 1666.

⁵ 9 Eliz. Wm. Crosse (and five others) bound in 40/- not to put, suffer to be nor cause to be put, laied, kept nor set in his cellar next unto the strete any kinde of beast or cattall as oxe, cow, calf, shepe, horse, mare, swine nor any other sort of cattall.

Wm. Ball, late mayor presented 1569 for selling and exposing for sale, in his house and



Ground Plan

A—Messrs. Quellyn Roberts & Co.'s Crypt
 B—Messrs. Powell & Edwards' Crypt
 C—S. Peter's Church

D—Roman Altar, discovered in 1863
 E—Roman Hypocaust

Several crypts still remain in Chester, which belong in date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are connected with the house internally by a flight of steps. The vaulting of these varies according to their date; the earlier having none but transverse ribs, while in the later examples diagonal ribs in the groining have been introduced. The earliest is that in Bridge Street, occupied by Mr. Newman, which is described by Mr. Hewitt (*Chester Arch. J.*, N.S., 1) as 42 feet 6 inches long by 15 feet 3 inches wide, and (originally) 10 feet high, the vaulting finished with groining, divided into six bays.

That in Watergate Street, in the occupation of Mr. Quellyn Roberts, has a double vaulting, similar to the crypt belonging to Messrs. Beckett, which was destroyed in 1861. Two others have been discovered lately, on the property of Mr. Alderman Charles Brown and of Mr. Boden. They all have aumbries, or cupboards nearly square, with traces of the places where hinges were attached.

The solar is frequently mentioned, but the word is often used for anything but a private apartment, and not on the upper floor. The servant of Richard Forrete, skynner (16 Edward IV.), is fined 4^d. for frequently throwing filth and dust (*in solario subtus messuagium*) in the solar under the messuage of Henry Ball. 18 Henry VII., Johanna Steyner, and Margaret Bower, widows, are amerced in the same amount for making a fire in their solars (*in solariis suis*) so that the smoke ascends thence into the "Mercers' Rowe," to the great nuisance of their neighbours living there and the passers by.

Two terms, shopæ and seldæ, occur frequently in the earlier records, and in the Lease Ledger Folio a third term, shovering, is used.

The seldæ were mere sheds, or working places of a more or less temporary character. The term is applied to the booths set up by traders at the Midsummer Fair in front of the Abbey Gate, and covered with reeds gathered by special permission on Stanlawe Marsh. Edward I., in his charter [27 Edward I.] to Vale Royal, gives a seldæ which Richard the Apothecary held, as well as eleven seldæ, called the 'Tailors' Booths, in Bridge Street.¹

In an indenture 8 March, 23 Henry VII., 1508, Radulf

cellar (*domo et sellar'*) beer and other victuals on Sunday, &c., and keeping cards, tables, and other unlawful games there.

4 Ed. IV., 1463-4. Will. Rowson and Thomas Ferrys are fined 6/8 quod receptaverunt in cellariis suis in Estgate Strete feminas que abutuntur corporibus suis palam cum viris maritatis contra, &c.

¹ Unam seldam quam Ricardus apothecarius aliquando tenuit et undecim seldas, quæ vocantur seldæ sutorum in Bruggestrete quas Alexander Hurel aliquando tenuit.—*Dugdale, Mon.*, v., 710.

Ravenscroft of Bretton grants to Thomas Smith, alderman, those two solars and all that vacaut ground lying in Bridge Street, near the High Cross, called "*le Stabyu Seldys*," containing in length 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ virgatæ.

The word shopa is used more commonly after Edward Ist's reign. 8 Hen. V., 1420, William Hope gives to Rob. le Vernon, Taillour, a shop (shoppa) subtus le Flessheuer rowe in Watergate strete for seven years at 16/-. These shops were much simpler than the modern places of business, mere open rooms with wide windows closed with shutters, some of which let down upon the opening. A number of these were ranged round the Pentice and the Pillory, and doubtless were much in request on account of their central position. The Treasurers' Accounts have preserved the names and occupation of some of the tenants. In 1464 Robert Weryngton and Wyrby Cutler paid each a rent of 5/- for a shop under the Pillory. In 1555 Thomas Bavande paid a much higher rent, 28/-, for his shop under the Pentice next the High Cross. Nich. Newhouse, Iremonger, paid 12/- for another shop. William Leche, Vintner, and Thomas Elton, Iremonger, paid 20/-. John Ball, chaplyne for the corner shop under the Pentice 30/-. Alderman Ffoulk Dutton 20/-, William Leche for his shop next Mr. Dutton's 18/-. Heyrs of John Bothe for inlarging of ii shops at ye northe dore of St. Peter's x^d. Peter Gillam for a chambre over St. Peter's Church Dore vi^s. viii^d.

Robert Bridd, Iremonger, obtained a lease for 60 years at the rent of 16/- of one shoppe in Northgate strete under the Pentice on the weste side of the saide streete between a shop in the occupation of Rauff Jamin, Draper, upon the south side, and a shop in the occupation of Humffrey ap Robin on north side. James Betteriche and Richard Bavand, Iremongers, have shops there, the latter succeeding another Iremonger, Richard Thornton, and it would appear that the Ironmongers were at one time in force in this part of the city. The rent of three of these Pentice shops was devoted to the "necessary reparacons and maintenance of the "Parish Church of St. Peter's." (Lease Ledger Folio, p. 23.)

The Butchers' shops were in Northgate Street. Each shop would be distinguished by a sign hanging from a pole, or otherwise fixed up. Taverns were not the only houses of public resort which gave a pictorial indication of the trade carried on in an age when few could read, the only signs remaining now being the barber's pole and the pawnbroker's three golden balls. But as late as the reign of James 1st a bookseller Thropp had as his sign the "Bible and Hand."

In 1577 the Harl. MSS., 2125, 214, record that "most of the "Crosses of and about Chester were all pulled downe except the "High Crosse." The only references to Crosses in the records are the following:—

In 1582 mention is made of a tenement *prope cruce[m] que dicitur* the Crosse without the barrs on the side of the same road which leads towards Spittle Boughton; also of a Crosse flat in Handbridge.¹ In 1570 the lane as far as St. Anne's Crosse is presented as filthy and needing repair.

The furniture of the houses in the earlier part of our period was of the scantiest and rudest. A bed and a chest for a wardrobe, with a stool or two, would be considered ample for the sleeping room, while benches and a table on trestles sufficed for the hall or living room.

Amongst the appraisements, of which very few are preserved prior to Richard II., are, 1 Edward I., a brazen bowl, valued at a mark; two knives, 7^d.; one knife, 12^d.; a cloth (*pannus*), 16/-: 10 Edward II., six silver spoons, a coverlet, a hood; two kerchiefs of silk together valued at 5/-; two brazen bowls, 5/-; six silver spoons, 6/-: 10 Edward III., one tablecloth (*bordclot*) was priced at 3/-; one faldyng, $\frac{1}{2}$ -mark; one pair of dotayles, 40^d.

8 Henry VI. [1429] Benet Coke's goods appraised before the Sheriffs were—one moldyng bord, xx^d.; one tribula, iiiid.; two peles, iid.; one skymmer . . .; one rollyng pyne, iid.; four stoles outside the door (for his customers probably) and half doss' blanket.

16 Edward IV., an iron stove (*caminus*) and two pewter dishes were valued at xxi^d.; 200lbs. of brazen dishes, £4 3s. 4d.; a girdle of white leather silver-mounted (5 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.), 16/7. In this reign and henceforward we find a fuller list of household goods. Linen sheets (*lintheamina*) and counterpanes (*coopertoria*) are frequently mentioned. Pewter plates, silver spoons, "standing cups" with covers of silver, salt cellars, appear to be the ordinary equipment of the citizen's table. But the table even in Elizabeth's reign is still but a board on tressels—a folding table and a standing table being exceptionally mentioned. In two or three appraisements chairs are entered, but only two at a time, stools being much more common.

The gowns are of various colours, black, murrey, tawney, (tane), bloody, medley, blue and green, faced or guarded with fur generally of black or white lamb, and fox, and budge, and varying in price from the simple garb which is valued at $\frac{3}{4}$ to the more elegant robe, lined and trimmed, at 26/8. One fine garment of

¹ Ind. 466. Le Pinfold ex opposito le Crosse flat cuidam foveæ in venella ibidem vocat' Handbrigg lane, ducent' ex dicta Civitate usque ad Eccleston.—Ind. 39.

. . . . ultra januam voc' le Crosse flat gate.—Ind. 40.

black velvet bordered with crimson velvet is priced at £4 13s. 4d. (*circumvoluta cum crymesie* [crimson] *velvett*). The same lady (4 Henry VIII.) possessed another robe of black damask bordered with the same crymesie velvett, valued at 50/-, also one of tawny chamlett, 18/-; a kirtell of "russett satten chekkit," 33/4; a kirtell of purple chamlet bordyt with saten, 15/-; a partlet of crymison velvett prikett with gold and a little fillet with v perles, 2/-; a hood of black velvett garnessht with gold, 5/-; a paire of knyves with a paire of new whit gloves and a little silk, 6d.; a gold box, 25/-; while her husband had but one toga virilis, valued at 6/8, and a black horse, 12/-.

Mention is made of tippets of taffeta, priced 8/-. An old tippet black velvet was valued at 2/8; an old paier of hose lined with taffeta fetched 5/-; a leathern jerkin, 3/-; a cloth jerkin, 2/6; and a "grogram cassok," 3/-; a "casak" of damask, 26/8. In 1565 a black chamlet gown with French lace was valued at 28/-.

A wonderful cloth at 5/- a yard is called "the divill in the hedge."

Girdles studded with silver or silver-gilt work are common in the Tudor period. A girdle with a bird of gold was valued at 7/-; another with silver-gilt ornaments fetched 26/1; a gold ring with a stone vocat' le camie, 10/-.¹

¹ 17 Hen. VII. [1501.] 3 flaxen sheets, 4/-; 1 flaxen sheet, 2/-; 1 canvas shete, 8d., 1 ffedere bed and bolster, 6/8; 1 silver spoon, 8/8.

21 Hen. VII. [1505.] 1 coopertorium and 1 jaket, 1 ollam æneam et 1 califast' vocat' chaffing dissh, 2 lavator', 1 manutergium de lavator' de maslyn vocat' a maslyn bason, 1 lintheamina, 1 togam colore de Tawney, 1 togam muliebrem, 1 togam de Medley, all valued at 14/6.

4 Hen. VIII. 2 diaper towels, 2/-; 5 sheets, 8/-.

The following appraisement indicates a large establishment, evidently a tradesman with several apprentices resident in the house.—24 Hen. VIII., 1582:—1 silver cup gilded and cover, £3 6s. 6d.; 1 napkyn, 4 sheets, 2 towells, 4/8; a small new pan, 6d.; a fedder bed and flok bed, 8/-; 2 bolsters, 2 blanketts, a coverlett, a countercloth, a pair of shets and hangyngs, 7/4; a trestell and forme ij^d.; in the maydens chambre, 8d.; 5 flokbedds, 6/4; coverletts, 4d.; 5 blanketts, 3/4; 4 bolsters, 4 pelowes, 2/4; 2 cofers, 3/4; a borde and 1 panne, 16d.; 1 pair tongs, fire shole and bales, 4/-; settles, 1 cupborde, a forme, 2 cheres, 3/2; a counter in the hall, 5/-; the hengys in the hall, a banker, 2 quysshyns, 2/4; a tressell and a stole, 2d.; a borde and 2 tressels, 8d.; 5 flaxen sheets, 5/-; 5 canvas sheets, 3/4; 4 pelows, 8d.; 6 napkyns, 9d.; 3 table clothes, 2/-; 6 bedstocks, 3/-; 2 formes, 2d. The rest of his goods consisted of an assortment of robes, and broken brass and pewter.

2 togas pellatas cum nigro agnello, 26/8; 2 pendants argenti, 15s./7½d.; 1 togam coloris must' pellat' cum nigro agnello, 18/-; 1 togam pellat' cum vulpe, 22/-; 1 togam viridem pellatam cum agnello nigro, 18/-; C sad' wares, 46/8; lxx^{li} holowe wares, 16/6; viii^{li} et di. old pewter, 22½d.; ccxxxviii^{li} broken bras, 46/4; lxi^{li} broken bras, 11/6; xlviii^{li} bras modes, 11/9; 34^{li} bras mod', 8/6; old iren, 10d.; a pair ol bellas, 4d.; xi stonnes, 12d.; a catarne, 1d.; 3 libros qnorum unus est vet' statuta, 12/-.

The valuation of Richard Momford's chattels, 29 Hen. VIII., contains the following: 1 jar and 1 Kettall, 2/-; 2 plates and an old sawser, 4d.; 2 cofers and 1 arke (chest), 3/-;

The earliest list of Chester streets which we possess is that of Edward the Third's reign, which, by the forethought of the mayor, Richard Dutton [1567—1573], was copied into the Assembly Book (36*b*—38*a*).

Some of the names occur in documents of a much earlier date than Edward III. (1327—1377).¹

Where any change has been made in modern times, the alteration is indicated in a bracket. Originally there would appear to have been but four streets so called, leading to the four gates, Eastgate Street, Bridge Street, Watergate Street, Northgate Street. The other avenues and ways (with the single and remarkable exception of Pepper Street, and perhaps Foregate Street, a continuation of Eastgate Street) were styled lanes, narrow and inconvenient, much like Pierpoint Lane and Bunce Street of the present day. It is much to be regretted that the city authorities should have thought so little of preserving the individuality of their ancient city as to have altered, unnecessarily, the simple name of "lane" into the ambitious title of "street," and further obscured the identity of these passages and alleys by giving them a different designation. It is intelligible that Coole Lane should have passed (in accordance with a common law of pronunciation) through Coe Lane into Cow Lane, but the change first into Warrington Street and then into Frodsham Street is inexcusable. We can understand, though we may not sympathise with the spirit which prompts the emotional Parisians to change the names of their streets according as their government chanced to be Royalist, Imperial, or Republican. But sober Cestrians should not be so

2 tressells 1 presborde, 2*d.*; 1 cuperleet, 1 ark, 1 cofer, 1 pulvinar, and par bedstokkes, 3/-; 1 cupborde, 1 candelstikke and ewer, 8*d.*; 1 table borde, 2/8; 1 coverlette, 2 pair bedstokkes, 2/4; 1 ark, 3*d.*

In 2 Philip and Mary we have mention of 2 old carpetts, 8*d.*; 4 Irish carpetts, 2/8; 2 cheres, 10*d.*, and a standing tabell, 2/8; a folden tabull, 10/-; 3 blew glasses, 15*d.*; 3 watt glasses, 10*d.*; a plat glass and 4 cryky of glasses, 14*d.*; a gallye pott, 2*d.*; 2 chandlers, 12*d.*

7 Eliz., 6 postell spones weighing 9½ oz. are valued at 4/6 an ounce, and 5 pewter dishes weighing 13 lb, at 7*d.* a lb. A little later 12 chamber potts de pewter are mentioned, 28 lb pro 6*d.* a lb; 4 chargers and 2 pottells, 26 lb pro 6*d.* a lb.

¹ Baggelone is mentioned in connection with the preparations to resist Simon de Montfort, 1264. Souterlode and Fleshmonger's lone are referred to in 1272, Whytefryer's lone in 1286, le Gloverstones in 1302, Claverton lone in 1316. "Honebrugge," "Honnebrugge" is the name by which Handbridge is known in 1307 and 1317, but in 1387 it is spelt "Hondbrugge." "St. Werburge's lane" occurs in 1317, and "Forgate Street" in 1320. Gosselone and Pepper Strete in 1318; "Gerard's lone" is mentioned 1331, and in 1382 it is stated to be opposite "Persones lone." In 1374, St. Nicholas lone occurs. In 1382 we have the names "Cuppyngeslone," "Trinitylone," and "Shippelone," and in 1396 a lane from Foregate Street called "Edeslon." "Paynes-lode" occurs in 1405, and "Bunce-lane" [in Rogers' MSS., Bisc-lane], and "Posterne-way" in 1415.

ready to part with names and memories which have come down to them from the far-distant past.

Several of these names bear witness to the changed circumstances of the times. Berward Street reminds us that Bear-baiting, as well as Bull-baiting, "Justing," and Cock-fighting, was one of the amusements of the city. Fleshmongers' Lane and Barbers' Lane point back to the time when those who followed the various trades and occupations grouped themselves in special quarters of the city. Cuppinges Lane reveals something of the immoral condition of Chester in the middle ages, which the city authorities made repeated but unsuccessful endeavours to improve.

Here After folowyth the names of All the Stretes and Lanes within the Citie of Chester and suburbes of the same, as the wer named in the dayes of Kinge Edward the thridde and afore by the recorde thereof in wryttinge in a table, and copyed herein by the Commandment of the Worschipful Rycharde Dutton, Maior of the said Citie.

In Estgate Strete :

On the northe syde of the saide strete is a layne that goithe out of the saide strete by the mease [messuage] side late William Stanmer, and so to the Kirke yorde of Sante Oswaldes caulyd Leen Lane, and benethe it upon the same syde nere the Estgate is a layne caulyd Sant Goddestall Lane, and so goithe out of the saide strete into the saide church yarde. This Goddstall lieth buried within the Abbay Church in Chester, and he was an Emperoure and a vertuose disposed man in his lyvyng, and his lane lyethe betwene the mease some tymes of Robert Chamberleyne and the mease lat in tholdinge of William Humfrey, and upon the syde nere the Estgate ther ys a lane caulyd Saint Werburge Lane and it shontyth into the forsaide church yarde, and over anendes this lane on the other syde ys a Lane caulyd Ffleshemongers Lane [now Newgate Street] and it puttethe upon Peper strete.

In Fforgate strete :

There is a Lane upon the north side sometyme caulled Cooles Lane, and now caulled Cow Lane [Frodsham Street], and it stretithe into Honwald's Lowe [George Street], and nere the Barres upon the south syde ther is a Lane named Love Lane, and it putteth upon Barkers Lane [now Union Street] that goith estwards into the fildes ; and wythout the Barres There ys a gayte that goythe downe to the water of Dee that is namyd Paynes Loode, and upon the other syde of the sayde strete more estward is a Lane called Chester Lane [afterwards Horn Lane] and it putteth upon Honwards Lowe.

In Sent Johans Stret

is Sant Johans Lane that goeth oute of this strete towards the church and Coilage and from it at the cornill of the mansion place of the petite Chanon there is a Lane after the wall of the Church Yarde, and it is naymed the Vicars Lane, and it puttithe upon Barker's Lane and Love Lane, and at the Eynde of this strete ther goythe a waye downe to the water of Dee and this sayde waye is namyd Souters Loode.

In Watergate Stret :

Upon the northe syde of the said strete next to the Church of S. Peters

is a Layne namyd goslane, and upon the same syde more westerlye next to the mausion place is a Lane named Gerrards Lane [now Crook Street], and it putteth upon the Persons Lane [now Princess Street], and at the est ende of the trenite Church is a Lane namyd the trenitie Lane, and upon the other syde anendz that Lane is a Lane named Albany Lane [now Weaver Street], and it putteth upon Fosters Lane.

Berward Street [now Linenhall Street; so called within the last 100 years, before that known as Lower Lane] begenneth at the Graye freers gate and putteth upon Barne Lane, and out of this strete there went a Layne to Sent Cedde Church called Sent Chadde Layue, and from the sayde Church ther went a waye to the waules of the said Citie called Dogge Lane.

Saynt Nycolas Strete

Begenneth at Watergate strete and putteth upon the Nones wall and on the Lane afore the Nones called the Nones Lane, which Lane putteth upon the Castell Lane, and out of this stret goeth a way to the waules of the saide citie, and it is cauldy Arderne Lane [now Black Friars Lane], lying upon the northe side of the saide Nunes.

Pepur Stret

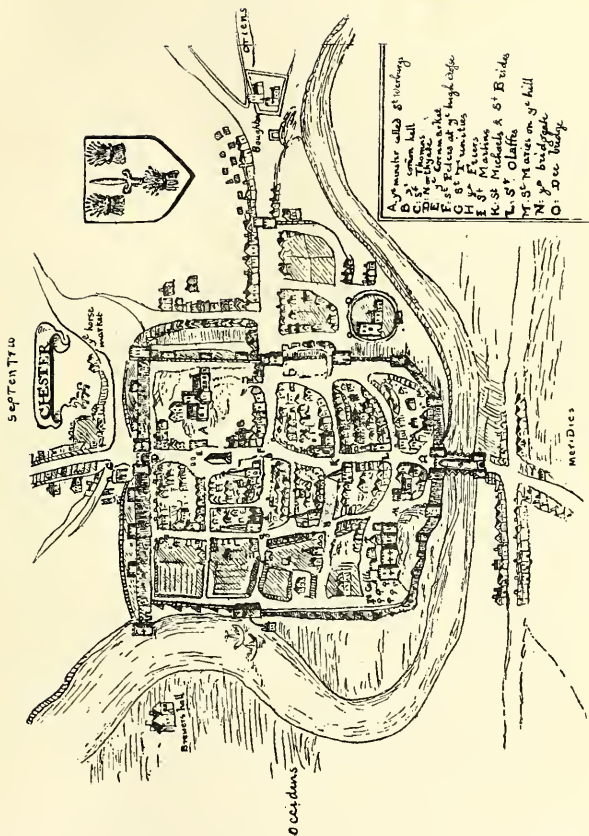
Goith out of Brugge Stret apon the Soutlie syde of the Church of Saynt Michell, and putteth over flesshemongers Lane to Wolfelde gate [now New Gate] in the walles of the saide citie, the whych gate some tyme had a hollo grate wyth a Brugge [for horse and man], putteth upon the Souters Loode and up Sent Jones Street and Sent Johns Lane. This gate was closed up and for doune for so much as a younge man in the Somer Season toke a mayres daughter and bere hur out of Pepur strete as she was playnge at the Baule amongst other maydens, and yond wyth her awaye, and after he maryed the same mayde.

In Bruge Stret :

Upon the west side is a Lane that is namyd of oulde tyme Normans Lane, and now yt is namyd the Comen hall lane, and putteth upon Alban lane and upon the same syde more southe is a lane cauled Perpoyns lane that was the waye sum tyme to the Common haule, and more southerlye this Lane ther is an other Lane cauldy Ffustard's Lane, and we now caule yt the Whyte freres Lane, and it putteth upon Sent Nycolas Strete, and beneythe yt upon the same syde is Cupping Lane, and it putteth upon Non Lane. And beneith this saide Cuppings Lane more southerly ys the Castyll's Lane, and out of it goithe a Lane toward Saynt Marye Church called Sant Marye Lane, and near the said Castyll Lane ende upon the este syde of the sayde strete is Saint Olas Lane, and benethe it upon the same syde is Clarton Lane [or Claverton; now Duke Street] and it puttyth upon the waules of the said Citie, and anendz this saide Clarton lane upon the west ende ther was a waye for horse and man that went to a gate in the Waules of the said cittie the which waye was cauled Shipgate, and anends this gate before the Bruge was mayde ther was a ferry bott that brought bothe hors and man over Dee, and out of the sayde Cuppynges Lane goith Bunse Lane, and it putteth upon the Castyll Lane.

In Northgate Strete :

Ther is a lane afore the gates of the Abbey that is called the Persones Lane, and it puttyth upon Berward Strete, and upon the same side nere the north gate is a Lane cauled Berne Lane [now King Street], and it



Map of Chester

By William Smith (of Nuremberg), Rouge Dragon, 1580

puttyth upon Berward Strete, and out of it goithe a lane towards the Waules and it is namyd Oxe Lane, and from it toward the northe ys caulid Bagge Lane, and wythout the saide northegat upon the est syde. The Lane that ys besydes the lyttell Kelne and goyethe northeward towards the Wyndemyll that waye ys caulid the Sandye waye, and withoute the sayde Northgayte ther is one waye that goyth towards the Bache and yt ys caulid the Bayche Waye, and ther ys an other waye that goyth towards the porte poule and it ys caulid Poule waye.

The Assembly Book contains also a list of the Wards into which the city was divided. It purports to be one revised by Henry Gee (Mayor in 1533-1539), but the division is of very much earlier date. There are fifteen Wards (the number is now reduced to five) with an alderman and a constable for each, and a certain number of poor folks licensed to beg for alms. St. John's and St. Martin's Ward have each two constables allotted.

Item here after folowth all the Wardes of the Citie of Chester viewed and set out by the Wurschipfull Henry Gee, Mayre of the said Citie, as apperyth by a tabull made of the same.

Saynt Giles Warde.—The Colege of Saynt Johne withe Lovelane and from Lovelane upon bothe sides the strete estward so fare as the Lastithe and in the same Warde is an Alderman one Constable and iii pore folks to lyve by Almes. And the Constable and pore ffolks be admytted by the Maire for the yere beinge with consent of thalderman of the same Warde.

Saynt Johnes Warde.—From the Est gate on bothe sides the strete to Lovelane with Saynt Johnes Lane and Lovelane in the same Warde is an Alderman, ii Constables, and iii pore ffolk to lyve by and the Constables and pore ffolkes be admytted by the Mayre for the yere beinge wythe consent of thalderman of the same Warde.

Estgate Warde.—Fflesshmongers Lane, Saynte Werberows Lane and so the Estgate on bothe sydes the strete, and in the same Warde is an Alderman one Constable and ii pore ffolke to lyve by almys, and the Constable and ii pore ffolkes be admytted by the mayor for the yere beinge with consent of the Alderman of the same Warde.

Saynt Oswald's Ward.—Ffrom the Stolpis in the Corne Market unto thende of the same strete Sotheward on bothe sides the same strete and in the same Wardes is an Alderman one Constable and pore ffolk [part left out] be admytted by the mayre for the yere beinge with consent of thalderman of the same Warde.

The Corne Market Ward.—Ffrom the same stoulpes in the Corne Market unto the Persones Lane and the one haulefe of Persons Lane on the sothe side. And in the same Ward is an Alderman, i Constable, ii pore ffolk.

The Northgate Warde.—Ffrom the Northgate wythe the Barne Lane and so unto the Persons Lane and thone halff of the same lane on the north side and soe thence the Crofte and to the Walls and Northgate. An Alderman, i Constable, ii pore ffolkes.

Saynt Thomas' Warde.—Ffrom the Northgate with the Lanes on bothe

sides the strete so far as the Liberties lastes northward and in the same Wardes, &c. An Alderman, i Constable, ii pore ffolkes.

Saynt Petres Warde.—Ffrom Flesshmongers Lane and Saint Werburs Lane upon bothe sides the strete to Saynt Petres Church, and in the same Warde is an Alderman, i Constable, iii pore folk.

Saynt Brydis Warde.—Ffrom Saynt Peter's Church on the west side of the strete wyth the coman haule lane whytefrere landes and thone hault of Cuppings Lane on the northe syde. An Alderman, i Constable, iii pore foulk.

Saynt Michaells Warde.—Ffrom Saynt Peter's Church on thest syde of the strete unto Peper Strete with one halfe of Peper Strete on the northe syde. An Alderman, i Constable, iii pore folkes.

The Beystmarket Warde.—The one halff of Peper Strete on the southe syde and thone hault of Cuppings Lane on the southe syde and bothe sydes of the brige strete unto the castyll lane and saynt Olas lane. An Alderman, i Constable, iii pore foulk.

Saynt Maries Warde.—The Castell Lane with the west syde of Brige Strete and the west syde of Hondbrige so fer as the liberties last. An Alderman, i Constable, iii pore foulkes.

Saynt Olas Warde.—Saynt Olas Lane with the est side of the Bryge Strete and thest side of Hondbryge so fer as the liberties lasts. An Alderman, i Constable, ii pore foulkes.

The Trenctye Warde.—Ffrom Saynt Petres Church on the northe syde of Watergate Strete unto the Water gate with all laynes on the same syde the strete. An Alderman, i Constable, ii pore folkes.

Saynt Martyns Warde.—From Saynt Petres Church on the southe side of Watergate Strete unto the Watergate with all lanes on the same side the strete. An Alderman, 2 Constables, ii pore foulke.

In 1466 the number of constables remained about the same, fifteen; in 2 Henry VII. they numbered twenty-four, including six in Foregate Street and four in Handbridge; in 9 Henry VII. there were thirteen; and in 17 Henry VII., with six in Handbridge, twenty. By 1533 the number had increased to twenty-four, in 1554 to twenty-six, and from 1567 to 1600, the number varied between thirty-four and thirty-six. The number allotted to each district affords some indication of its comparative importance. Thus, the Eastgate division, which in 1467 had four constables, was superintended in 1555 by eight, and 1567, by twelve; while the number of constables in Bridge Street varied from five in 1466, to ten in 1553, and six in 1555. At the first-named period (1466) Eastgate supplied twenty-five of its citizens to the forty-eight councillors, Bridge Street ten, Northgate eight, and Watergate five. Three years later (1469), there were twenty-seven from Eastgate, and nine from Bridge Street. The constables were drawn from the different trades of the city. Thus in 1554 of the five Northgate constables, three were smiths, two shermen; in Eastgate, there were two smiths,

one draper, one cooper, one sadler, one stringer, one currier; in Bridge Street, one shoemaker, one weaver, one painter, two bakers, one glover; in Watergate, three bakers, two shermen. The faithful discharge of their onerous duty to their fellow-citizens was attended with much unpleasantness, and it is no matter of surprise that occasionally the constables of a ward should be reported and fined for not presenting wrong doers.¹

The city records contain frequent entries of encroachments upon the streets and lanes, and the digging of holes to the common danger of passengers. They occur most commonly in Elizabeth's reign. In the main thoroughfares no such attempt was made, and when a tradesman wished to advance his shop-front he paid to the city treasurer a certain rent.² But in the smaller streets and alleys the greedy tenant had a better chance of making his encroachment without let or hindrance, unless he were unpopular with his neighbours. Such encroachments are reported as having taken place in the Crofts, Hollow-way, Bunce Lane, Chester Lane, Wolf Lane, Cow Lane, Cockfight Hill, Barker's Hill.³

Digging holes in the public ways even to the endangering of the city walls was a common offence, for which the fine varied from 3/4 to 6/8.⁴

The high ways and streets, narrow and inconvenient as they were for the most part, would often be obstructed with loads of timber, clay, gorse, &c. The aldermen were not always

¹ 2-3 P. & M., 1555, John Ramestall, constab' q'd non presentat malefactores: so Wm. Fletcher, jun., and 6 others, all fined 12^d. in 1583, the constables of 8 wards were fined each 12^d. for not exercising their office, and in 1599 a fine of 20^d. was inflicted for the same negligence.

² William Wall payed yerely vi^d. for iii posts that howld up his house [in Bridge Street] and tennant at will. Thomas Dampont tennant at will for ii posts holding up a hovell over his shopp without the bars, of the rent yerely iii^d. Wm. Johnson smith payeth for ii posts before his doore without the barrs iii^d. Thomas Towre, smith for the same iii^d.

³ In 1541 a jury present that "thys persones followynge (9 in number) hathe taken in the kyngs he way a lane callyd Chester lane from the Newe house to Mr. Radford's house so that no horse nor cart can passe."

1554. Wm. Wetherell (and two others) inroachiavit commune Civit. ad usum suum proprium. Fined xii^d.

1567. Thomas Wever inroachiavit uno pede super venellam vocat' Wolf lane in crectione unius muri vocat' a french wall.

1570. William Hammer, alderman, is fined 3/4 for inclosing a public well to which a common way leads through 'Wevestry lane.'

And Thomas Shiffmaker is fined 6/8 for inclosing common lands at the end of Cow lane.

⁴ Arthur Chauntrell in 1573 was fined 2/- for digging under the city walls, so that the foundation of the walls is in ruin "est in ruina." John Kyngesley, Capellanus, 4 Hen. VIII. incurred a fine of xl^d. for digging a trench in Love lane near the high road to the common dauger.

examples of good order in this respect. Alderman William Aldersay is fined $\frac{3}{4}$ in 1573 for keeping his timber in Comon Hall Lane, and the same year the whole company of coopers are commanded to remove all timber and boards "standing stretward" "at their shopes, dores, or wyndows." In 1598 trees unwrought were left in Bridge Street. The carters of Northgate Street were fined $\frac{3}{4}$ for keeping clay in the high road near Blakon Crosse, so that the Queen's lieges could not pass that way at night *sine periculo mortis*.¹

A much worse obstruction, because it involved also danger not only to the occasional passer-by, but to the whole community living in the neighbourhood, were the masses of filth and the dung heaps which were allowed to remain in the smaller streets. Regulations were issued against these violations of sanitary law, and repeated in almost identical terms at the commencement of each mayoralty, but the frequent prosecutions for transgressing these regulations show what unwilling support the authorities received from public opinion in enforcing such salutary provisions against the plague and other infectious diseases.²

Each householder (in an order of 17 Richard II., renewed in 6 Henry IV.) is directed to cleanse the pavement before his own door, and he is forbidden under a penalty of vi^s. viii^d. to put any filth or refuse on his neighbour's portion, or to allow any timber to lie in front of his own house, or anywhere in the principal streets (*in Regia strata*). The records in the Mayor's books for each year (almost plaintively remonstrant) show what little attention was paid to such directions. Even aldermen and other members of the Council and the churchwardens are mentioned as offenders against them. The fines ranged from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 4^d. (increased in Elizabeth's

¹ The following specimens of presentments will be interesting :—

1570. Presentant quendam venellam vocatam Chester lane periculosam - fine 5/-.

. viam extra les bares periculosam pro defectu reparacionis—fine 5/- unum pontem Northgate Bridge ruinosum—fine 5/- — illam viam a ponte "Dee Bridge" usque ad ultimum finem Haughton Grene fedam et periculosam, et quendam venellam ducentem versus Wrixam fedam et periculosam—5/- unam venellam usque ad Crucem vocatam St. Anne's Crosse fedam in defectu reparacionis—fine 2/- — Hole lane fedam $\frac{3}{4}$. — Stratum inter Cow lane et Flowkersbruck ruinosum 10/- — Crokes lane fedam et ruinosam— $\frac{3}{4}$.

1576. "Pavement of Handbridge so decayed that catell were oft in great perill. The Mayor appoynted Roger Grice and others to repayre from Church to Church for the people's devotion and made warrants to besent to all the Churches to be read to exhort them to extend their charity, 28 Dec., 1576."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2125, 213.

² Hen. IV. Tempore Joh'is de Preston, Majoris. [repeated 9 Hen. V.] Ordinatum est quod nullus cujuscunque fuerit condicionis aliquod finum seu putredinem jactet, seu ponat coram porta civitatis, aut in vicis aut venellis, aut coram Watergate, Bruggate, C ew lane Wolfegate, nec ultra muros suo pana vi^s. viii^d.- vic' levand'.

reign to 6/8); 20^d. was an ordinary fine. Instances are given (pages 263, 264) of the entries in the Mayor's books, amongst which will be found noticed a very primitive method of latrine.

The channels of water on either side of the streets were useful in carrying off some of the refuse, but too frequently they were overloaded, and rendered worse than useless by the unreflecting and selfish action of the citizens. Butchers and fishmongers were the most persistent in this respect, casting their offal into these channels.

252.
Huisances
in lanes
of the City. And where dyvers and sondry of the lanes within this city are so filthy and full of muck and noysom that neither cart-horse nor man shall in tyme be able without danger to passe through the same: Therefore for remedy thereof it is nowe ordered that all the lanes within this city before Candelmas next cominge shalbe clensed, purged, and made cleane and all the muck therin from thence caride away by the occupyers, tenants and owners of the orchards, gardens and lanes adjoyngne thereunto viz., every person so farr as his grounde extendeth upon paine of every person makinge therof defalte iii^s. iiiid. and so that also from thensfurth the saide suche tennants, owners and occupiers shall kepe all such lanes clean and orderly sorte from tyme to tyme, upon paine that every such person which shall suffer any muck, filth or dong to be or remayne in any the lanes right over against their grounde by the space of a fortnight together after the saide feaste not being caryd away to forfeit for every defalte xii^d.

85.
Keeper of
Roodee. Temp. Laurence Smyth mil., xii Oct. 1564. At an assemble holden the daie and yere aforesaide in the pence of the saide citie, Thomas Thropp of the Cytie of Chester, flesher, by the saide maior, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsell of the said citie was elected and appoyntyd Keeper of the Roodee of the saide cytye to have occupye and enjoye the same wyth all profyts, advantages, wages, and benefitts as other of the same charge heretofore have had and enjoyed.

86.
Butchers not
to kill
in the Shoppes. Temp. Richard Poole. It is orderede by the saide maiore, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsell of the same cytye at an assemble houlden in the pence of the saide citie the . . . daye of . . . anno septimo Elizabethæ &c. that no maner of person or persons of the arte or crafte of Buchers within this citie shall kyle in their shoppes any maner of bests or cattell, be yt caulefe, shepe, kid or lame or suche other upon payne of forfeiture for every tyme doing the contrary xii^d. And also to kepe ther shoppes cleane purged, stured and washed, whereby yt maye be and remayne cleane without corruption, fylthe or Tallowe upon the lycke pennaltie.

17 Ric. II. Item ordinatum fuit ad port' tentum die Lune prox. post festum Purif. Beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi xvii^{mo} quod nullus permittat caretam suam ligatam cum ferro transire super pontem de Dee sub pena forisfacture carette sue et vis. viii^d. Domino Regi.

Item ordinatum fuit quod nullus faciat nullam fodaconem nec nullum delft super oculum Crucis [Rood eye] nisi quod ipsi impleant illud delft infra unam quindenam sub pena vis. viii^d.

10 Hen. IV. Item q'd si quis sum' fuerit bene et competenter per

The butchers were not allowed to kill beasts in their shops, and both they and the fishmongers were forbidden to throw offal under their stalls. This regulation was constantly evaded, and as fish was a most important article of diet in the Middle Ages, it is no matter for surprise that this culpable carelessness should find its due punishment in the frequent outbreak of serious epidemics.

ministros Civitatis Cestrie ad . . . wache seu vigilantiam super muros et se per negligenciam absentaverat, q'd quilibet qui se absent' et fac' defaltum eat' districtus totiens quotiens necesse fuerit per catalla sua ad valenciam iiis. iiiid. vic' civitatis solvend' pro quolibet defaltu iiis. iiiid.

17, 18 Ric. II. Item quod quilibet clarificet pavimentum ante hostium domus sue nec tempore . . . aliquod finum seu putredinem jaciat seu ponat super prox' suum sub pena vis. viiid. nec maeremia nec stipites ante hostium domus sue aut in regia strata jacere permittant set ea removeant citra festum omnium Sanctorum prox' futurum sub pena forisfacture eorundem.

Item quod nullus permittat porcos transire in vicos Civitatis et si aliqui postea inveniri poterint euntes in Regia strata solvant ballivis pro quolibet pede iiid.

Item quod nullus carnifex necet bestias infra shopas suas et quod non permittant bestias suas pendere ante shopas suas et quod nullus ipsorum emat bestias citra festum sancti Andree Apostoli sub pena forisfacture eorundem et vis. viiid.

9 Hen. V. Item q'd nullus carnifex aut piscenar' aliqua intralia piscium seu carnum jactent sub tabulis suis aut stratis aut in venellis sub pena vis. viiid. vic', &c.

Item q'd nullus permittat porcos transire in vicos civitatis predictæ. Et si aliqui postea inveniri poterint a campana beate Marie usque ad campanam antiphonie beate Marie—solvent pro quolibet pede id.

Item q'd quilibet clarificet pavimentum ante hostium domus sue nec aliquod finum tempore pluvie seu putredinem jactent seu ponant super prox' suum sub pena vis. viiid. nec stipites ante domos suas aut in regia strata jacere permittant set ea removeant citra festum omnium sanctorum prox' futur' sub pena forisfacture eorundem et vis. viiid. vic' Cestrie.

Item q'd nullus carnifex necet bestias infra shopas et q'd non permittant bestias suas pendere ante shopas suas. Et q'd nullus ipsorum emat bestias suas ante horam primam quousque, &c. citra festum S. Andree Apostoli sub pena vis. viiid., nec turnell' cum sanguine et q'd capita bestiarum non videant' pavimento.

27-8 Hen. VIII. Et q'd omnes les Carters ejusdem civitatis fecerunt puteos in alta strata ad nocumentum. Et q'd cum in parlamento Domini nuper Regis Anglie vii anno regni iv tent' edit' inter cetera contineatur q'd nullus carnifex ne per ejus servos infra civitatem London' burgum et villam muratam vel in villa de Cambruge (exceptis villis de Berwick et Carlele), necet sive occidat aliquas bestias sub pena xiiid. pro quolibet bove et pro qualibet vacca et alia bestia viiid., prout in eodem statuto plenius continetur—Will' Richardson nuper de Cestr., bocher [and twenty-six others], xv^o die Decembris 27 Hen. VIII. apud Cestriam . . . necaverunt et occiderunt et intralia eorundem infra Civitatem predictam et prope et juxta muros ejusdem civitatis posuerunt et jactaverunt per servos suos vi et armis et contra pacem dicti domini Regis et contra formam statuti.

Vain efforts were made by the authorities to abolish pig-sties within the City Walls, but the penalties inflicted at so much a foot were not sufficiently heavy to counterbalance the profit to be made out of the uncleanly animal.¹ Not only were these pigs offensive, but they were also destructive, wandering into the gardens of the neighbours, and doing much damage to the trees and other produce. Some citizens ventured so far as to introduce their swine into their neighbours' domain. John Blanchard and two others, 1567, are fined xx^d. for not "ringing" their swine, and allowing them to roam about in the gardens and cemeteries seeking food. Another is fined 3/4 in 1550 for occupying the common pasture on the Rood Dee (*super le rode he*) with his pigs.²

32. *Swine not to be kept within the Walls.* 80a, Tempore Thome Aldersaye. It ys ordered by ye said mayre, sheriffs, aldermen and comen counsell of this citie at an assemblee houlden in the pentice of the said citie ye teuesday after ye feast of sent Andrew thapostill in ye third yere of ye reigne of our sovereigne lorde king Edward the syxt for diverse grete weighty causes & good considerations then moving conserving the comon welthe of this citie that no maner of person ne persons of what estate degre or condition soever he or the be that doth inhabyt within this cytye shall after the feaste of the purification of our blessed Ladye the virgyne next ins[u]ing the date hereof kepe any swyne in ther houses or eny other place within the waulles of the cite of Chester in any of the foure stretes of this citie upon payne of forfytur for every swyne going abrode or kept with in the said foure stretes contrary to this ordenaunce vi^s. viii^d. to the use of this said citie.

¹ In 1598 six swine-sties are reported in Grey Friars Lane, and twenty-seven elsewhere.

² 49 Hen. VI., 1470. Howel ap Res and Gruff' Trethyn throw muck in forbidden places.

1375. Geo. Shakeshafte and several others throw muck and dust from the cleansing of their houses at the end of Personnes' Lane, to the great nuisance of passers-by.

1476. Eleven persons are presented at one court for having stopped up the water-channels with filth; thirty-five in different streets for having deposited their muck and dust on their neighbours' portion.

1532. Oliverus Cabrik and seven others fined 8^d. for making "dong-hills" ad nocumētum vicinorum.

1543. 4 "servant le mork myddyngs et blokks." 9 non mundificant fossam ex utraque parte in venella vocata Chester Lane.

1598. The Wardens of St. Towloes (Olave's) are fined for allowing a dung-heap to be against the walls of the Church.

1575. Thomas Burges quia vertit aquam et fed' domus sue exeunt' a recto cursu versus St. Marten's Ashe ad nocumētum legis Domine Regine et precipue proximorum suorum—fined 10/-.

1575. W^m. Crosse permisit cloacam sive latrinam suam effluere et pertransire domum et terram proximorum suorum—fined 10/-.

Fifteen fined 10/- for diverting the course of water in St. Marten's Ashe, White Fryer Iane, Watergate St., Bachdale.

1588. Roger Shamond, laborer, and Thomas Bickerstaff, Dung Farmer, for carrying to the water side dunge from privies and placing the same on the greene gress in le Rode Dee to the nuisance of the whole city.

The repair of the pavements in the city appears to have been undertaken by the Muringers until 1566-7, an assessment being made upon the inhabitants. Thus 18 Richard II., 1395, a grant of murage is made on the petition of mayor and commonalty stating that the walls and pavement of the city were in a very ruinous state, and that they had from the earliest times been supported and repaired by a murage.—*See Charter* 21.¹

In 1463, in the mayoralty of Robert Bruyn, the house holders in the four streets were assessed in a *iii*^d. ley; 135 in Estgate Strete, 53 extra portam; 78 in Northgate Street; 39 in Watergate Street; 175 in Bridge Street, and 25 in Honbrigge."²

The Muringers' accounts of — Edward IV. contain a statement of payments made to John Paver and others for new paving.³

1551. Thomas Burges for kepinge ii fyrkins at his dore for men to make water in, which is not convenient.

9 Eliz. John Smith, alderman, carried away and took up four privy stooles from the Walls near the Eastgate, to the great nuisance of the neighbours—*ratione cujus mure* [sic] *imunde et fede existunt*—fined *xii*^d.

22 Henry VIII. Magister Nichol' doctor de Fysik quia fecit extra domum suam in White Frere lane unam cloacam al' a privey et cum stercore ejus nocet vicinos [sic] suos in le peper strete, et stercus ejusdem currit in dict' lane in magnum nocumentum vicinorum suorum.

1463. Piscenarii (fishmongers) jactant intralia piscium subter tabulas in alta strata ad nocumentum populi ibidem transeuntis.

Omnes Carnifices necant bestias suas et jactant intralia.

1475. All the women, who carry entrails of animals from the butchers, carry them uncovered and throw them out near the gates to the great nuisance, &c.

1512. Henricus Fenton, bochour (and 22 others), jactat intralia in stratis.

1535. Omnes carnifices pluribus diebus et temporibus, per servientes suos separatim, plurima intralia bestiarum necatarum in fossat' et aliis locis infra circa et prope civitatem et muros posuere et jacuere.

Twenty-six butchers in 1541, and twenty-five in 1544, were fined 6/8 each for throwing offal into the open streets.

1594. Robinson, vidua, inhabitans in le Northgate Street quia patitur certos les butchers occidere victualia sua in suo le backside et quia patitur le fells et blod currere per le channel in stratea ad magnum nocumentum transeuntium et specialiter in le sommer tyme—*xii*^d.

1543, 1569. Præsentant quod Joh'es Asman fecit domum vocatam le swynestye in venella vocata Person's lane ita quod putrida et corrupta facta tota illa venella—fined 5/-.

1520. W^m. Coke (with two others) fined 8^d. quia cum porcis suis subvertit gardina vicinorum suorum ad magnam lesionem.

¹ Welsh Recog. Rolls.

² "Another note of names in Brugge Strete, 88; Watergate Street, 43."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2158, 206.

³ Ed. IV. Solne' facte per muragiat'.

Joh'i Paver pro factura de novo xxxvi. virgat' pavimenti prope le Watergate pro qualibet virgata, 1^d. - - - - - *iii*^s.

Tussans carter pro cariago sabuli pro operibus predictis et lapidibus ex convencione - - - - - *ii*^s. *jd*.

Joh'i Sotheworth cementario opranti pro una sept' preceden' - - - *ii*^s. *vi*^d.

By 1532 the duty of repairs appears to have devolved upon the individual householder, for in that year William Robynson is

Et eidem Joh'i super operibus predictis pro ab sept' preceden ad vad' yemal'	ii ^s .	vi ^d .
Joh'i Sotheworth cement' per idem tempus ad vad' estival.	-	iii ^s .
Ric'o Hogell operar' pro iii diebus per diem, iii ^d .	-	ix ^d .
Joh'i Sotheworth	-	iii ^s .
Gibbon Christophor quarriour pro v diebus	-	xx ^d .
Ric'o Perkyn pro vi carect' sabuli et iii carect' lapidum pro emendacoue pavimenti extra portam australem	-	xvi ^d .
Trussans carter pro vii carect' sabuli et i carect' lapidum pro eisdem operibus	-	xi ^d .
Ric'o Hogell pro emendacoue unius scale pro eisdem operibus	-	jd.
5, 6 Ed. VI. M ⁴ that herafter folowith all the charge and payments of Mr. John Walley and Mr. Randuphe Maynwarving of the citie of Chester, Aldermen, Muragers and the Kynges customers within the Citie, &c.		
In primis for a quayer of paper for thise booke and pilying to the same the xiii th day of December	-	vd.
Item paid William Wethyn for his quarter wages due at the ffist day of the Natite of our lord	-	v ^s .
— for payng at Mr. Maior's dore i day worke	-	viii ^d .
— to Wist for his quarter wages due at Candelmas	-	xx ^d .
— to Thomas Woswall for his quarter fee due at Candelmas	-	x ^s .
The xviii th day of February.		
— for lyme to ii laborers for mendyng the walles and the ffurther ende of Dee bridge and the bridge upon the Roode Ee.	-	iii ^s . x ^d .
— for makyng cleue of the Water gatt and strett at Good Tyde	-	vi ^d .
* The iiiii th day of March.		
— to the Stewards of the Drapers at ther goodtide ylade	-	ii ^s .
The seconde day of Aprill.		
— for viii bushells and a sterke lyme	-	iii ^s . i ^d . ob
— William Werthyn for his quarter wages due at our lady day	-	v ^s .
— for v bushell and a hoope of lyme	-	ii ^s . vii ^d .
— to iiiii laborers for v dayes work at the walles at v ^d .	-	viii ^s . iiiii ^d .
— for vii busshells of lyme	-	ii ^s . vi ^d .
— more for lyme xvi ^d . Item more for lyme xx ^d .	-	-
— for a croke v ^d . for a bolle ii ^d . more for lyme xvi ^d .	-	-
— for a lethe hogges	-	iii ⁱⁱ ^d .
— for vii quarted yrone to make a hynge to the Newe Towre	-	ix ^d .
— for makyng the same and setting upon a bord upon the Towre with the nailes	-	xii ^d .
— more paid for iii busshells of lyme	-	xvii ^d .
The ix th day of Aprell.		
In primis paid to iiiii laborers for the wooke to the walles at v ^d .	-	x ^s .
The xvi th day of Aprill.		
Item paid to iii laborers for iii days and di. to the walles at v ^d .	-	iii ^s . i ^d . ob
— for ii wysketts	-	iii ^d . f.
— Wisse for his quarter wages due au the Roode daye	-	xx ^d .
The xxiii th day of Aprill.		
In primis paid for x busshells of lyme at vi ^d .	-	v ^s .
Item paid iii laborers for ii daies di. at v ^d .	-	iii ^s . iii ^d .
The last day of Aprell.		
In primis paid to ii laborers for v daies at the walles by the Northgatt	-	iii ^s . ii ^d .
Item for caryage of sande and watter	-	xvi ^d .
— caryage of iiiii loode stones frome the brydge gatte to the Northe Gatte	-	xx ^d .

In the time of Sir William Snede's successor, Richard Dutton, permission was given for a collection in the churches towards the repair of the pavement outside the Northgate. This suggests that the householders in that part must have been very poor and few in number.

requier repaire renue and mayntayne all and every the pavements every man right over agenest ther oune dwellinge houses lanes backesydes orchards and grounds in all parts and places within the said cytie of Chester and within the liberties therof, the corne markyt in the northgate strete within the said citie onely excepted the pavement of which corne markyt as far as the same corne markyt of lenght and brede extendythe yt was by the said Mr. Mayor aldermen sheriffs and comon counsell then and ther orderid that the foure serjants of the said citie who have the toule therof shall from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter upon ther proper costes and charges kepe in reparacion pave renue sustayne and mantayne as often as nede shall requier and the inhabitants possessors and ouners of the lande and grounde on every syde of the same corne markyt upon ther lycke costes and charges to make and kepe in good reparacion the said strete unto the chanill of the saide pavement ther and that also the tresurars of the said citie for the tyme being upon the proper costes and charges shall from tyme to tyme as often as nede shall requier repaire uphould mayntayne renue and amend the brudge of the northe gate of the saide citie so fare as the same on bothe bredeth and lenghte extendythe: And also yt was then and there by the said maiore aldermen sheriffs and comon counsell of the said cytye orderid that yf any maner of person or persons appoynted by this order to kepe and make suche reparacons as aforesaid do not repayre renue uphoulde amende and sustayne the said pavement strete and brydge upon twyese warning unto him or them appoynted by this order to do suche reparacons by byll or notice from ye mayer of the said citie for the tyme beinge that then after such warning geven the mayre of the said cytye for the tyme being shall set and appoynte worke men to do make and finish all such reparacons and the person and persons so appoynted by the order to repaire the same to be commytted to warde and ther to be deteyned untill the workeman for his hyar and paynes be fully payed.

147.
Pavement
to be
maintained.

And whereallsoe in the tyme of the maioraltie of Sir William Sneyde, Knight, the furth daie of June, 1567, It was ordered that everie personne within this cittie shulde as ofte as neede required, renue repaire and mainteyne the pavement everie person right over against his owne dwellinge house, lands, backsides, orchards and grounds in all parte within the saide cittie and the liberties thereof (the pavement in the corne markett unto the channell excepted) whiche the foure sergaunts shulde repaire and kepe in good reparacion. Therefore [after reciting several other orders] it is nowe the saide xxist daie of October anno R. Regine Elizabeth xv^{to} in the saide common hall ordered and fullie concluded and agried upon by the saide Richard Dutton Major, &c. That all and singuler the said orders before remembred and everie clause article shall from hensfurth be and remayne establyshed, confirmed allowed &c.

But the work of paving, wherever it was done, was inefficiently carried out; there were faults in construction, necessary repairs were neglected, and poor materials (the soft red sandstone of the district) used, for frequent complaints are made of the dangerous condition of streets and lanes, and restrictions made on the use of iron-bound wheels.

From time to time worthy citizens, under a sense of religious duty, contributed voluntarily towards the cost of repairs, and the charity of the benevolent was appealed to for such work, even within the circuit of the Walls.

H.O. 107.
Collection for
pavement
without
Northgate.

Temp. Ric. Dutton, Arm. xvi^{to} die Jan., Anno Reginæ x^o, 1567. Fforasmuch as the pavement without the Northgate of the saide citie is gretely decayed for want of reparacion and amendment, the reвенious of the said citie smaule and the charge therof very grete, Therefore at the said assemble yt was orderid and agried upon by the said maire, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsell of the said citie that ther should be certeyne persons for the said citie appoynted by the mayre for the tyme to repare from place to place and from church to church within the said citie to gether and receve the benevolence of the well disposed for the paving of the said strete.

214.
Iron-bound
cart=wheels
forbidden.

2 July, 16 Eliz., 1573. Also at this assembly it was debated how hurtfull the comen Iron bounde waines and carts are to the streets and pavements of the saide citie, and also how unresonable the comen carters of the said citie have enhawnsed and raised their comen hire and allowaunce for their carydge within the liberties of the said citie, and then and their fully ordered and concluded that no maner of person or persons beinge comen carters of the said citie at any tyme hereafter shall use have nor kepe any showed or Iron bounde waines or carts to cary nor shall cary or cause to be conveyed brought nor caryed in nor out of the said citie comynge upon any pavement within the same citie any kinde or sort of coles, wodd, muck or other caridge whatsoever, upon paine of imprisonment and fine at Mr. Maiors pleasure. And upon like payne also then ordered that no carter hereafter other then such as shalbe allowed by the maior of the said citie for the time beinge shall use comen caryinge with the said cite as comen carters and that no carter so to be allowed at any tyme hereafter shall have or take nor cause to be had or taken for caryadge of any one lode of cole, wodd, Iron, wyne, or any other caryadge whatsoever beinge a tonne weight from or to the new Towre or River of Dye into the citie aforesaid and within the walls of the same above the some of sixe pence, and that all such comen carters so to be appointed shall enter into bonds duly and trulie to serve their said charge as comen carters accordingle.

Repair of
Cowlane and
flookersbruck.

Forasmuche as by . . . lawe it is provided that all pavements and highe waies shall be repaired and amended from tyme to tyme by the inhabitants and parishioners thereunto next adjoyning, and for that also the pavement and high way betwene the ende of the Cowlane of the cittie aforesaide and flookersbrucke was in great ruyne and decay for want of reparacon and as yet not finished: And for that some good and godlie personne hath disbursed and laide downe dyvers perticlier sommes of money towching the same

In the Armada year (1588) the profits upon a common bargain of rye were devoted to these repairs, and according to Harl. MSS., 1989, "a sessment of £100 was made towards the repayre of the "Walls greatly fallen to decay, and also to repayre the high ways, "and especiall to pave towards Boughton beyond the Barrs."

untill collection therof were had by the parishes thereunto adjoyninge : And in that allsoe the saide pavement and high waie is next adjoyninge unto the parishes of St. John's and St. Warbur's, and by the inhabitants thereof ought to be required : Therefore Mr. Maior of this citie doeth by these presents auctorise and appoint the church wardens of these parishes to collect and gather in the saide parishe churches all suche Somme and Sommes of money as all redie have been disbursed towching the same the particlers whereoff the same church wardens have to shewe, and allsoe suche other sommes of money as shall reasonable suffice to the finishinge of the saide wurke. All so the saide maior willet the personnes, vicars, or curates of the saide parishe churches to exhort their parishoners to distribute and geave for thintente aforesaide suche Somme and Sommes of money as shall suffice for thaccomplishment of the premisses as they intende to avoide the danger of the statute thereof. And allsoe willinge all other godly disposed personnes to extend their benevolences thereunto and to assist and helpe the saide church wardens in the collection thereof. Dated at the said cittie of Chester the viiith daie of March anno Domini 1572.

A.O. 659.
Repair of
the Walls and
Higbways.

And wheras the walles of the said Citie are Ruyoins and gretlie decayed yt is nowe debated and deliberatlie considered of, howe the same walles shalbe repayred and wherwith and by whom, Mr. Maior informeth this Assembly that a sufficient workeman offereth to repaire the same for xii^d. the yarde benethe and xviii^d. the yard above, it is alsoe remembered that certen money was heretofore by certen gent gotten of Bargayninge for danske Rie by w^{ch} a former order and of there owne assentes and benevolences was decreed and ordered, to be used and imployed by the gents servinge that gave the same wth thassistance of some other almes to the Reliefe of the poore people, As by former orders appereth, And wherasoe Mr. Thomas Lyncall Alderman whoe was the cheefeste by whose meanes the said money soe gotten by such Rie was freeleie given to the releefe of the poore and a partie giver therof motioneth for ease of further taxacon And the rather for that he affirmeth his meaninge was that the said Comoditie and gaine should have redounded both for releefe of the poore as alsoe for repayinge of highe waies both w^{ch} are charitable and to good purpose that the said gaine and money gotten by the said contracte and bargain for Danske Rie and other suche late bargaines therwith might be imployed and used towards the repayinge of the highe waie without the barrs towards Boughton in gret decay, very dangerous and moste need to be repayed ; Wherupon the same mocon being well and advisedlie considered of, It is nowe by the said Maior the Aldermen sheriffes and Comen Councell of the said Citie ordered and fullie determyned that all the gaine and money gotten and to be had of the said contract of Danske Rie and of other bargaines sithens that therwith shalbe converted used bestowed imployed and spent onlie in and upon the repayinge and amendinge of the said highe waies without the said bars towards Boughton alredie begon and to none other use intente or meaninge in eny wise notwithstandinge.

In the following year Richard Treenelde, paver, applied for the paving, the citizens to pay according to their rank, aldermen, sheriffs, sheriff peers, and the councillors, 2^d. yearly; the rest of the inhabitants, 1^d.¹

In 1596 the complaints were as frequent as ever. Dee Lane, Trinity Lane, Grey Friars Lane, Northgate Street, Handbridge, several lanes in the parishes of St. Mary, St. Martin, St. John, and Holy Trinity, are reported as in bad condition.²

In 1597, 20 June, a large assessment amounting to £75 4s. 10d. was raised from the several wards for this purpose, the particulars of which throw some light upon their comparative importance and wealth.³

It would appear that the pavement was carried like a causeway along the middle of the streets. On either side ran open water-channels which would be crossed at intervals, opposite the householders' doors, by a kind of small causeway or iron grating.⁴ It is doubtful whether, in the Plantagenet period, there was any side-pavement continuous. To introduce this improvement as well as to reform the entire system of paving throughout the city was the purpose of the civic authorities in Elizabeth's reign. In 1575 the old orders about repairs were repeated, and it was further enacted that substantial iron gratings should be provided by a given day at all "greeces" or stairs.

The compiler of Harl. MSS., 1989, 391, commenting upon this order remarks that "the cause first of these stayers or greeces was "because the streets not being paved, but only a causay way in the "middle of the street from which they went to the stayers and the "kenell was on the other side and ran through many of their "grates which were in the stayers in divers parts of the towne, one "yet extant in Bridge Street going into the house where Tho. "Cook, glover, now inhabiteth nere the bridge."

¹ 1589, Eliz. Petition to Mr. W^m. Cotgreve, maior, aldermen, &c., of Richard Treenelde, paver, asking for the paving during his life of the citie, himself finding all necessaries in as good sorte as they now are and rather better, for the payment from every Alderman, Sheriff, Sheriff peere, and Forty ii^d. and of every comoner and inhabitant within the liberties of this citie 1^d. yearly.

² 38 Eliz., 1596. Presentant viam ducentem a lc Northgate versus turrem novam vocat' Dee Lane esse fodam et fractam ut neque caruca, Anglice "Cart," nec equus eandem viam transire possit.

³ "Trinitie, £4 4s. 0d.; St. Bryde, £5 3s. 10d.; St. Gyles, £4 5s. 4d.; St. Thomas, £4 12s. 10d.; St. Olas, £10 3s. 0d.; St. Oswald, £5 13s. 2d.; Estgate, £10 11s. 0d.; Northgate, £3 3s. 4d.; St. John, £7 2s. 10d.; St. Marten, £7 2s. 10d.; St. Mary, £6 6s. 4d.; St. Michael, £7 3s. 2d."

⁴ In 1543, 9 persons are fined xii^d. each because they do not cleanse the channel [fossam ex utraque parte] on either side of Chester lane.

The following extracts carry on the history of the subject:—

“1577, part of Handbridge paved; 1579, Watergate new paved
“and the two channells which ran on either side into one at the
“charge of every one afore his owne doore at 1^d. yarde pavinge.”¹

249. 18 Nov., 18 Eliz., 1575. And where the pavements within
Repair of the cite & liberties thereof are gretlie decayed & out of
Pavements. reparacon & a former order in that behalff taken & not put in
execucon: It is now ordered that the saide suche former order shalbe
duly put in execucon viz. that every person shall upon his & their owne
proper coste & charge repaire pave & make all the pavemente righte over
againste every of their dwellinge howses, lanes, backside, orchards &
grounds in all parts & places within the saide cite, the liberties &
franches thereof & so farre as their owne dwellinge houses lanes & back-
sides orchards & grounds do extende (the pavement in the corn market
howse excepted) upon the paines & ponishments in the saide former
order lymited & appointed.

250. It is also ordered upon & agried that grates of iron
Irongrates substantiall & nedefull by St. Andrews day next cominge
to be shalbe prepared placed & set under & at all greeces & stayres
provided. & other places within this cite where such grates have ben
used or ar needefull to be placed or sett by the owners of all such greeces
& stayres & by all such which inhabite upon that part of the streete &
lanes where suche grates have bene or ar nedefull to be hadd dwellinge
betweene the said strete and staires & adjoyning to the same upon paine
of ii^s. for every person makinge thereof defalte.

251. 18 Nov. 18 Eliz. Also it was then ordered that all &
Sanitary singuler the saide suche iron grate shall from thencefurth be
orders. by them & every of them maynteyned upon like paine. And
that no person or persons do at any tyme hereafter swipe or caste any his
filthe or muck beneath nor above his own stayres upon any his neighbours
upon paine of imprisonment, & for the speddy dispatch thereof it is
ordered that warninge shalbe geven to every the saide persons which shall
provide the saide grates to take notice & understanding of the tenor of
this order.

In 1582, and again in 1586, the order was renewed for repairing
the pavements, every householder to pay 1^d. yearly to the Muringers.

324. 3 May, 23 Eliz. Ordered that all the pavements in the
Pavements to be repaired, streetes within the said cite shalbe furthwith repayred &
all citizens to made sufficient & that every citizin & inhabitante howseholder
pay 1^d. to within the same to paye 1^d. yerely to the muringers to thende
the Muringers. they maye & shall finde sufficient workmen to mayntene the
same in reparacon from tyme to tyme & the muringers to levie the said
somes or some others by there appointment.

369. 6 July, 24 Eliz. At which assembly John Shawe maketh
Paving of his complainte howe he hath expended and laied downe
Watergate aboute iiii^{li} in paveinge of the Watergate Strete and other
Street and charges at the comandment of some of the justices of peace
Peter Street. within the same, and desireth that he maie have the fyne of
the makeinge of Peter Strete free for the same, whose petition and requeste

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

beinge thoughte by this assembly to be reasonable, the same is graunted in discharge and satisfaccion of all such debte as the said Shawe should or oughte to claim of the saide citie or of the inhabitants of the said Watergate Streete for paveinge there.

1582, Sir Lawrence Smith, Knight, offers a contribution to the paving of Black Friars Lane.

372.
Sir L. Smith
offers towards
pavement of
Black Friars.

And where Sir Lawrence Smith, knighte, offereth towards the paveinge of the Blacke frier lane with sands ston and workemanship iiii^{li}. vii^s. viii^d. it is ordered that the citie shall supporte and bear the charges of the reste.

383.
Ground
granted to
John Hankey.

John Hankey alderman moveth for a peece of grounde near unto the gallows at Boughton to be graunted him in fee ferme with the reste that he hath there and thereupon it was ordered that Mr. Maior and six justices of the peace should peruse and vewe the place and soe if they thought it convenient the same grounde to be graunted accordinglie.

384.
Stairs at
Watergate
Street.

And at the same assembly it was ordered that all stayres in the Watergate Streete shall be made sufficient accordinge to the new forme or order appointed before Mich' next.

386.
Grant of
picce of
ground near
Gallows
at Boughton
to
John Hankey.

Memorandum that the vth daie of October anno regni reginae Elizabeth 24 in the accomplishment of the last order touchinge the survey of the peece of grounde soughte by Mr. Hankie near the gallows at Boughton to him in fee ferme for the upholdinge of that parte of grounde which otherwise would be chargeable to the citie to maintain agaynste the washinge away of the water continually running there, the said maior Richard Poole, William Ball, Thomas Bellin, Hughe Rogerson, William Birde and justices of peace William Hannet, William Wall, and William Stiles, aldermen of the same, John Middleton, David Dymocke, Thomas Lynall, John Barnes, John Tilston tresurers, and Richard Birde sheriffes peeres, Nicholas Massie, William Me, with manie others repayed to the sayme grounde and surveyed the same, and upon one consideration thereof have fully concluded and agreed y^t it is convenient and as profitable for the savinge of the charges of this citie to graunte the said peece of grounde to the said John Hankie in fee ferme for the better maintenance of the same which is don accordinglie.

1586, Bridge Street was repaved, the channell transposed to the middle.

566.
Bridge Street
to be
taken up and
transposed.

And further at this Assembly [24 Nov., 29 Eliz.] it is fully concluded and consented unto that the Bridg Streete pavement within this City shalbe taken up and transposed makinge the Chanell in the midst therof and for the Charges therof to be borne by thinhabitantes of the same Bridg Streete with the

Aydes and helps of others Citizins and inhabitants.

490.
Transposing
of
Channell
of
Eastgate St.

And mocon was made [28 Jan., 27 Eliz.] wheather thest-gatestrete within the saide Cittie shalbe by th' inhabitaunts therof transposed in alteringe the channell, and course of the water there throwe and downe the myddest therof upon their owne charges. And then and there it was ordered and fullie agried uppon by the saide Maior &c., That the saide mocon shalbe and is graunted soe as yt be not hurtefull to the leads allreadie

there laied for the Conduct, and soe allsoe that the advice and counsaile of Mr. Saunders the workman of the saide Conduct be therin had beforehande, and that he geve his opynion and Consent therunto as meete to be done, otherwise not.

510.
Pavements
to be
Repaired,
27 Eliz., 1586.
And moreover upon complainte of the decaie of the pavements throughout the Citie: It is nowe ordered at this Assembly that the former orders therof viz. for every person to make all pavements right over againste every of there dwellinge howses shall stande in force and be duly put in execution accordinge to the true meaninge therof.

764.
Pavements
to be
Repaired.
Alsoe for the better maintenance and reparacons of the pavements within this Citie belonginge to every housholder It is ordered by this whole assembly that the constables of every warde shall hensfurth geve warninge upon every decay to every howseholder which oughte to kepe the same sufficiently to make that reparacon.

972.
Repaires
of
Pavements
and
Highways.
And at the same Assembly [3 June, 39 Eliz.] Mr Maior moveth that in regarde the pavements and highwayes within the Liberties of this citie are moste dangerously decayed and can not be repayed by the stricte wordes of the statute for repayringe of highe wayes by the severall parissches that there might be some course taken for repayringe of the same and for the levyinge of some good some of money to be ymployed to that use accordingle.

Whereupon by this whole Assembly the same was assented unto and Mr Robert Wall and Mr Rauffe Allen are by this whole Assembly Appointed Sessors for the Eastgate streete Mr David Dymock and Mr John Barnes for the Eastgate streete Mr Robert Amery Mr Willm Leicester Mr Philip Phillips and Mr Thomas Browne for the Bridge street; Mr Edward Dutton and Mr John Ratcliff and Arthur Chauntrell for the Northgate streete and Mr Peter Newall and Mr John Litler for the Watergate streete and that they or any twelve eleven tenne nyne eight seven or sixe of them soe as there be one of those Sessors at the Lease out of every of the said streets shall at and upon the seventh day of this present time at one of the Clock in the afternoon of the same day Assemble themselves and meete together in the inner Pentice within the Citie of Chester and then and there shall taxe and cesse the Citizens and inhabitants of the same Citie in the whole to the some of one hundred pounde and above for the amendment and repayre of all the highe wayes belonginge to and beinge within the Liberties of the Citie of Chester And that they the said taxers and Sessors shall bringe in and Certefye unto Mr Maior his brethren such their taxacon and Sessemment at and upon the nynthe day of this June at one of the Clock in that afternoone upon payne of twentie shillings to be forfected by every of the said Sessors in whose default any such of their proceedings shalbe hindered or defaltd And that the same some of one hundred pounde soe by them Sessed and taxed shalbe with all expedicon in moste benefyciall manner Levyed gathered and Collected by the Constables of the severall wardes within the same Citie and in defalt of payment thereof the Constables to distrayne for the same And for the disbursinge and ymployinge of the same some of one hundred pounde accordinge to this order Mr Paull Chauntrell and Mr Thomas Werden are by this Assembly

apoynted overseers of all the wayes leadinge over the Haughe greene and partes thereunto belonginge, Mr. George Robinson and Rauffe Rathburne for Bromefield Lane and Eccleston Lane and the wayes thereto belonginge, Mr. John Tayler and Mr. John ffraunces for the foregate streete Cowlane and for the wayes lyinge without the Barres. Thomas Thropp and Thomas Ryvington for the Watergate streete and the wayes thereto appertayninge and Mr. Edward Dutton and George Woodes overseers of the amendinge of the wayes without the Northgate and parts thereto belonginge. And it is fully ordered by this whole Assembly that all the particular somes of money to be sossed and taxed in forme aforesaid shalbe without respecte collected and gathered by the Constable of the same and in all things to be donne therein accordinge to the statute Lawes of this Realme and further to distrayne for non payment thereof and for want of distress or upon Rescove in takinge any such distresse by the said severall Constables for any parte of the said taxacon soe many of the said persons refusinge to satisfy the somes of money upon every of them taxed or refusinge to deliver a sufficient distresse for the same to be committed to warde there to remayne without Bayle or maynpryse untill they shall have full payde all the same such somes of money upon every of them by this said taxacon imposed upon them for the use aforesaid and in all things this order and every thinge therein contayned to be construed taken understood and allowed of as ample full large and beneficiall as this incorporacon may accord and assent unto for the effectinge of this soe godly intent and purpose as the same is intended without pardon or mittigacon.

With the frequent obstruction of timber and unwrought trees left lying about, dung heaps, holes dug and not filled up, deep ruts made by the traffic of heavily laden carts, the streets of Chester at night would be especially dangerous. The danger was increased by the insufficient system of lighting. No mention is made at any earlier period than 1503 of any provision for public lights at night. After curfew ("*ignitegium*," at eight o'clock), no one, even of unblemished reputation, was allowed to go about within the city without a light on penalty of imprisonment and a fine of 6/8 to the sheriffs, and every such person was subject to inquiry from the watch as to his business. The carrying of arms at night was repeatedly forbidden, except at the time of the watch.¹

These regulations were persistently disobeyed, the offenders being of all classes; but to "walk at night" was deemed to be a disreputable practice, and such night-prowlers are ranked with dicers and other bad characters. Thus, 1 Edward VI., the Jury

¹ Item quod nullus cujuscunque fuerit condicionis vadat nec die armatus infra civitatem nec baculos cum punctis, pollaxis, nec peltas nec alias armaturas deferrat, except' temporibus vigiliarum, nisi ministri domini Comitis Cestrie sub pena foris' et corporis ad prisonam donec finem, &c, et vi⁸. viii^d. vicecomitibus Item quod nullus eat noctanter post ignitegium infra dictam civitatem nisi habeat rationabilem causam seu negocium eundi . . . nisi habeat lumen sub pœna corporis ad prisonam et vi⁸. viii^d. vicecomitibus.—22 Richard II., 6 Henry IV., 9 Henry V.

present "that Skoneste the Smyth ys a sospeet person and walketh "by nyght and kepeth hym self close in the day." 13 Henry VII. [1497], John Done, glover, and Hoell Walsmon, laborer, John Body, capellanus; John Kyngsley, capellanus; Richard Wood, capellanus; Elizabeth Fletcher, Robert Frauncis, capellanus, are fined $\frac{3}{4}$ each as common wanderers as night (*noctivagi in ambulando post ignitegium*).¹

This suspicion of the night prowler was not without justification, for it is to be remembered that as the inhabitants would retire early to rest, and there would be no light from house-windows, the streets would be intensely dark, and burglars, robbers, and other evil-doers took advantage of the darkness of the streets and lanes for their wicked practices. There are many references in the Chester Records to the feeling of insecurity thus caused. The uproar and the "hue and cry" was raised, and the honest citizens would rush from their houses with lights in hand to assist the watch in securing the wrong-doer.²

In the mayoralty of Richard Goodman [1503], all those who had held the office of mayor or sheriff, and all innkeepers, were required to hang out a lighted lantern every night until eight o'clock, the curfew. The watchmen as they perambulated the streets would carry links or fire-brasiers above their heads, but otherwise dense darkness would brood over the city during the long hours between the curfew and daybreak.

R. O. 6.
Lanterns
to be hung
up at night.

Richard Goodman, Armiger, Mayor [1503.] It is ordered by mayester mayre and his brethern that every man that hath byne mayre or sheriffe of the cite of Chester and allso all Inkepers as well they that have synes as they that have no synes shall have han[g]ing at their dores a lantorne wyth a candyll bryning in it every nyghte from that it be first nyght unto the oure of viii of the clocke that is to wyt from the feste of All Sayntes unto the feste of the Purifycacion of oure Ladye then next foloyng yerlye upon the payne of every man doing the contrarye xiii^d. Also it is ordered by the saide mayre and his brethern that every wyne taverne and allso cellar and ale bower shalbe slyt in at ix of the clock upon the payne of every person doing the contrarye vi^s. viii^d.

¹ 33 Hen. VI. [1454.] Jur' dicunt q'd cum inter ceteras in civitate Cestrie ordinationes proclamat' ordinat' sit q'd nullus vadat post ignitegium infra dictam civitatem nisi habeat lumen secum sub pena vi^s. viii^d. et corpus prisone et dicunt eciam q'd Joh'es Caime nuper de Cestria Walker, Gebon Walker, Ric' Bromeley de eadem, Taillieur, Matilda serviens Henrici Clegge, Johanna Bennett, Emma Trymme et Johanna Blakon nocte diei Dominice prox' post fest. S. Ulfani Episcopi 33 Hen. VI. vagantur et vigilantur noctanter infra dictam civitatem Cestrie cum diversis armaturis in terrore populi domini Regis post horam novenam, non habentes lumen secum contra, &c.

² 12 Ed. II. Jenan ap Ken' ap Madok' and their companions broke the Earl's peace at night, in consequence of which the hue and cry was raised (*hutesium fuit levatum*), and the citizens much alarmed. Fined xl^s.

Dogs were forbidden, like swine, to be at large within the city, though reference is seldom made to them. The Englishman's love for a dog induced many of the lower classes to indulge their fancy in defiance of the statute which allowed such a privilege only to those who had 40^s. a year in land and other property, and thus we find 36 Henry VIII., John Bastwell, a bowyer; John Ley, a smith; Edmund Suche, a laborer; and Jynkyn Henryson, a tailor, presented for keeping greyhounds.¹ These canine favorites were not unfrequently a nuisance and a common danger. 1570, Jane Smith is fined 2/- for keeping a bitch (*canem fæmincam*) which had frequently bitten several persons passing by the house. 1585, John Wade has to pay xii^d. for keeping a masty (mastiff) dog which had bitten several persons, and put them in peril of their lives. In the Harl. MSS. is recorded a serious affray which arose between the butchers and the bakers over their dogs fighting near the High Cross. In 1588 Richard Bird and six others are presented for having their dogs "unmoselled" in the streets.

The fuel used in the Plantagenet period was chiefly charcoal (carbones), which was brought into the city by carts. Sea-coal (carbones maritimi, so called because it was brought to some places by water, though the name is given to that which was carted from Eulowe) was also in use at Chester; Richard Robynson of Honbrugge, and Thomas Broune of Saltneyside, being fined 9 Henry VII., 6/8 each for bringing their carts with iron-bound wheels laden with sea-coal over Dee Bridge.

Coal was measured 29 Elizabeth by the barrel, nine barrels to the ton [A.O. 582], but by a later order [A.O. 762] the salt measure was ordered to be henceforward the coal measure.

91. Temp. Rich. Poole. At the assemblie aforesaide yt ys
 Dogs not to go abroad in City. further ordered by the sail maiore, aldermen, and comon counsell of the same cytye that no maner of person or persons of what degre or estate so ever he be or she be shall permyt or suffer any maner of dodge or byche to go abrode within this cytie in any maner of place or places wythout they be suffycently berred or musselled according as ys for mastifes dodges apoynted, upon payne of foryfture for every defaulte doinge the contrary xii^d.; and yf any hurte be doune to any maner of person or persons wyth any suche dodge then the partye so greived shalbe recompensed of the houners of every suche dodge and the honneres thereof to be punnyshed.

¹ 36 Hen. VIII. Item q'd Johes Bastwell, nuper de Cestr, Bower; Johes Ley, nuper de eadem Smyth, Edmundus Suche nuper de eadem Laborer, ac Jynkyn Henryson nuper de eadem, Tailliour, communiter et continue custodiunt canes vocat' hownds et grehownds ad venandum et non habent nec alter eorum habet terram neque tenementa ad valenciam xl solidorum per annum et tamen sunt communes venatores contra formam Statuti inde editi, &c.

The danger from fire was very considerable in the timber-built houses of Chester, and the experience of the citizens of this misfortune most unhappy. Besides the great fires already mentioned by which the whole or the greater part of the city was destroyed, there were frequently less serious fires, which were confined within a small area.

1180. "On Sonday in mydclenton the viii hour [2 p.m.]
 Whan every paresshen theyr churche went to
 This fearefull fire encreased more and more
 Piteously wastyng hous, chambre and hall
 The citezens were redy their cite to succour
 Shewed all their diligence and labour continuall
 Some cried for water and some for hookes dyd call
 Some used othel engins by crafte and policy
 Some pulled downe howses afore the fire truly.

As it were tynder consuming toure and wall.
 Many riall places fell adowne that day
 Riche marchauntes houses brought to distruction
 Churches and Chapels went to great decay
 That tyme was brent the more part of the town.

The Abbot and convent of St. Werburghs
 "Took the holy shryne, in prayer and devocion
 Syngyng the letanie bare it in procession
 Compassing the fyre in every strete and place."

The fire was stopped, and the whole body of citizens went in procession to join in solemn thanksgiving at the shrine of the Holy Maiden.—*Life of St. Werburgh.*

In Domesday the penalty, "if a fire raged in the city, was that "he in whose house it broke out, forfeited three ores of pennies

704. Coal to be measured in Barrels.	And at this Assembly it is ordered that all sea Coles to be brought into this River to be sould shall hensforth be uttered and sould by the Cities greate barell and by none others and that Thomas Throp aforesaid shall make provicon of foure sufficient Cities banelles and them have in a redines all times for the measuringe of the same Coles, and he to have of every Boate bringinge into this River those Coles to him to be paid by every owner of every such Boate in consideracon of his charges in fyndinge and mentayninge of those foure banelles redie at all times for service therof foure pence.
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582. Selling of Coal by the Barrell, 29 Eli.	And where Mr. Trewe craveth to have the lone of tenne poundes of this Cittie he servege the poore with cole for and after nyne barrells to the tonne It is nowe ordred yt the same tenne poundes shalbe lent him and taken out of the L ^h . remayninge in the handes of Mr. Treasurers of the stocke appointed for the poore gotten by the sale of the late Rye And other money of Arrrages of the poore upon goode handes of repayment At Christmas nexte And servege the poore wth cole after ix barrells to every tonne At the oversyghte of Mr Maior.
--	--

"[ore=20^d.], and gave his next neighbour ii shillings (*si ignis civitatem comburebat de cujus domo exibat emendabat per iii oras denariorum et suo propinquiori vicino dabat ii solidos*)."

The city authorities appear to have punished severely any negligence of householders. Thus, 28 Henry VI., Hugh Lely is presented for "raising [*levavit*] a fire in his house to the alarm of "the citizens." Again, 3 Edward IV., Roger Taillour, tailor, kept the fire in his house so carelessly that it burnt down a part of his house, and caused a great clamour and disturbance in the whole neighbourhood. They were each fined 3/4.¹

The arrangement of chimneys appears defective, for 18 Henry VII., Johanna Steyner, widow, and Margery Bower, widow, are fined each 4^d. for making a fire in their solars, from which the smoke ascended into Mercers' Row to the great nuisance of their neighbours and the passers-by.²

The great fire of 1564 outside the Northgate, which commenced at a bakery, destroyed in four hours thirty-three dwelling houses and several bakehouses and barns. There was at the time a strong wind which drove the fire fiercely from one side of the street to the other.

It was not, however, until 1569, in the mayoralty of Sir John Savage, Knight, that a regular and more general provision against fire was made by the corporation, it being ordered that each alderman and councillor should be responsible for the due maintenance of a certain number of buckets.

120.
Provision
against
Fire.

Temp. John Savage militis in penticio xx^o die Jannarii—
Reginæ Eliz. 12^o 1569 in plena agregatione ibidem. At which
daie yt was ordered by the said maior Aldermen, Sheriffs and
common counsaile of the said cytie for the better savegarde of
the said cytie from danger of ffyer that one this side and before the feast
daie of Easter next ensuing every alderman of the said citie shall provide
and have in redinese foure buckets after the sorte of those which ar
presently remayning in the said pentice for the said purpose and every
sheriffs peere two buckets and every of the common counsaile of the said
cytie one buckett and all and every such bucketts be furth coming and
mayntayned or others in their stede from time to time and at all and every
time and tymes hereafter upon paine of forfecutre for every person doing
the contrary to this order [*totiens quociens*] two shillings sixepence to be
maintenaunte paid by the appoyntement of the maior for the tyme beinge.

Bucketts provided according to the former order as foloweth, 1570:—

Mr. Maior	-	iiii buckets	Mr. Offley
Mr. Recorder	-	iiii buckets	Mr. Hardware
Mr. John Smith, Alderman			Mr. Wm. Aldersey

¹ So Edmund Sadler, 14 Ed. IV.; and Robert More of Honbrugge, 8 Hen. VII., who is fined 12^d.

² Godfrey Carleton, bochour, is fined twice (12^d. and 8^d.), 2 Hen. VIII., for keeping continually in his "solar" a great smoke of fire to the great nuisance of all passers-by.

Mr. Cowper - -	iiii buckets	Wm. Golburne -	i bucket
Mr. Poole - -	iiii buckets	John Barnes -	i bucket
Mr. Grene - -	iiii buckets	John Middleton -	i bucket
Mr. Dutton		Thomas Lynyall -	i bucket
Mr. Ball - -	iiii buckets	Wm. Wall - -	i bucket
Mr. Sheriff Massy -	ii buckets	Wm. Stiles - -	i bucket
Mr. Sherif Litherland	ii buckets	Robt. Hill - -	i bucket
Mr. Harper		John Hale - -	i bucket
Mr. Glaseor		Richard Bunbury -	i bucket
Mr. Adam Goodman		Wm. Dymock -	i bucket
Mr. Wm. Leche -	iiii buckets	James Fullin	
Mr. Morice Williams	ii buckets	Wm. Leche - -	ii buckets
Mr. Bellin - -	iiii buckets	Roger Radford	
Mr. Hanky - -	iiii buckets	Ralf Thornton	
Mr. Jewel		Thomas Flecher	
Mr. Snag		Peter Mutton	
Mr. Rogerson - -	iiii buckets	John Amion - -	i bucket
Mr. Saunders		Robert Croket	
Mr. Burges		William Dodd -	i bucket
Mr. Yerworth		John Church	
Mr. Morvile - -	ii buckets	Fraunces Bamvile -	i bucket
Mr. Moulford		Thomas Tetton -	i bucket
Mr. Dryhurst		John Coock - -	i bucket
Mr. Boidell - -	ii buckets	Peter Tonge - -	i bucket
Mr. Hanmet - -	ii buckets	John Chalner -	i bucket
Sir Lawrence Smith		Mr. Ffisher	
Sir Wm. Snede		Richard Wright -	i bucket
Mr. Harvy - -	ii buckets	Rauff Barlow -	i bucket
Mr. Knowles - -	ii buckets	Robert Modesley -	i bucket
Mr. Thompson -	ii buckets	Wm. Massy - -	i bucket
Mr. Dodd - -	ii buckets	Rauff Radfordd -	i bucket
Mr. Bridd - -	ii buckets	William Meo - -	i bucket
Mr. Brerwod - -	ii buckets	Roger Brine - -	i bucket
Mr. Marten - -	ii buckets	Michael Massy -	i bucket
Mr. Oliver Smith -	ii buckets	Robert Brock	
Mr. Hamner - -	ii buckets	Paull Chauntrell -	i bucket
Mr. Ley - -	ii buckets	William Jones	

A later order (22 Jan. 33 Elizabeth) required the alderman of every ward as in London, to provide, at the expense of the inhabitants of the ward, a hook with rings and a ladder, to be always forthcoming in case of fire, and to be kept exclusively for such service. This hook was to pull down tenements which were past saving and might be a danger to the neighbours' houses, an evident sign of the frail and unsubstantial character of the houses of the period.

763.
Fire.

Also for the avoydinge of Casualty of fier hereafter within this Citie: It is ordered by the said Maior [Mr. Wm. Massy] the Aldermen sheriffes and comen Councel of the said Citie that before the

It is noteworthy as bearing upon the frequency and cause of fires, that occasional instances occur where, when certain persons are being bound to keep the peace, a stipulation is added about "not burning the house" of the complainant.¹

The danger of fire was so constantly present to the minds of the civic authorities that a special place was allotted for the storing of gorse, which was largely used for fuel.² This appears to have been, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, to the left of the Justing Croft,³ and was intended to supersede the private places for stacking which had been made by individual citizens with that disregard for mutual convenience so characteristic of mediæval customs.

feaste day of the Nativytie of St John Baptiste next cominge there shalbe provided in every warde within this Citie by the aldermen of his warde one hooke with ringes and a ladder to be allwayes furth cominge and redy for the said service upon paine that every Alderman making thereof defalte to pay twentie shillings to the use of said Citie and handes of the treasurers for the tyme beinge and that the constables of every warde shall enter into band for the preservacon of the said hookes ringes and ladders and that they shall not at any tyme be otherwise used then for the purpose aforesaid and alsoe it is further agreed that the inhabitantes of every warde within this Citie shallbe sessed by there aldermen and constables for the tyme beinge to the charges of the premises.

1076.
Provision
against
Fire.

24 Aug., 41 Eliz. Whereas in the Maioraltie of Sir John Savage knight att an Assemlie houlden in the Pentice of the said Citie the xxth day of January in the xiith yeare of the Raigne of the Queenes Majestie that now is there was one

good order made for the provision of a good number of bucketts for safe garde of the Citie from fier which bucketts by long Continuance of Tyme are wasted. And forasmuch as of late tyme divers fearefull and daungerous fyers have happned within the saied Citie for quenching whereof there hath been found greate want of those bucketts for supplyinge of which want and to the entent that there may att all tymes hereafter be remaininge a sufficient Number of Bucketts for the saied purpose yt is ordered that all persons which hereafter shalbe admtdt into the liberties of the saied Citie being not freemens sonns nor havinge served as apprentices shal before their admittment pay unto the Thre'rs of the said Cittie to provide two sufficient bucketts to remayne for the purpose afforesaid vi^s. viii^d.

¹ Cicely Aldersay (9 Eliz., 1566) wief to Foulk Aldersay, is bound with 4 sureties in £10 each that she do not burne the house of the said Foulk Aldersay, nor cause to be done and do not nor cause y^e same Foulk to be poisoned, and to observe the peace against the same Foulk untill the next court of Portmote.

"Ranulph Sherman bound not to do hurt or bodily harme against John Grono of Wetnall, yoman, nor burne his house nor cause to be burned."

² In 1575 five persons are fined vi^s. viii^d. each for allowing two or three heaps of gorse to be made behind their houses.

³ Placeam in quodam loco ibidem vocato le Gorstackes contigue adjacen' cuidam clausure terre vocat' le Justinge Crofte ex parte australi.—*Ind.* 82b.

The citizens were forbidden to make any heap or stacks of gorse or fern within the city or anywhere except at the special place assigned. In defiance of this regulation, 27 Henry VIII., Thomas Wilcok, William Wittingham, William Withyns, and John Smith, with many others, are presented and fined each xii^d. for making "*les stakkes de Gorsts*" in the high street outside the Bars, and in 1596, John Stretton is fined 6/8 for keeping three stacks within the Walls in St. Olave's Ward.¹

The ecclesiastical authorities of Chester were much in advance of the secular power as regards the regular provision of water. The citizens generally were supplied with unfiltered water from the Dee by the Waterleaders or Drawers of water, who formed a numerous body, and as late as 1587 considered themselves of importance enough to petition for a charter of incorporation.

The Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh's made special arrangements for bringing water into a large cistern within the cloisters from a spring at Christleton, King Edward granting them

359.
Place for
Gorse Stacks
to be let and
accounted for.
184a—27 March, 24 Eliz. And further it is ordered by this assembly, for the avoyding of late contencons arisen amonge those that have gorse stackes within the liberties of this citie, beinge the cities ground, and by contynuanee of this claymed by them as there righte, without any rent; That every rowme hereafter to be appointed and had for the said service to lay gorsts called gorse stackes shalbe appointed by the treasurers of this citie for the tyme beinge, with the advice, oversight and consent of the aldermen and justices of peace of the severall wardes nexte adjoyninge to suche rowmes for gorse stackes to be appointed and the orderly rate and reute to be yelded and payed for every such rowmes to this citie is rated at iiij^d. and more as the said Tresurers and justices of peace shall thinke conveniente and the same rowmes yerely to be entred into the tresurers rentall or book accompt as the revenors of this city.

809.
Gorse Stacks
for fuel.
And furthermore at the same Assemblie it is ordered and concluded upon that hereafter noe gorsestacks shalbe made nor places for laying thereof to be taken up in any parte or place within the liberties of this Citie but at the Appoyntment and Agreement for yearly rent with the thres'rs of the saide Citie for the tyme beinge with thadvice of thalderman of the warde wherein the saide gorsestacks or places shalbe taken and that the Aldermen and Stewardest of Bakers and other occupacons that shall have and use those Gorse stacks shall answere and pay the whole rentes of all the saume such Gorse stacks and places for their whole Companies.

¹ 1590. The Sheriffs present in St. Thomas' Ward, Johan Shulok, Katharine Tailer, strange Manxwomen in house of Ralph Healey without chimney and dangerous to the gorst stacks for fier.

In 1596, Widow Clough is presented and fined 6/8 for letting a room to a Welshman, his wife, and three other women and one man, who burn nothing but gorse and "*lech mund*," magnopere parva, that the street is in danger of fire.

permission to carry the pipes through the City walls. The spring has been identified with a well still called "The Abbot's Well"; and in the "Preese," or "Sprice," adjoining the cloisters, is a sunken cavity, which was most probably the reservoir formed by Abbot Simon of Whitchurch. This was between 1281 and 1285.

Still earlier than this, in 1276 [5 Nov., 4 Ed. I.] the Friars Preachers received permission from the king to carry water-pipes from a spring near the Gallows [*prope Furcas*] at Boughton to their house, opening the streets and cutting through the walls where necessary for their purpose.

The friars of one or other order appear to have had a special aptitude for water-engineering, as mention is made in Dugdale's "Monasticon" of the aqueducts built by them in London in 1300; at Southampton, Lichfield, and Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1342.

It was not until 1536 that Dr. William Wall, warden of Grey Friars, afterwards one of the prebendaries of the Cathedral, "began" the conduit at Boughton, which came to the Bridge Gate, against "Mr. Brerewood's house, along Dee Side, in pipes of leade."¹

It is possible that as in this year the smaller religious foundations were suppressed the City took up the special supply, which hitherto had been confined to them, and utilised their system of pipes for the whole body of citizens.

In 1549 [3 Ed. VI.] the Assembly ordered that "the conduits" "should be viewed and amended at the care of the murengers, "and by them looked to for future tyme." The conduit in Bridge Street was covered 1567.²

In 1572 an attempt was made to obtain a supply more central than Boughton, for "a well was sunk in the midst of the Northgate Street, 13 fathomes deepe, and no water founde."¹

The mayor, Richard Dutton, the following year brought down a man from London to carry out some new works for a constant supply at the High Cross, from St. Giles' Well, Boughton. The contract was to be made for £200, with an annuity. The terms in the Assembly Order, 170, do not agree altogether with the entry in Harl. MSS. 2093, 209.

H.O. 170.
Conduit.

Tempore Richard Dutton arm': maioris civitatis Cestrie. At an assemblie holden in the comon hall of the said citie the xxiith daie of December anno regine domine Elizabethe xvith [1573.]

At which day yeare and place it was debated and consideracons had and taken by the saide maior aldermen sheriffs and comen counsell of the

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

² In Murengers' Accounts, for 1551, occurs: "Item payd Mr. Rauf Goodman for reparacons of the Conducte, xx^s. ix^d. Item more paid to Sir John Thomasson for his paynes for overseyng the said conducte, ii^s. -- Harl. MSS., 1989-2150.

Under the date of 1582 it is recorded [Harl. MSS. 2125] that Dr. Wall's pipes were taken up and "new layd from Boughton Springs alonge the streetes up to the High Crosse, where the new Condieth now standeth, but not yeat fynished," there being "payd in charges this year £31 6s. 11½d., and for takinge up the pipes of leade 17s."

The completion of the work was helped on by the liberality of Robert, Hugh, and John Offley [brothers of Sir Thomas Offley, Lord Mayor of London, 1556], the first of whom left a valuable bequest to the city. Orders were issued by the Assembly,¹

saide citie whether it was convenient that suche wurkman whom the saide maior hath brought to this cittie from London for the ledange of sufficient water out of the ryver of Dee unto the highe crosse of the said citie for a condite there to be made shalbe reteyned for that purpose and whether the same wurke shall goe forwarde and suche wurke to be the cities cause or not was then lykewise considered of. Whereuppon it was then and there fullie concluded and agreed by the saide maior aldermen sheriffs and comen counsell of the saide cittie that the saide suche personne shall take in hande the saide enterprise and that the same suche wurkmanshipp and enterprise shalbe the cause of the whole cittie and upon the cities costes and charges that the same shalbe brought to perfection and fullie finished. And further it was then and there ordered that the personnes whose names are subscribed shall assent theime sellves together and make what contract and bargaine they best can with the said personne for the makinge of the saide condite and that the same suche personnes shall make suche bargaine with the saide suche personne for the same as they on the behallfe of this citie shall think most profitable. Whereupon the same such person proffered to finishe the saide wurke for celi. and also mainteine the same duringe his lyffe in consideracon of one anuytie under the seale of the citie of xl^s yearlie.

Thomas Greene	William Goodman	} Twelve.
John Haukie	Nicholas Massie	
William Hamnett	William Golburne	
Edward Hammer	Randall Leeche	
Edward Tompson	Thomas Lyneall	
William Stiles	Thomas Radforde	

H. 480. And wheras the newe Conduict for freshe water resteth
Conduit to be unfynished It ys agried at this assemblie that Mr. David
finisbed. Montford, Mr. David Lloid, Henry Mainwaringe, and Adam
Bles, or eny twoe of them shalbe overseers of the saide wurke, and to see
the same withall convenyent speede proceded upon and so to be fynished
without eny stay.

¹ A nott of agrementt with Jhon Sanderson, and is for the Condeth, 17 Julye, 1583, 26 Q.E.

Boughton Water Workes.—John to receive the led by weight, and for every C weight the city to paye 5 shellinges—to be cast in mold pipes, and he to lay the same and cover the same and the cyttie to pave above.

2. The citie to find stone and tymber for all the work, excepte the tymber for the whelle and all the engens of brasse, iron, or other thyngs within the howse.

26 Elizabeth, 1584, that the conduit should be finished without any stay, and an agreement was made with John Sanderson to lay the pipes, and with Allen Waymale, a mason, to build a house for the cistern at the High Cross. It had a frontage of five yards to Eastgate Street, and three yards to Bridge Street, and bore the arms of the city, of the Earls of Derby and Leicester, Mr. Offley, and "Mr. Doctor Wall."¹



The Conduit House
From a Drawing by Randle Holme

3. Citie to fynd workmen from tyme to tyme for fynding of the sprengs and to sett the stones.
4. That John Sonderson shall discharge the cytye of sixe pounds xiii^s. iiiii^d. as parcell of his dewe, and is in consider-

acon to discharge Mr. Mortemer from the cytye.

5. In consideracon of the whelle and engens aforsayd to be mad, the cytty is to paye to the sayd Jhon Sanderson the som of thretye ponds.

Articles concluded 11 Jan., 16 Eliz., between Rich. Dutton, Esq., Maior, and the Aldermen and Citizens of Chester and Peter Morris for the erection and making of a conduct to serve the said citie with water continually for ever.

Impimis the said Peter Morris doth covenant with the said Maior &c. that with all convenient expedition upon his owne proper costes and charges make a springe head at the late well or wall called St. Giles Well, nere Spittle boghten, and to bringe a sufficient and able conduct from that well in and with leaden caste pipes substantially and artificially soe large, bigg, greate, and stronge as the said maior shall lymite or appointe, and bringe the said conducte to the Crosse at the Parish Church of St. Brides of this Cyty or as nigh thereunto as shalbe thought requisite by the saide Maior, and to make the same durable for the leading of the said water habundantly and sufficiently as much as those pipes shall containe, and to frame, devise, and erect, &c., all other things thereunto belonging, nedefull, or convenient.

2. The maior &c. to pay £70.

3. Whereas there are remaining in the earth and compas and also in the course of the said olde well certaine leade in pipes, Peter Morris to have all suche olde leade as ther now remaineth toward the finisbing of the Conduct, if the new pipes are larger, then the mayor, &c., to pay for every ponnde of leade as every yarde of the leade in the new pipes containe more in value, quantitie, and weight then the saide olde pipes.—*Harl. MSS.* 2093, 209.

¹ Articles concluded 6 May, 1584, 26 Eliz., between Mr. Rob. Brerwood, Maior, and others of the Aldermen and Justices of Peace on behalf of the Citie of Chester, and Allen Waymale, mason, concerning an house of stone to be made as foloweth :

1. It is agreed that the said Allen by Midsummer next coming upon his owne proper costs and charges (savage caryage of stoune) artificially and workmanlyke to hew sett and buld at the high Crosse or as neare thereunto as shalbe appointed by the said Maior, one howse of stone of Mason worke well and sufficiently to be wrought wherin to place and sett a Cesterne to be appointed by the said Maior for receipt of the freshe water thither to be brought, and the same howse to continue in Leingthe within the wall for the said Cesterne xvi foote and in breadeth viii foote. And in heighth from the streete and foundation to the height of

This contract does not appear to have been a profitable one for Waymale.

The stalls or shops under the conduit were let by the Yeoman of the Pentice Court for his own benefit.

In 1584 the citizens were again in difficulty about their supply, for "the water syringes failed to bring fresh water to the Conduit, whereupon Mr. Christopher Goodman took paynes to see what he

543.
Allen
Waymale
asks for
consideration
of his losses
in building the
New Conduit,
11 Oct., 28 Eliz.
Alsoe At the same Assemblie Allen Waymale whoe latelie bulte the foundacon of the newe Cundicte At the highe Crosse and ston worke there beinge hyred by this incorporacon hathe exhibited his supplicacon for further Consideracon bysides his wages by reson of his losses sustayued thereby the same his sute is alsoe diffirred untill the nexte Assembly. And then to make better knowen suche his losses to be in defalte of the said Citie to tend to be further Considered of.

509.
Supply of
Water.
And where for servinge this citie with Fresh Water, newe springs dams and workemanships were lately begon at Spittle Boughton which with pipes of leade is thens laied to the Condiēt and Cesterne at the Highe Crosse within the said Citie which doe not serve this Citie with Aboundance of suche water as is requisite, and where alsoe for the gettinge of gretter Aboundans of freshe water one Mr. Trew hath promised that he in consideration of CLⁱ will gether suche and soe manie other springs at the hed of the said workemanship as will serve the Citie with as much freshe water as the said pipes leadinge the same will containe and hold to the full thereof: and to maintaine that abundance of water during his life for some reasonable stipente or yerelie Anuitie for which Mr. Maior saith he hath offred him lⁱⁱ and afterward some yerelie Anuitie, if that Abundans shall continue, and he hath alsoe offred to give towards the same presently xx^s. and Mr. Trewes table duringe his Maioralty and afterwards ii^s. vid. a yere during Trews life, if that such his worke shall continue with that abundans of freshe water: Which was nowe waied and considered of: and now ordred that Mr. Christofer Goodman, Professor of Devinutie, a furtherer of all kinde and sorte of good aētions shall trie what every man will give willinglie to this good intent and purpose upon Assurans of the performance therof. (14 Jan., 28 Eliz.)

the Batlement xii fote besides the height of the flinyalls, the foundacon batlement and all the reste substantially to be don with lyme stoune and sande and all other things belonging unto mason worke, with the armes of the said Citie and of therles of Darby, Mr. Offley, and of Mr. Doctor Walls, as also with the armes of therle of Leycestre, whiche the said Allen promiseth to geve in respect he may have libertie to put his name heron as of his gife made, all which to be not only bewtifully and substantially sett up and fully to be finished by the tyme aforesaid, but also in all and every other point maner and forme to be made accordinge to the platform thereof drawn and agreed upon, well and sufficiently in every respect as also to be allowed serviceable for the said entente and purpose.

2. The Maior to appoint where the said Allen shall get stoune, and the citeye to pay for the caryadge of the stones.

3. Allen to have xx^{li}. for the said workmanship, to be paid (1) shortly after the beginning of the getting of stone; (2) at the setting; (3) When the house and other the premisses shalbe fully finished, in equal and even portions.

4. The city to find plumber's work and wrought work in the finishing of the said Cesternes place.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2093, 205.

could levy toward the repaying and paying of one Mr. Trewe, who undertook to bring water enough as ye pipes can beare, he being payd £100. The city gave lead, and one to look to the water workes yerely."¹

It appears from the Mayor's Book of 23 December, 1587, that the pipes were opened and shut daily at five o'clock in the morning, and between four and five o'clock in the evening,² though

518. At whiche Assembly Mr. Christopher Goodman, professor
Expenses of of Devinitie, and Mr. David Montford by there peticon doe
Conduit. shewe howe they have disbursed about the Cundit xxiii^l. & od
1 April, 28 Eliz. money more then there recepts, prayinge there payment, It
is nowe ordred that the former Sossements to be levied out of hand out of
which this there demaunds to be without delay paid to them, and it is
alsoe ordred that upon Wednesdaie nexte comeinge the Auditors appointed
for the former Accompts shall meete in the Inner Pentice of the saide
Citie to finishe the same Accompts.

520. 1 April, 28 Eliz. Whereas Mr. Richard Crofoote wryghte
R. Crofoote's preferreth his supplicacon to be fre of this Citie in respecte
annuity for of his wurke & travell in kepeinge the Cundit at Boughton &
kepinge the the Highe Crosse It is nowe at this Assembly ordred by
the Conduit the said Maior, &c., that (he) shall have in respecte of the
said Charges in sufficiente kepeinge & maintaininge the said Cundite at
Boughton & the Highe Crosse xxvi^s. viii^d. for suche his travell from yere
to yere henceforth at the will & pleasure of the Maior, &c., & noe longer
& that upon his honeste behavior & usage & diligente & Artificiall
kepinge the said Cundit at all times as behovethe & further that the said
Richard Crofoote for further recompence therof shall quietlie use the
occupacon of a wrighte within the said Citie without the let or disturbance
of the Company of wrights slaters and sawiers within the said Citie soe
long as he shall remaine in this Cities said service & shall sufficiently
discharge the same Charge.

1101. 28th August, 1600, 42 Eliz. In Common Hall—Henry
Liberty to Hardware Mayor. At which assembly John Tyrer exhibited
John Tyrer his peticon to have in fee farme under the seale of the Cittie
to free libertie at all tymes heareafter not onely to digg and
convey water trench ground in every Lawfull place within Cittie and
from liberties thereof for the burying of waterpipes but alsoe like
the Dec. liberties to take away and alter his said pipes if occasion soe require for
the easy conveyance of water to such houses as shall desyre the same.
And alsoe to be licensed to mount a tower over and uppon the bridg gate

¹ Harl. MSS., 1989, 392b.

² 23 Dec., 30 Eliz., 1587. Rich. Crowfote Wright undertakes at all times duly and diligently and in orderly and painfull sorte kepre and attente the wheele at the head of the spring of the Conduit at Spitle Boughton and to attende the opening and shootinge of the pipes of the same at the Highe Crosse as well every day at v of the cloek in the morninge and betweene iiiii and v of the clocke in the eveninge as also at all other nedefull and necessary times and other times as shalbe appointed by the Maior and Thresorers of the said citie.

He has a yerely coate and a conizans or bage with the Cities Armes valued worth viiii^s. — *Mayor's Book*.

arrangements were made for opening at other times at the discretion of the mayor.

A more elaborate and extensive system was introduced in 1601 by John Tyrer, "a Conducte in the Queere of the Cathedrall "Church in Chester," who undertook to convey water from the Dee to any part of the city, and to any houses. For the purpose of

from the which he is to force his water into the Cittie he leaueinge A comly and A convenient passage a longe & over the walles for which he offereth by his saide petic'on to yealde and pay to this encorporacon A perpetuall rent of fyve shillinges A yeare, which moc'on and petic'on is thought very fitt and meede to be graunted. And thereuppon yt is ordered by this whole assembly that the said John Tyrer shall have graunted unto him in fee farme under the Seale of this Cittie libertie at all tymes hereafter not only to digg and trench grounde in every lawfull and convenient place in this Cittie where this encorporacon may graunte the same not annoyng any manns house and to make the ground as gud as he found yt for the buryinge of waterpipes but alsoe like libertie to take away and alter his said pipes yf occason so requier for the easy conveyance of water from the ryver of Dee to such houses as the householders thereof shall desyre and will pay for the same. And alsoe the said John Tyrer is by this Assembly licensed to mounte A tower over and above the bridge gate from which he is to force his water into this Cittie he leaueinge A comly and A convenient passage alonge and over the walls which said tower is to be erected and mounted by and with the advice and consent of the Alderman of the same warde where the same tower is to be mounted and of the Thre'rs of this Cittie uppon which said fee farme and graunte there is reserved the yerly rent of fyve shillings to be payd yerly for ever to this encorporacon.

2 Oct. 1600. Memorandum that the daie & yeare above written yt was ordered between Richard Woodcocke cryer of this city and Jasper Gillam Yeoman of the pentice of this citty, by Henry Hardware Esquior Maior of this citty and William Alderson Alderman by & with the assent and consent of the saied parties that the saied Jasper Gillam shall from henceforth during soe long time as he shalle continewe in office of keeping the conduyt haue the settinge & lettinge of the stalls att the conduyt of the said citty of Chester & yearly to haue & take to his own use rent benefite proffit thereof without gainsayinge or clayme of the saied Richard Woodcocke thereunto in consideracon whereof it is ordered by assent as aforesaid that the saied Jasper Gillam shall yearly during the time aforesaid keepe and make cleane the streete anieest the saied conduit into the chanell and shall also yearly att the feaste of the nativity of Saint Iohn the Baptiste & Saint Michael the Archaungell paye or cause to be paid unto the saied Richard Woodcocke for & duringe soe longe time as he shall continewe in his saied office the yearly rent of viiij^s. by even & equall portions and itt is further ordered by assent as aforesaid that if the saied rent be behinde & unpaid in parte or in all by the space of iiii daies next over or after either of the said feaste daies in whiche the same ought to be paid that then and from theanforth it shall be lawfull to and for the saied Richard Woodcocke to haue the setting and letting of the saied stalls and to haue and take the rent benefite & proffit thereof to his own use.

raising the water to the higher parts of the city, Tyrer built a lofty octagonal tower upon the Bridge-gate. This remained until the taking down of the gate in 1781, though it had long ceased to be used for its original purpose.

The faithful annalist records that this "worthye citizen died "when he had finished his great and goode work about 1611."—*Harl. MSS.*, 2135.

THE ROWS have always been regarded as a remarkable feature of Chester architecture, and, in a way, unique.

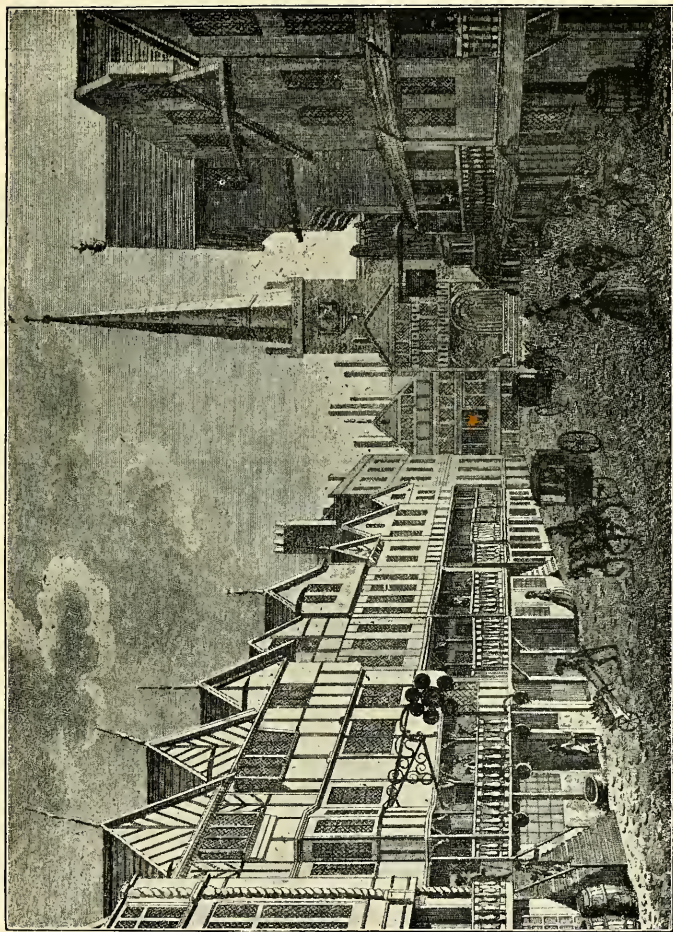
"Queer, quaint old Chester,
Grotesque and honest art thou sure,
And so behind this very changeful day,
So fond of antique fashions, it would seem
Thou must have slept an age or two away!
Thy very streets are galleries."

Various theories have been advanced to explain the origin of the Rows—

It has been suggested that the carriage way of the four principal streets had been sunk by excavation below the level of the ground some four to ten feet. But the Roman remains which have been found in different parts of the city, notably in Commonhall Street and in Watergate Street, show that, whilst at the back of the houses there was an accumulation of soil to a considerable extent, the level of the Roman work was the level of the main streets. This can be settled by examination and careful surveying.

Others have maintained that the idea of this unusual architecture is derived from the Romans, suggested by the remaining specimens of their old buildings, which, ere they crumbled away, inspired mediæval builders with the conception to be worked out with further details of their own. Attention has been called to the so-called resemblance with the arcades in Berne and the old parts of Bologna and Pisa. But this suggestion will not commend itself, for (1), the comparison is not a close one. The special feature characteristic of Chester Rows is not the piazzas, but the rows of shops one above the other;¹ and (2), if there is anything in connection with the History of Chester that we are sure of, it is this, that the city, soon after the departure of the Romans, about 410, became a desolate ruin—inhabited perhaps, to a certain extent, but none of the buildings would have been preserved intact until mediæval times, and the very extensive fires which occurred at frequent intervals, on two occasions at least destroying the whole

¹ The main street in Thun, in Switzerland, has, on either side, a double series of shops, one above the other, which most nearly resembles the arrangement of the Chester Rows.



Bridge Street and Doctors' Row, by Moses Griffith, 1777

of the city, would make a clean sweep of any which might have escaped the ordinary ravages of time.

A third theory is that this fashion was introduced into Chester on account of the Welsh inroads, to furnish convenient places for street-defence. Chester, in the times of Richard II. and Henry IV. and Henry V., was, it is true, most turbulent, and it was too common an incident that hot-blooded roysterers, blustering about with their swords and baselards and poleaxes, should make the streets hideous with their riot, and place the lives of the king's lieges in constant jeopardy. But, however turbulent the inhabitants, the Walls of Chester were sufficient to keep the insurgent Welsh outside the city, and serious and frequent as was the damage they were able to cause with fire and sword in the country round, even right up to the very Walls, there they were estopped, and within the old Walls the most timid citizen could find safety and security from the invader. The Rows as now existing do not go beyond a certain circumscribed area. They line—(1) both sides of Upper Bridge Street as far as White Friars on the one hand, and Pepper Street on the other; (2) Watergate Street on both sides as far as Weaver Street and Crook Street; (3) Eastgate Street on both sides; (4) Northgate Street as far as the Town Hall on one side, and on the other side, roughly speaking, old St. Nicholas' Church and the Abbey Precincts. This area corresponds, curiously, with that which some authorities have maintained to be the original limit of the Roman *Castra*, before it was extended first by the Romans themselves, and secondly by Ethelfleda, when she built the Walls of Chester, and enclosed a greater circuit. However much the city was enlarged, there can be no doubt that the greatest buildings and the fairest edifices, temples and the like, would be clustered round the *Prætorium*, which in after years came to be the head-quarters of the Mediæval Age—the High Cross with the Pentice Court for civic business, and the Pillory and Stocks for public punishment.

The Rows, it may be suggested, are not due to imitation of the Roman buildings, for there would be none of those buildings sufficiently preserved to copy, but they are an indirect result of the Roman occupation or rather of the Roman withdrawal.

When, after the long interval of comparative desolation extending over several centuries, and the alternating ravages of Saxon and Dane, Chester became, once more, under the firm rule of its Norman Earls, a city of settled inhabitants, and, for the sake of its commanding position both from a military and commercial point of view, an increasing resort for merchants and traders, that

same circumscribed area to which reference has been made (as is the case in the City of London) would be the most valuable for trade. The course of the four streets would have been kept free and unencumbered for traffic, even during Saxon and Danish times; but along the line would remain the ruins of the dismantled Roman buildings, which as each century passed would have been covered more and more deeply with rubbish and soil. Traders would erect their shops along the level of the four main streets—Bridge Street, Watergate, Eastgate, and Northgate, which in mediæval times, were the only *streets* so called, all the other lines of traffic being called lones, or lanes, with the single exception of Pepper Street.

At first, these shops on the level of the street were not properly shops, but seldæ, mere sheds often moveable, such as those which were set up at the great Annual Fairs, and, as we learn from the agreement between the Abbot of St. Werburgh and the Mayor of Chester, were to be removed immediately at the end of the Fair.¹ But the frontage and position was a valuable one, and other traders coming in would wish to enjoy the same advantage.² What more natural than that they should erect on the higher ground, formed of the débris of Roman buildings rising behind these seldæ³ or traders' sheds, their own places of business. These new buildings, perhaps of a more permanent character, would have the advantage of facing the principal business streets. They would be the shopæ, of a better character than the seldæ, open rooms with wide openings closed with shutters. Each of these shopæ would have its own stairway or "grese" as in Lower Bridge Street of the present day. The result would be that, as in London, the several stories would be in the occupation of different tradesmen—the lower, on the level of the street, would belong to one; the upper,

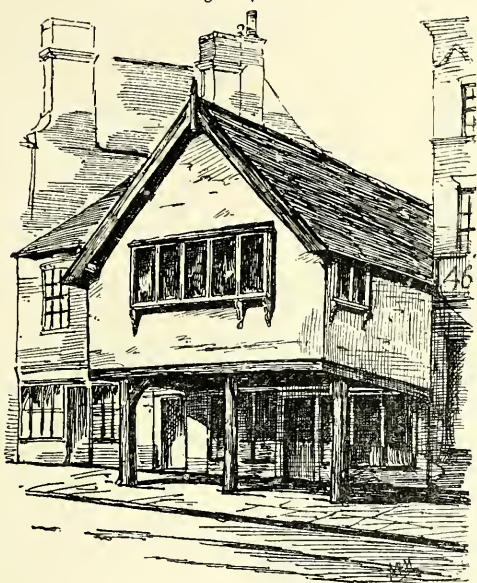
¹ The agreement (*Finalis Concordia*, 17 Ed. I.), in which it was granted that the citizens should have for the time the site of the fairs, and put up yearly seldæ in a place extending from the Cemetery gate to the house of the Abbot, so as not to interfere with access to the Abbey building—to be removed after fair time.

² This would be especially true of the great influx of trade and business which would arise in connection with Edward the First's expeditions against the Welsh.

³ The following extract from Dugdale refers to 11 cobblers' stalls (seldæ) in Bridge Street in the time of Edward I.—*Cart.* 27 Ed. I. v. 17. Et totam terram in civitate nostra Cestriæ quam Robertus le Bern dedit et concessit predictis abbati et monachis quæ jacet inter terram hospitalis S. Johannis Cestriæ ad domum Radulphi del Pillori . . . et unam seldam quam Ricardus apothecarius aliquando tenuit, et seldam quam Cristiana mater uxoris dicti Roberti le Bern quandoque tenuit et undecim seldas, quæ vocantur seldæ sutorum in Bruggestrete, quas Alexander Hurel aliquando tenuit, et totam terram illam in vico orientali civitatis Cestriæ jacentem inter terram quæ fuit Mathei clerici, et terram quæ fuit Johannis filii Hulkan, et etiam illam placeam terræ quæ fuit Roberti, jacentem inter terram dicti Rob'ti et terram Abbatis de Valle Regali in Bruggestrete, in civitate Cestriæ.—*Dugdale Monasticon*, v. 710.

of better character, on a higher level, to another trader. There was also in mediæval times a third, the lowest, the range of cellars, which were very common, and, as now, occupied by dealers in charcoal, coals, firewood, vegetables, &c. Thus, in each street, there would be a threefold series of business places, rising one above the other—the cellars, the seldæ, the shoppæ. The shoppæ in the row would not have, at first, any projection in front. But gradually, here and there, an enterprising tradesman would put up

OLD HOUSE
FOREGATE ST CHESTER



pillars in front of his establishment, carry forward his living apartments beyond the ordinary line, and at once enlarge his

In the city accounts there are repeated entries of payments made for posts set up in the streets to hold up houses as in A.O. 928, 38 Eliz.

A.O. 928.
Four posts
of
houses granted
in
fee farm.

Alsoe where at this Assembly Thomas Case gent one of the Attornies in her Majesties exchequer of Chester moveth that for a reasonable fyne he might have in fee farme his foure postes supporting his newe dwelling house in the Bridge streete within the said Citie by him lately or newly built Whereupon at this Assembly it is ordered and assented unto that in Consideration of the fyne of twenty shillings to this Incorporacon to be payed he shall have in fee farme the said foure postes payinge yearly from hensforth four pence for the same at usuall feastes dayes with such Arrerages as are due since the tyme of the buildinge thereof at xvid per Annum.

house and provide a permanent covering in front of his shop, with a sloping board for the display of his wares, so that the passer-by would have to run the gauntlet on both sides from his vigorous apprentices crying "What d'ye lack?" "What'll ye buy?"

An engraving of 1700 shows that the Rows had not obtained the completeness of the present day or even of Cuitt's time—some of the houses not extending over the passage of the Rows.

The non-continuation of the line of rows in the quarter occupied by the Town Hall and Cathedral is accounted for (1), by the extension of the Abbey Buildings and precincts which occupied the ground from early times; and (2), by the necessity for keeping free a large space for the great annual fairs which were held for several days in front of the Abbey gate.

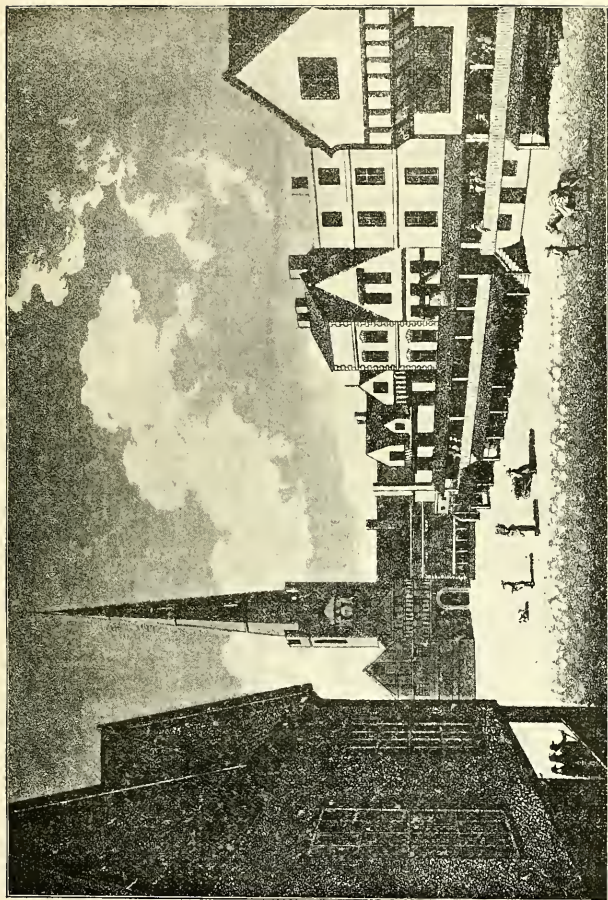
As to the antiquity of the Rows, we must take into account the devastating fires in 1140, when the whole of the city was destroyed, and in 1180 when the same fate was only averted by the carrying in procession of St. Werburgh's shrine, and the great Minster of St. Michael perished; and in 1278 when almost all Chester, "*ferc tota Cestria*," was burnt down. The Rows could not have been earlier than the latter date. As bearing upon this, it is noteworthy that Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived 1147-1220, makes no mention of the Rows. He refers with admiration to other features of the city, if in fact his description is that of Chester:—"A genuine "city of the Legions, surrounded by walls of brick (or tiles) "*[muris coctilibus]*, in which many remains of its pristine grandeur "are still apparent, namely, immense palaces, a gigantic tower, "beautiful baths, remains of temples and sites of theatres, almost "entirely enclosed by excellent walls, in part remaining; also both "within and outside the circumference of the walls, subterranean "constructions, water-courses, vaulted with passages. You may "also see furnaces (hypocausts) constructed with wonderful art, "the narrow sides of which exhale heat by concealed spiracles."

Higden, monk of St. Werburgh's, 1299-1363, author of "*Polychronicon*," speaks of foundations of enormous stones visible, and the subterranean ways marvellously vaulted, banquetting rooms arched over, sculptured stones bearing from old times the names of the ancients. Neither of these authors speaks of what is distinctly a remarkable and most apparent feature of the city.

The earliest reference to the Rows in the City Records is in 4 Edward III., 1331, where mention is made of three Rows—Iron-mongers' Row, Baxter Row, Cooks' Row.¹

¹ 1. Shoppa mea in le Iurnemonger rowe de Norgate Street.

2. Tenementa in le Baxter rowe que jacent inter terram T. de Carleton et terram Agnetis de Brumburgh et extend' se in long' a terra Ric'i de Fouleshurst in Eastgate Strete



St. Peter's Church and Bridge Street in 1700.

That these Rows were such as are still known at Chester by that name, and not mere lines of shops or buildings is proved by the following extracts from the Mayor's Books :—

"8 Hen. V. (1420.) William Hope gives to Robert le Vernon, "Tailliour, a shop under Flessheuer Rowe in Watergate Street."¹

"18 Hen. VII. Johanna Steyner, widow, and Margeria "Bower, widow, are fined 4^d. each for making a fire in their solars, "and the smoke thence ascends up to the Mercers' Rowe to the "great nuisance of their neighbours and the passers-by."²

It was quite in accord with the custom in mediæval towns that persons following the same trade should cluster together, and whilst those engaged in unwholesome occupations were required to locate themselves outside the busiest quarters, those traders who were concerned with the supply of food would naturally be found near one another in the centre of the city.

Amongst the trades which gathered themselves round a particular point were those connected with the sale of Butter, Milk, Fish, and Flesh meat.

usque ad terram meam et terram predicti Ric'i de Fouleshurst juxta Cimiterium S. Werburge. [Also mentioned 1374, 1403.]

3. Tenementa in le Cokes rowe extend' se in long' a regia strata de Estgate Strete usque ad terram Abbatis. In this roll of 1331 mention of the seldæ as well as of cellars frequently occurs.

1355, 28 Ed. III. Et de xv^s. de redditu unius ten' cum duabus schoppis et ii celariis in Fleshmongers rowe.—*Eaton MSS.* [Also mentioned as Fleshener Row, 8 Hen. V., 1420.]

vi^s. de redditu exeunte de una shoppa in Iremongers rowe quam Henr. Russel tenet in feodo.

48 Ed. III. [1374]. 2 schoppis jacent' in le Iremongers rowe inter terram Thom. de Doncastre et terram Ric'i Bruyn ——— In Baxter rowe cum solario.

1 Ric. II. Cooke row against the Pentice.

Ironmongers' Row is mentioned also 1405, 1416, 20 Hen. VI., 26 Hen. VIII. In Ed. VI. as between Castell Lane and Northgate Street, a regia strata Northgate usque ad viam vocat' Posterne way.

Fleshers' (Butchers) Row is mentioned in 13 Hen. VII. in connection with the grant of a teneement in Edward III.'s reign to the Abbot of St. Werburgh. Et si Elena que fuit uxor Ric'i Fraunces dedit Abb'i et Convent' Mon. S. Werb., 20 die Nov. a^o Regni Regis Ed. III. nuper regis per cartam suam perpetuum unum ten' in le fleshewe infra libertates.

The Fleshers' Row in Watergate Street is referred to in 20 Eliz.—*Indict. Rolls.*

34 Hen. VI., mention is made of a messuage and a cellar under the same two shops in Bridge Street.

In 8 Hen. VII., the Mercers' Row in Upper Bridge Street is referred to, and in 2 Ed. VI. in quodam loco vocat' The Mercer Rowe, and it is shown in Braun's Map.

The Treasurers' Accounts of 1591 have an entry of "a Shopp in the Dark Row, the northside of Eastgate Street, and a jury of 1591 present le foule way in le Rowe ad Sarasen's Head.

¹ Unam shopam subtus le Flessheuer Rowe in Watergate Street scituat' inter terram mei et predicti Willi ex utraque parte for 7 y^{rs} at 16/-.

² Faciunt ignem in solar' suis et fumus inde ascendit in le Mercer rowe in magnum nocumentum vicinorum suorum ibidem manentium et illic transeuntium.

The earliest reference to the Butter shops is in 3 Henry V., when mention is made of three women, candle makers, Johanna Caveray, Johanna Blab, and Johanna in le Butter shoppes, uxor Joh's Selyan. The payments in the City accounts (of a year not given of Edward IV.) include one of ii^s. iii^d. to Thomas Eden, smith, for making a band of iron and other things necessary over a stoup in the Butter market, and for the iron.¹

The Butter shops in the Tudor reigns were at the corner of Northgate Street, putting into Eastgate Street, and close to the Milk stoups. Pepper Alley Row, or the Dark Row is said in the Cheshire Sheaf (I, 180) to have been "more commonly described in the 16th and 17th centuries as the Butter Shops." There were three of them on the North side of Eastgate Street in 3 Elizabeth.² They had fallen into decay in Elizabeth's reign, and had become an eyesore and nuisance, and dangerous to traffic. After passing through several hands they were bought with the land in 1593 by the City Treasurers of Mr. William Leche for £20.³

The King's fish board was in Watergate street, a rent of 3/4 annually being paid to the adjoining occupier for placing it,⁴ but request is made more than once to the City Authorities for its removal, possibly for sanitary reasons.

634. **King's Fish Board.** 217b.—27 Sep., 30 Eliz. Raffe Cowper Junior Cowper exhibiteth his supplicacon to have the King's fish boord removed from the place it nowe is beinge righte againste and adjoyninge to the Cellor of Hughe Bromley gent nowe in thoccupacon of the said Rafe Cowper; it is ordred that the Tresurers shall take order therin.

754. **Fishboard in Water-gate Street** 3 Nov. 32 Eliz. And further at the same Assembly M^{res} Elizabeth Bromley widow exhibiteth her peticon to have paid unto her xvi^s. viii^d. beinge v yeres rent unpaid for the rent of the plat of ground of hers wherupon the kinges fishe boord nowe standeth in the Watergate streete within the said Citie at iiis. and iv^d. by yere and to have the same boord removed. It is nowe ordered that the now treasurers of the said Cittie shall forth-

¹ Pro factura unius manus et al' necessar' super unum stulp in le butter market de ferro et pro ferro. Joh'i Walsh pro xxvith plumbi pro coopertur' dicti stulp'et opere ejusdem ex convencione, xviii^d. He would be the same as "Thomas Edyan, Smith to Prince Arthur," 1498.

² Harl. MSS. 2020, 511.

³ "The butter shops next the milk shops were built at City charges, and purchased of Wm. Mordant, and Agnes, his wife, 34 El. 1591."—*Harl. MSS.* 1989, 3936.

⁴ 1564. A planke at the Kynges bord viii^d.

For the carriage of a brod borde and for settinge featte in the same

being sett in the street by the Kinge's borde iii^d.

For the great bord set in the fyshe market iiis. viii^d.

John Kyngslye for work doune at the fysshe market bord xiiii^d.

1569. Shifting of the King's borde up ageane vi^d.

Paid Mr. Mayor for the place where the fyshe bord dothe stand iiis. iii^d.

1591. Paid Mrs. Bromley, rent of fish borde iiis. iii^d.

Purchase of the Butter Shops

The Mustard Houses, two in number, were built in the space between the walls and the River Dee, and in 1573 were in the occupation by lease of Robert Brerewood and William Smith,

with paie unto her the same xvi^s. viii^d. as unto her due for the said place and as towching the shiftinge of the said boord from that place thereof further consideracon is to be hadd.

Die Jovis viz. decimo tertio die July xxxiv Elizabeth.
 835.
 Purchase of the
 Buttershops. Mr. Maior of this Citie informeth this Assemblie how he hath bought the Buttershopes and howses there of Will^m. Leeche in ffee ferme for xx^{li} perches and notwithstandinge proffereth the same Bargayne to this Citie to builde upon, if it should be soe thought meete by this Assemblie, whereupon by all this Assemblie it was ordered and concluded upon that the incorporacon shall have and accepte of the same purches and yet notwithstandinge Mr. Maior hath offered to refferre it to the consideracon of foure persons whether the Citie to take or leave the same contracte soe their resolucon be geven therein before St. James thappostle nexte cominge soe as if the same foure persons shall think not convenient for this Citie to have the saide purches that then the Citie would graunte him two partes of the trees already bought to and for the use of this Citie at the same price as the same trees were bought, whose motion was thought reasonable soe as fyve persons might consider and resolve thereof, wherenpon by all this whole Assemblie Mr. Edmund Gamull Mr. Will^m. Massy Aldermen and Justices of peax Mr. Will^m. Aldersey and Mr. John Fryton Aldermen now Thre'rs and Peter Newall marchant were chosen to have consideracon and to consider whether meete and beneficiall for this Citie to purches the saide howses and landes or not and of their resolucons thereof to acqaynt Mr. Maior before the saide feaste day of St. James nexte cominge and if their resolucons therin shalbe that the purches of the premises can not be beneficiall for this Citie nor meete for them to deale therein then the Citie therof to be discharged and Mr. Maior at libertie to proceede upon his former bargain towching the same and to have the buyinge of the saide two partes of the said trees accordinglie.

2nd May, 35 Elizabeth. At an assemblie question was
 835.
 Buttershops made towching the shoppes nere the milk stowpis called the
 to Butter shoppes, for purches whereof the Citie have concluded
 be built. with Will^m. Leeche, who purchased the same of Will^m. Mordant esquire and Agnes his wiefe whether likeste for the Citie to builde it or ells to lett Mr. Thomas lynall alderman take to hit and builde it in sorte as he offereth. Wherenpon it is now at this Assembly concluded and Agreed upon by the said Maior the Aldermen sheriffes and Comen Councell of the same Citie: that the Maior and Citizens of this Citie shall have the same to them and their successors for ever. And then agreed also that Mr. Edmund Gamull and Mr. Thomas Lynyall Aldermen and Justices of peace, Mr. Will^m. Aldersay and Mr. fulk Aldersay aldermen and Tresnrers of the said Citie shall cause and see nnto that all the said buldinge shalbe taken downe and plase in safety the timber and other necessaryes thereof and cause all the same to be reedified and bulded for the moste comoditie and benefit of this incorporacon At their oversight, direction and appoyntment and in suche bewtifull sorte as they shall thinke likeste.

glover.¹ They afterwards (39 Elizabeth) bore the name of the Glovers Houses, and were let to Thomas Dannold.²

The butchers' shambles were in Watergate Street, according to an entry dated 26 Henry VIII., when Sir Thomas Smyth, Kt., pays 6/8 rent for "a shop in the Shammuls, and now in the holding of Richard Bryne, younger, bocher."³ "In 1578 new shambles was made at the further end, under the Common Hall, for the country buchers,"⁴ the flooring of which, by an Order of Assembly, 29 Elizabeth, was to be done by the Dean and Chapter.

By a later order of 31 Elizabeth, the New Shambles lofts were let to the Cloth-sellers on market days [A.O., 649].

510. And wheras the lords of the Quene's majesties mooste honorable pryvee Counsell heretofore addressed there letters flooring of new Shambles by Dean and Chapter. to the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrall Church of Chester of purport to give and distribute to this Citie xlii. towards the flooring and boordinge over the new shambles for her majesties storehowse there to be made, wherof this Citie albeith the said Deane and Chapter have been called upon have received no answer: Therefore yt is nowe at this Assembly ordred that a letter shalbe written unto there hho: from this Citie in that behalfe, signifyinge unto there Lordships hho: ye same, prayinge there hho: consideracon in that behalfe.

580. Alsoe where the Lords of her Majestye's most honorable flooring of Shambles by Dean and Chapter. pryvee Counsell in the favor of this Citie wrote there lordships letters to the Deane and Chapter of Chester to disburse certain Money remayninge in there handes undistributed for the flooring of the new shambles, It is nowe ordred that suche twoe persons shall repaire to the saide Deane and Chapter to demand the same as Mr Maior shall appoint or as Mr Beverley shall please to take with him to them whose travell is profered to doe the Citie good And whoe alsoe procured the former letters.

A.O. 649 219a.—28 Jan., 31 Eliz. And at the same Assemblie Mr Lease of Lyniall for the benefite of the Citie to have in ferme for three Common Hall and yeres the Comen Hall and profit therby and y^e newe shambles New Shambles lofts for all sellors of Clothe upon the Market daie to repaire for thither and offereth to give to this Citie xl markes per annum Cloth sellers and discharge the keper of the said Comon Halls fees, ordered

¹ 4 Aug., 16 Eliz. [1573]. Lease to Robart Brerewod, Glover, all those two howses called the Mustard Howses, lyinge and beinge within the liberties of the said Citie and without the walls, in breadth, either of the said howses containyng 16 foote, and in length either of them containyng 17 foote and now in the severall tenures or occupacons of Robert Brerewood and Wm. Smith, and betwene the said walls upon the northe parte and the River Dee on the southe parte.

And also all that one house or buildinge containing in lengthe 16 foote, and in breadeth 8 foote, comonly called a Shoveringe, lyinge and being without the wall, and nexte the said Mustard Houses. Rent 3^s.—*Lease Ledger*.

² 39 Eliz. Fee ferme of a parcell of land att Gloverhouses to Thos. Dannold in quodam loco ibidem quondam voc' les Mustard houses et modo vocat' les glovers howses et prope Aquam de Dee et extra muros lapidios Civitatis et inter aquam ill' et muros predictos et adiacen' domni cujusdam Joh'is Ball Glover, inter terram Joh'is Ireland Armigeri ex parte boreali et terram predicti Joh'is Ball ex parte Australi.—*Lease Ledger* 65.

³ Harl. MSS., 2150, 262.

⁴ Harl. MSS., 2125, 214.

In Tudor times the fleshers, or butchers, appear to have been established in Watergate Street and Newgate Street. In 28 Edward III., Fleshmongers' Rowe (in Watergate Street) is mentioned (Ministers' Accounts, 784-5), 30/- being paid to the city as rent for a tenement with two shops and two cellars. In the same document reference is made to a tenement in Fleshmongers' Lane.

The Murengers' Accounts of 1557 mention butchers' shops in Northgate Street: "Pavinge vi dayes in the Northgate Strete abowte the bochers shoppes, vi^s. vi^d."

Other places mentioned in the records are "Pudding Hill, apnd le Watergate" (38 Eliz.)¹: the Tenant's Hole, or Truant's Hole, stated to have been in the occupation of the Saddler's Company at a rent of iiii^d. in the neighbourhood of Claverton Lane²: "Hon-islowe," or "Honynglowe," in Handbridge, which occurs under the date of 4 Edward IV., when six persons are presented for digging soil, "*juxta Honynglowe in alta strata*."

The Corn Market appears to have been much shifted about. It was held for some time in Northgate Street, but shortly before 1574, the building which had been erected in the mayoralty of Mr. John Webster, 1556, on the west side of the street, had been removed by the Mayor, Richard Dutton, to the other side and placed under the Bishop's Palace, notwithstanding the protest of the ecclesiastical authorities.¹

The Dean and Chapter claimed the land on which it was erected as theirs, and commenced an action in the Exchequer Court, the result being that the unfortunate building was transported by the new mayor, Henry Hardware, into the Northgate ditch,

that he shall draw his articles to be sene by the nexte Assemblie and to be differed in this meane while.

¹ But see Ind. 70*b*, which places it near Cow Lane. Ad finem cujusdam venelle vocat' Cowlane, et existen' percell' cujusdam loci infra libertates Civit' communiter vocat' le Pudding hill et adiacen' prope quoddam pavementum sive viam dilapidatam Anglicé a pavement or Cawsey ducent' usque quendam locum vocat' le Hool Rake.

² In quodam loco vocato Treverns hole a loco illo ex parte Australi usque ad quendam venellam voc' Cleton lane ex parte boreali.—*Lease Ledger*, p. 14].

¹ In Harl. MSS. 2125, 213, it is stated that the Dean and Chapter "served with process the workmen and bound them in bonds not to work it, divers were comitted to the Castell three days by the Dean and Chapter."

"1575. Howse in Corne Markett buylded by Mr. John Webster in midst of market and after removed by Mr. Rd. Dutton, Maior, under the bushop's howse, was placed under city wall in quarrell in Northgate Street then purchased for city and appoynted for a place where the poore folkes of the citty should warke, and where it first stood was made a new Corne Market and a draw well cutt under it, which well was since filled up by reason a child was drowned in it."

where was a quarry, and converted into a House of Correction, several buildings being added on. A new Corn Market was built for the city in Northgate Street on ground belonging to the Corporation.

The Justing Croft referred to above, where jousts and tournaments were held, and doubtless more than one mortal combat on

210. 7 May, 1574. Also it was then and ther ordered and
 Corn Market decreed by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffes and comen
 to be counsaile of the said citie that all the howses and buldinges
 removed. erected in the Northgate Strete called the corne market howses
 or howse in the corne market shalbe with all convenient spede for divers
 consideracons removed and erected upon theste part of the streete under
 and nere unto a wall of the late abbey, called now the Bishop's howse.

229. 160a.—7 Jan., 17 Eliz. And furthermore where the house
 Corn Market called the Corne market house in the Northgate Streete of
 removed back. the said citie was lately removed by the said Rich. Dutton
 from the place where firste the same was erected unto thest side of the
 pavement of that streete wherby suites & other inconveniences have
 already growen : It is now ordered & concluded by the said maior aldermen
 sheriffs and comon counsaile, for the avoideinge of the said enconveniencés,
 that the said howse with convenient speede shalbe shifted & removed from
 the place where the same now is scituated unto the place where firste the
 same was erected, bulden, & sett up upon the charges of the said citie & as
 the said Mr. maior shall lymytt, direct & appointe.

237. 15 April, 17 Eliz. And furthermore upon the motion of
 Corn Market. the said Mr. Richard Dutton to have an assurance to him &
 his heires of all the buildings in the Northgate Streete called the Corne
 market howse lately by him shifted : It is also ordered by the said maior
 aldermen sheriffs and comen counsell that the said Richard Dutton shall
 buld, erect & fully make & fynishe upon his owne proper costs & charges
 a sufficient & able howse, rowme or place in the said Northgate Streete
 in a meete & convenient place nere the corne market place for the maior
 of the said citie for the tyme beinge to stande in every market day as hath
 ben accustomed with all such largenes & reparacons as shalbe thought
 requisite & nedefull to the said Mr. Maior & in such manner & sorte as the
 same Mr. Maior shall lymyte & appoint. And then also ordered that the
 said Rich. Dutton for the said buildings so shifted shall scale deliver &
 execute all such assurances acts & devises of the yerely ferme or payment
 of forty shillings to the maior & citezens & their successors for ever at
 ii usnall feasts in the yere out of the lands & tenements of the said
 Richard Dutton within the said citie as shalbe devised by the said
 Recorder, & also then & there in consideracon of that convenient place
 makeinge & thassurans of the said Forty shillings yerely ordered that after
 that beinge fully ended accomplished & don, The said Richard Dutton
 shall & may remove the said houses now bulded & latlie shifted from the
 place where now they ar erected, to any other place upon his owne lands
 & that he shall have thereof viz. of those howses or buildings to him & his
 heirs for ever such lefull assurans from the maior & citizens of the said
 citie as shalbe likewise divided by the said Recorder and in such maner &
 sorte.

appeal to arms took place, was situated just beyond Cow-lane bridge, between the Canal and the Bowling Green.

THE ROOD-EYE (commonly called Roodee) owes its name to the Rood or Cross which stood upon this tract of ground. It was formerly surrounded by water (hence the "eye" which forms the second syllable), and often completely flooded by the high tides. Thus in an award of 1401 it was for this reason declared to be free of tithe to the Rector of Holy Trinity, and in 1587 it was found necessary, owing to the damage done by the high tides, to lease it

246. Also it was debated whether the buldings called the corne
Corn Market. market house were mete to remaine where they now ar erected & there finished or ells removed acordinge to a former order thereof taken in the tyme of the laste mairailtie of Sir John Savage, Knight, to the place where firste they were bulded or to some other place & to be converted to some other use as for clothinge. And upon deliberacon therupon hadd; It is now ordered that the saide house shall with convenient spede upon the coste & charge of the saide citie be bulded finished & made sufficient & able howses & buldinge for wurk howses to sett the poore of this citie to wurke in spyninge cardinge & makinge of clothes & then to be shifted to suche convenient place as shalbe gott & prepared for that purpose. And where Mr. Richard Dutton hath geven this assemblie to understande that he hath suffisient rowme to that entente nere the Watergate beinge now a garden place in thoccupacon of John Shawe & offereth that the citie shalle have the ffe ferme thereof for reasonable rente & more grounde there if nede shall require to that ende & purpose it is also ordered that Mr. Maior & others his brethren shall repaire to the said place & peruse & see the same grounde whether mete & conveniente for the saide use & purpose or not, & therof to signifie the counsell of this at their nexte assemblie. [18 Nov., 18 Eliz.]

281. Alsoe at this assembly [5 July, 1576] it was fullie agried
Removal of upon that all the buldings called the Markett howse in the
Market House Northgate Strete shalbe furthwith removed unto and erected in and upon the said percell of ground called the quarrell and there shalbe sufficientlie buldinge for a conveniente howse for the poore acordinge to the saide estatute. And allsoe it was then agried upon that Thomas Booth, wrighte, shalbe the wurkman therof, viz., to remove and erecte the said houses and to make all other reparacons acordinge to a note therof taken by the said maior and now redd to this assemblie and as he is agried with for the same and that he shall have for his wage for suche his wurke fortie shillings.

552. 206a.—11 Oct., 28 Eliz. Also towchinge the howse of Cor-
House of re-con and quarell together with the stocke: It is ordred that
Correction of the same shalbe set by the Tresurers of this City to some
be let. substancall person if they Can. And in the meane while they
the same Tresurers to kepe the reparacons therof.

553. And where Mr. Sanderton Claymeth A rest of debt due to
Mr. him of this City and his halfe yeres fee it is motyioned howe
Sanderton's the same shalbe answered and thought the rest of these
Account. Accomptes beinge ended there will soe moch remaine as to
paye the same.

to Mr. Thomas Lyniall, on condition of his making an embankment and a sufficient quay.

581. **Letting of Rood Dee.** 211a.—29 Eliz. Alsoe where the Rood Dee is decayed and grounde loste and more like to be loste if the same be not the sooner holpen It is nowe ordred that A leas shalbe graunted of the said Rood Dee to Mr. Thomas Lyniall for twentie one yeres. And he to have further twoe pence of every boate laden in and goeinge oute laden into suche key by him to be made at the saide Roode of the height depthe and breadeth At the oversight of Mr. Maior and Mr. Treasurers yeldinge and payinge therefore yerlie to the Maiore Citizins and there successors twentie poundes And mayntayninge the same Rood Dee soe large as it is And what shalbe gotten to leave at thend of the terme And alsoe it is ordred that A drought of those Covenantes shalbe drawn and before the engrossinge to be made knowen unto them of this Assembly And necessary and considerate Covenantes to be drawn for the benefite of this Citie.

620. **Lease of Rood Dee.** 6 Feb., 30 Eliz. Alsoe towchinge the demisinge of the Roode Dee heretofore to Mr. Thomas Lyniall wherof greath dislike hath ben conceived he the same Mr. Lyniall for the goodwill he beareth to this incorporacon is of his owne meare good will contented to forego his claime thereunto and that the Citie may have the same frely againe soe as he the same Mr. Lyniall may have y^e money by him and Mr. David Montford and Humfrey Reynoldes disbursed aboute the reparacons therof beinge xx^{li}. xs. id. and od money (as he alledgeth) with consideracon for the losses and layinge downe there money, And soe as those persons whoe have written in the supplicacon latelic exhibited againste him to this incorporacon sondry names of the inhabitantes of this Citie without there pryveties may be called before Mr. Maior and ponished accordinge to there desertes all wch by this Assembly is thought very friendlie and reasonable and thankefullie accepted. And thereupon the said Mr. Lyniall further requesteth that the said Humfrey Reynoldes whoe hath taken greate paines about the said reparacons might have his two kins gresse in the said Rod Dee for this yere for his redy money as others shall paie. And that he the same Mr. Lyniall shall have for this nexte yere in like sorte foure kins gresse in the said place.

629. **Lease of Rood Dee.** 28 March, 30 Eliz. Alsoe Mr. Will^m. Massy and Mr. Will^m. Aldersey Treasurers doe requeste this howse to knowe there pleasures howe and at what price and time they shall set the Roode Dee for this yere to come and whether Mr. Lyniall shall have his four kine there and Humfrey Reynoldes his twoe kine therefor this yere payinge as others doe according to a former order thereof yea or not: wherupon it was assented and agreed that the said Rood Dee shalbe set by the said Tresurers for the some by this yere at x^s. the cow and for the wynter ley to make what and the most they can for the defence of the reparacons therof. And that Mr. Lyniall and Humfrey Reynoldes shall for this some they have their kine there accordinglie.

1144. **Rubbish on Roodeye.** 268b.—At the same Assembly [3 July, 1601, 43 Eliz.], it is likewise ordered uppon Mr. Maiors motion [that no one] shall cast leave or carry any manner of ballis, mucke, Rubishe or any filthe whatsoever within the Compas of ye Roodeye but only at the newe keye lately erected thereuppon paine of ymprisonment and Tenn shillings fine uppon every person soe often as he or they shall doe the Contrary.

In an order of 6 Henry IV. (1403) persons are forbidden to dig in the Roodeye (called in the Latin order *Oculus Crucis*, Eye of the Cross) unless they fill up the hole made (. . . *delf super Oculum Crucis nisi quod ipsi impleant illud delf*). The grazing would appear to have been rented to various citizens, for the revenue in 15 Edward IV. amounted to xxvi^s. viii^d. (*Exit proven. de Oculo Crucis hoc anno*). The Lease Ledger Folio, page 25, records a lease granted to Robert Brerewood and William Stiles of "the clausure
"and parcelle of grounde called Roode Eie for x^{li}. but not to eare,
"till, plow, nor sowe, and to permitt and suffer all and all maner of
"games, Pastymes, playes, and pleasures upon that said clausure as
"heretofore at any tyme have been used, permitted, &c., and in such
"free and liberall maner and sorte, and all maner of person or
"persons and their horses, geldings, and mares to passe, walke, goe,
"and run upon the said Clausure at such lefull tymes and in such
"maner and lefull order and sorte as the same heretofore have been
"used." Upon this,¹ a petition was presented, 1586, to the mayor, Mr. William Wall, that "the Rood Eye for longe tyme hath bene
"used to be let to the poorest sorte of the Citie for Cow pasture at
"a small rate, notwithstanding about xi years past, the Citie through
"sutes empoverished, the said Roode Eye was sett unto Mr. Robert
"Brerewood and Mr. William Styles for £100 [? £10] payd by them
"to the City, to the great damage of the poor. The lease was
"surrendered by Mr. Brerewood, and the ground promised to be
"lett to the poor at the rate of x^s. a cow grasse, and not above
"40 Key to be layd. But agreid at Council to lesse the said Roode
"Eye to Thos. Leiniall and Humphrey Reinaldes for 21 years, that
"they should build a Key." A petition was presented against this.

The city pageants were yearly performed upon the Roodeye, and in Elizabeth's reign the soldiers in training were mustered there by the mayor.

The Keeper of the Roodeye (39 Elizabeth) was Edward Wright, one of the Sergeants-at-Mace, and a petition of Mr. Richard Bird, tanner, for the office, with the fees and profits incident and belonging to the keeper, was rejected by the Assembly.—*A. O.*, 959.

1145. 3 July, 1601, 43 Eliz. Alsoe at the same assembly mocion
A Public Scavenger. was made that it would be very necessary to have a Scavenger
in this Citie for the better keepinge and mainteigninge of the
streetes and lanes thereof Cleane and sweete. It is therefore ordered by
the Maior Aldermen Sheriffes and Comen Counsaile of this Citie at this
Assembly that what person or persons will take upon him or them to
serve a Scavenger shalbe there unto admitted at such rate and in suche
sorte as the Maior for the tyme beinge and his brethren shall compownd
and agree with him.

¹ Harl. MSS., 2003, 722.

CHAPTER VI.

The Social Life of Chester Citizens



THE Citizens of Chester, like the rest of Merry England, delighted, in an especial degree, in shows and spectacles and pageants of every kind. The most elaborate of these was that known as the "Whitson Plaies," similar in character to the class of literature of which examples have been preserved under the names of the York, Coventry, Beverley, and

Townley Mystery Plays. They had an ecclesiastical origin, and were played at first, no doubt, in Latin, within the Abbey Church by the monks and clerks attached to the Minster, as a means of popular instruction in Sacred History and Religious doctrine. Then, translated into the mother tongue and adopted by the citizens, they would be exhibited at their expense, the several sections of the Cycle of Sacred Story being distributed amongst the various "occupations" or trades of the city. In this way the Chester plays came to be arranged in a succession of twenty-five pageants which, after setting forth the Fall of Lucifer, the Creation and Fall, the Flood, Abraham's Sacrifice, the Episode of Balaam and Balak, are concerned chiefly with incidents in the New Testament, and the Apocryphal legends connected with it, which were current in the Middle Ages.

As the name implies, they were performed in Whitson week, the first nine on Monday, the nine following on Tuesday, and the remainder of the plays on Wednesday. They were represented on "a high scaffold with two rowmes, a higher and a lower, upon four wheeles [in another MS. six wheeles]. In the lower they apparelled themselves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders might heare and see them. The places where they played them was in every "streete. They begane first at the abay gates, and when the firste

"pagiante was played, it was wheeled to the highe crosse before
 "the maior, and so to every streete [*i.e.*, the four principal streets,
 "the order being 1st Watergate, 2nd Bridge Street], and soe every
 "streete had a pagiante playinge before them at one time, till all
 "the pagiantes for the day appointed weare played. And when
 "one pagiant was neere ended, worde was broughte from streete
 "to streete, that soe they mighte come in place thereof, excedinge
 "orderlye, and all the streetes have theire pagiantes afore them all
 "at one time playeing together; to see which playes was greate
 "resorte, and also scafoldes and stages made in those places where
 "they determined to playe theire pagiantes."¹

The concourse of spectators from all the country side must have been very considerable. Not only would much profit accrue to the city traders, in a general way, but also high prices would be charged for convenient places to view the performances.²

The charges and costs were met by a levy upon the members of the several companies. Andrew Tailer of the Dyers' Company,

17 Elizabeth, 25 October. Whereas Andrew Tailer of the
 Whitson
 Plaies. saide citie tailer usinge the occupation of Diers within the
 same citie was taxed & sessed to beare with the company
 of Dyers by the same company for the charges in the setting furth of their
 parte & pagent of the plaies set furth & plaied in this citie at Midsomer
 last past comonly called Whytson plaies & by the saide company rated &
 appointed to paie for that entent *iiis. viii^d.* which he refused to paie and
 whereas upon the complainte of the saide compeny of Diers against the
 saide Andrew to the right worshipfull Sir John Savage knight late maior of
 the same citie in the tyme of his mairalty wherupon the same Andrew

¹ Archdeacon Rogers in Harl. MSS.

² 5 June, 1568. Mem. That whereas varyaunce presently dependeth betwene John Whitmore, Esquier, upon thon partie and Anne Webster, widow, tenaunt to George Ireland, Esquier, upon thother partie for and concerning the claime righte and title of a mansion, Rowme, or Place for the Whydson plaies in the Brudg gate strete within the Cyty of Chester which varyaunce hath bene here wayed and considered by Ric. Dutton, Esquier, Maior of the Cyty of Chester, and Wm. Gerrard, Esquier, Recorder of the said Cyty, by whom it is now ordered that forasmuche as the said Mistres Webster and other the tenants of the said Mr. Ireland have had their place and mansyon in the said place now in varyaunce in quiet sort for ii tymes past whan the said plaies were plaied. That the said Anne Webster in quiet sort for this presente tyme of whydson tide during all the tyme of the said plaies shall enjoy and have her mansyon, place, and the said place and Rome now in varyaunce. Provided alwaies that the having of the possession of the said Rowme, place, or mansyon shall not be hurtfull nor prejudice to nether of the said parties in whom the right of the said premisses is or hereafter shalbe found or proved to be. And also yt was there further ordered by the said maior that after the feast of Penticost next coming at some convenient tyme an Indifferent enquest shalbe charged and sworne for the triall of the right of the said Rowme or place now in varyaunce. And that in case yt be found by such enquist that the said Mr. Whytmore hath better right to the said premisses than the said Mr. Ireland and his tenants: yt is ordered that then the said M^{tres} Webster shall content and pay unto the said Mr. Whytmore so much money for the said Rowme and Place as hath ben accustomed for this one yere to be payed heretofore within the said Cyty of Chester.

refusing to pay his quota for 3/8 was committed to prison; the Smiths contributed 2/8 a piece, their journeymen 16^d., others 20^d. The accounts of the Smiths' Company contain interesting details of the various expenses in connection with the theatrical properties, the payment of the players, their refreshment as well as that of the members of the company at the rehearsals for their play, "The Purification of our Lady."¹

being called before the same then maior in that behalf denied to paie the same & therefore the said Andrew Tailer was then and ther by the said then maior comytted to warde where he hetherunto hath remayned & whereas John Banester & Edmund Gamull gent cam before Henry Hardware maior of the saide citie William Gerrard & William Glaseor esquiers aldermen of the same cittie & other the Justices of the peace within the same citie the daie yere & place firste above remembered & willed that the saide Andrew Tailer upon payment of the saide iii^s. viii^d. might be of his said imprisonment enlarged wherupon now the said John Banester & Edmund Gamull have paid & discharged the said iii^s. viii^d. for the said Andrew & upon such payment the said Andrew Tailer the said daie yere & place was of his said imprisonment enlarged & sett at libertie by the said now maior the said aldermen & others of the Justices of peace aforesaid.—*Lease Ledger* 28a.

¹ (1) The Carriage or movable Scaffold:—

1561. Tymber (for the Carriage), 8/4; to carter and men to get it out, 7^d. ob.; Wod to make welles, 3/4; Cartwright making the wheles, 7/4; Bords and other tymber, 5/-; The wright making the Carriage and for berrage [drink-money] 8/5, nayls 6^d.; Wightes setting the wheles, viii^d.; A pound of grey sope for the wheles, iii^d.; Nayles to dresse the Carriage, iii^d. ob.; Makyng a fayre paynting and dressynge the pillers gere and a crowne for Mary; 3 Curten cowerds [cords], iii^d.; pyennes, iii^d.

1554. We gave for an apeyll tree to Ric. Belfounder, vi^d.; For another apell tre to Ric. Hankey, iii^d.; For Ropes, nelles, pyns, and thred, x^d.; We gave to the porters of the Caryeg, ii^s.

1567. x Porters of the Carriage, ii^s. viii^d.

1575. 9 men to carry our carrydge and one tressell, and 2 that did helpe me in the morninge, 3/1½.

1567. Stewards of the jorneyemen for wachinge the cariage all night, viii^d.

1568. To the wright for getting the Carriage off and on, viii^d.

(2) Players—They had to be selected and heard at rehearsal:—

1567. Spent for the chosinge of the litle god, x^d.; Spent on the Sondag morninge at hearinge of the Docters and litle God, iiiii^d.; Spent at heringe of the players, x^d.; At rehersinge under St. John's, xiii^d.; At rehersing before Mr. Maior, ii^s. vi^d.

1561. Payed for the 1st rehearse at Jo: Huntington's house, vi^d.; Drink in barkers after the rehearse, xviii^d.; For beaffe against the generall rehearse, vi^s. viii^d.; 3 ould cheeses, iiiii^s.; Spent in Sir Rand. Barnes chamber to gett singers, iii^d.; Spent at Rob. Jones' at rehearse, xix^d.; To Wm. Lutter [minstrell] at generall rehearse, iiiii^d. ob.; 6 crocks of alle at general rehearse, x^s.; a crocke of small ale and 2 gallons, xx^d.; A hoppe of wheate to the general rehearse, ii^s. iii^d.; Bread and cakes for general rehearse, ii^s. viii^d.; Wine to the said rehearse, ii^s. viii^d.; For another hoppe of Wheate agayne the Whyttsontidde, ii^s. iii^d.

1569. Layd down, seeking our players, xvi^d.; General rehearse, 1st rehearse, 2nd rehearse.

1575. Spent at Tyer to heare 2 playes before the Aldermen to take the best, xviii^d.; Drink at our generall rehearse, v^s.

The cost of the movable stages, or carriages, was sometimes divided between more than one occupation, as *e.g.*, the Vintners and Diers, who played King Herod on Monday, had an agreement with the Goldsmiths and Masons, who played the Murder of the Innocents on Tuesday, for the use of their carriage on the previous day, paying a certain sum towards the making, and contributing one-third of the cost of repairs and of the rent of the carriage house. These carriages were put away, after the festival, in buildings hired for the purpose.¹

Before the plays commenced, proclamation was made throughout the city by mounted messengers who read the "Banes."²

(b) The Actors were variously paid and had abundance of refreshments at frequent intervals:—

1551. To Symyon, iiii^s. iiiii^d.; to the Angell, vi^d.; to dame Anne, x^d.; Thomas Ellam, xii^d.; the 1st doctor, xvi^d.; the 2nd doctor, xii^d.; 3rd doctor, xii^d.; the lytell God, xvi^d.

1554. The Doctors, iiii^s. iiiii^d.; Joseph, viiii^d.; Litell God, xii^d.; Mary, x^d.; Dame Anne, x^d.; the Angells, vi^d.; ould Semone, iiii^s. iiiii^d.

1567. To the players—Rob. Rabon, xvi^d.; the little God, xvi^d.; 2 Doctors, xii^d.; 3rd Doctor, xii^d.; Joseph, xii^d.; Dame Anne, xii^d.; Angell, viiii^d.; Mr. Whyte, iiii^s.; Mr. Chanter, xii^d.; Wm. Cowper, xii^d.; Gloves for players, iiii^s.; Skynnes for the play, iiii^s.; for carriage of the regalls, ii^d.; Weshing the curtains, iiiii^d.

(c) Refreshment for the Players:—

1554. For Wheate, ii^s. ii^d.; Malt, iiii^s. iiiii^d.; Flesh, ii^s. x^d.; for Flesh at the breakfast and bacon, ii^s. viiii^d.; 6 Chickens, x^d.; 2 Cheses, xvi^d.; Item, we gave botore and beere for the players, iiiii^d.; for bred in Northgate Street, ii^d.; we drank in the Watergate Street, vi^d.; at Jo: Aleys', x^d.; at Ric. Anderton, founderer, xii^d.; at Mr. Davison tavarne, xiii^d.; For more Wheate, xviii^d.; Malte, ii^s. ii^d.; Flesh, iiii^s. iiiii^d.; a Chese, ix^d.

1561. Flesh for a breakfast at Whitsontyde, iiii^s. viiii^d.; 2 Chickens, vi^d.; Making the players to drink in Watergate Street, v^d.; Drink to the Players in Bridge Strete, iii^d.; to John Layes wife for drink, viii^d.; to John Doors, drink xii^d.; Payd for drink for their breakfast before they play and after they have done when they were unbowninge them up, iiii^s. vi^d.

1567. A whole cheese, ii^s. vi^d.; a bushel of malt, iiii^s. iiiii^d.; a barrell and quart of beare, v^s. viiii^d.; 3 hoopes of wheate, iiii^s. viiii^d.; for gorse, salt butter, safron, and a spyte, x^d.

1568. Spent on the Chanter and Clark of the Minster, v^d.; Bacon on tewsday morning for players breakfast, x^d.; for vele same tyme, xiii^d.; Chekens, xvi^d.; Bred, viiii^d.

1569. For breakfast on Tewsday morning, viiii^s. —*Harl. MSS.*, 2054.

¹ Thus the Drapers paid viiii^d. rent for their "caredge house nere to ye Greye frere lane ende; the Tailors ii^s. vi^d. for theirs in Fleshmonger lane near Wolf's gate; the Shermen, in Northgate Street, iiiii^d.; the Smyths for a place to sett their carriage adjoining to the Shermen under the Walles nigh unto a towre called the "Dilles Towre," paid the Weavers the comparatively large sum of iiiii^s. yearly.—*Harl.* 2150.

10 Ang., 16 Eliz. Grant or Lease by R^d. Dutton, Maior, &c., to Robert Hill totam illam domum vocatam The Tailors Caryadghouse, jacen' in parte australi ejusdam venelle voc' Fleshmongers lane adjac' terre vocat' Wolfes gate aut Newgate modo in occupatione Alderman' et senescal' cetus sutor' vestiar' quod quidem edificium continen' in longitudine 5 virgat. regias et in lat. 3½ virgat. cum pertin' habend' imperpetuum reddendo annuatim ad manus Thesauriorum duos solidos et sex den'.—*Harl.* 1996, 712.

² 1554. For ryding the banes xiii^d. the City Cryer ridd.

1561. Cost of ryding the banes, our horses and ourselves, of which Symyon was one, ii^s.

1567. For the banes i^d.; Gloves and drink iiiii^d.; Bred for our horses that day we rod the banes xii^d.

The comen bannes to be proclaymed and Ryddon with the Stewardys of every occupacon :—

Lordings Royall and Reverentt
Lovelie ladies that here be lentt
Sovereigne Citizens hether am I
sent
A message for to say.

I pray you all that be present
That you will here with good
intent
And all your eares to be lent
Hertfull I you pray.

Our worshipfull mair of this Citie
With all his royall cominaltie
Solem pagens ordent hath he
At the fest of Whitsonday tyde.

How every craft in his decree
Bryng forth their playes solemplic
I shall declare you brefely
Yf ye will abyde a while.

The worshipfull tanners of this
towne
Bryng forth the heavenly manshon
Th'orders of angells and their
creation
According done to the best.

And when the angells be made so
clere
Then folowyth the falling of
Lucifere
To bring forth this play with good
chere
The tanners be full prest.

You worshipfull men of the
draperye
Loke that paradise be all redye
Prepare also the mappa mundi
Adam and eke Eve.

The waterleders and drawers of
Dee
Loke that Noyes shipp be sett on
hie
That you lett not the storye
And then shall you well chrue

The barburs and wax channndlers
also that day
Of the Patriarche you shall play

Abram, that put was to assay
To slei Isack his sonne.

The cappers and pynners forth
shall bryng
Balack that fears [fierce] and
mightie Kyng
And Balam on an asse sytting :
Loke that this be done.

Youe wrights and slaters will be
fayne
Bring forth your cariage of Marie
myld quene,
And of Octavian so cruell and kene
And also of Sybell the sage.

For findyng of that Royal thing
I grant you all the blessing
Of the high imperiall King
Both the maister and his page.

Paynters glasiars and broderers in
fer
Have taken on theym with full
good chere
That the Sheppards play then
shall appere
And that with right good wyll.

The vynteners then as doth befall
Bringe forth the 3 Kings Royall
Of Colyn or pagent memoryall
And worthy to appere

Then shall you see how that
Kynges all
Came bouldly into the hall
Before Herode proude in paille
Of Crysts byrth to heare.

The mercers worshipfull of degre
The presentation that have yee
Hit falleth best for your see
By right reason and style
Of caryage I have no doubt
Both within and without
It shall be deckyd y^e all the Rowte
Full gladly on it shall be to loke.
With sundry cullors it shall glime
Of velvit satten and damaske fine
Taffyta sersnett of poppyngee
grene

The Gouldsmyths then full soone
will hye
And masons theyre craft to
magnifye
Theis two crafts will theim applye
Theyre worshipp for to wyne
How Herode King of Galalye
For that intent Cryst to distrye
Slew the Innocents most cruely
Of tow yeres and within.

Semely Smythis also in hyght
A lovely caryage the will dyght
Candilmas day for soth it hyght
The find it with good will.

The buchers pagene shall not be
myst
How Satan tempted our Savyour
Cryst
It is an history of the best
As witnesseth the gospel.

Nedys must I rehers the glover
The give me gloves and gay gere
The find the tounhs of Lazarey
That pagene cometh next.

Also the corvesers with all their
myght
The fynde full fayre syght
Jerusalem their caryage hyght
For so sayth the text.

And the bakers also be dene
The find the Maunday as I wene
It is a carriage full well besene
As then it shall appeare.

Flechers bowyers with great
honors
The Cowpers find the Tormentors
That bobbyde God with gret
honors
As he sat in his chere [chair].

The Iron mongers find a caryage
good
How Jesus dyed on y^e rode
And shed for us his precyus blud
The find it in fere.

Cryst after his passion
Brake Hell for our redemption
That find the cookes and hostelers
of this towne
And that with full good chere.

Also the skynners they be boune
With great worshipp and renowne
They find the Resurrection
Fayre maye them befall.

Sadlers and Foysters ("Fusterers")
have the good grace
They find the Castell of Emawse
Where Crist appered to Cleophas
A faire pagend yon shall see.

Also the Taylers with trow Intent
Have taken on them verament
The Assencyon by one assent
To bringe it forth full right.

Fysshe mongers men of faith
As that day will doe their stayth
To bringe there caryage furth in
trayth
Wyt Sonday it hight.

The worshipfull wyves of this
towne
Ffynne of our lady thassumpcon
It to bryng forth they be bowne
And meytene with all theyre
might.¹

The Shermen will not [be] behynd
Butt bryng theire cariage with
good mynde
The pagent of prophettys they do
fynd
That prophecied ffull truly
Off the coming of Anticrist
That goodys flaith wold resist
That cariage I warrand shall not
myst
Butt sett forth full dewly.

The hewsters that be men full sage
They bryng forth a wurthy cariage
That is a thing of grett costage
Antycryst hit hight.²

¹ Played in 1477.

² See another copy of the banes. "First with his Docter that godlye may expounde, and Enocke and Hely persons walking one grounde."

They weyvers in very dede
Ffynd the day of Dame, well may
they spede
I graunt them holly to theire neede
The blysse of heven bright.

Sovereigne syrs to you I say
And to all this ffayre cuntre
That playedshalbe this godely play
In the whitson weke
That is brefely for to sey
Uppon Monday Tuysday and Wen-
nysday
Whoo lust to see theym he may
And non of theym to sek

"Erased in the Booke."
Also maister maire of this Citie
Withall his bretheryn accordingly
A solempne procession ordent
hath he
To be done to the best
Appon the day of Corpus Christi
The blessed sacrament caried
shalbe
And a play sett forth by the clergy
In honor of the fest
Many torches there may you see
Marchaunts and craftys of this
cite
By order passing in their degree
A goadly sight that day

"Erased in the Booke."
{ They come from Saynt Maries on
the Hill
The Church of Saynt Johns untill
And there the sacrament leve they
will
The sauth [sooth] as I you say

Whoo so comyth these plays to see
With good devocon merelye
Hertely welcome shall he be
And have right good chere.

Sir John Arnway was maire of this
cite
When these playes were begon
truly
God graunt us merely
And see theym many a yere.

Now have I done that lyeth in me
To procure this solempnitie
That these playes contynned may
be
And well sett fourth alway.

Jhu [Jesu] Crist that syttys on hee
And his blessed mother Marie
[*erased*]

Save all this goodely company
And kepe you nyght and day.

—*Harl. MSS.* 2050, 261.¹

Archdeacon Rogers gives a list of the plays set forth by the several occupations:—

1. The Barkers and Tanners bring forth the Falling of Lucifer.
2. The Drapers and Hosiers—The Creation of the World.
3. Drawers of Dee and Water-leaders—Noe and his Shippe.
4. Barbers, Wax-Chandlers, and Leeches—Abraham and Isacke.
5. Cappers, Wire-drawers, and Pinneres—King Balak and Balam.
6. Wrights, Slaters, Tylers, Daubers, and Thatchers—The Nativity.
7. Paynters, Broderers, and Glaziers—The Sheppards' Offering.
8. Vintners—King Herod.
9. Mercers and Spicers—The Three Kings of Coline.²

These nine pagents be played on the firste daye.

1. Gouldsmiths and Masons—The Slayinge of the Children by Herod.
2. Smithes, Forbers, and Pewterers—Purification of our Lady.
3. Bouchers—The Pinackie (Temptation) with the Woman of Canaan.
4. Glovers and Parchment-makers—Arisinge of Lazarus from Death to Life.

¹ This copy of the "Banes" is altogether different from that given by Ormerod, and has been overlooked by previous editors of the "Chester Mysteries."

² Plays 8 and 9 are called respectively (in George Bellin's copy of the Text) "The Three Kings," and "The Offering of the Three Kings," and in the other Collections they form one play. "Coline" is a corrupt form of "Cologne."

5. Corvesers and Shoemakers—The Cominge of Christe to Jerusalem.
6. Bakers and Millners—Christ's Maundye with his Disciples.
7. Bowyers, Flechers, Stringers, Cowpers, and Torners—The Scourging of Christe.
8. Ironmongers and Ropers—The Crucifeinge of Christe.
9. Cookes, Tapsters, Hoslers, and Innkeepers—The Harrowing of Hell.

These nine pagents be played upon the seconde daye, being Tuesdaye in Whitsun weke.

1. Skynners, Cardmakers, Hatters, Poynters, and Girdlers—The Resurrection.
2. Sadlers and Fusters—The Castell of Emmaus and the Apostles.
3. The Taylors—Ascension of Christe.
4. Fishmongers—Whitsonday, the making of the Creed.
5. Shermen—Profetts afore the Day of Dome.
6. Hewsters and Bellfounders—Antichriste.
7. Weavers and Walkers—Domesday.

These seven pagents were played upon the thirde daye, beinge Wensedaye in Whitson weke.

Care appears to have been taken in assigning particular plays to the different occupations. Thus, the "Flood" falls appropriately to the Waterleders and Drawers of Dee; the Butchers (as dealing in the lust of the flesh) are selected to set forth Christ's Temptation; the Last Supper is exhibited by the Bakers, who are bidden to "cast good loaves abroad with a cheerful harte"; the Fletchers and Stringers describe Christ's scourging and whipping.

The scenery and other stage furniture would be of the most primitive kind. When the star appears in the east, it is made to move by a little angel carrying it away in his arms, and the kings follow it by coming down from the stage, mounting on horses in the street and riding round for a few minutes among the spectators.

Some of the companies surpassed their brethren in the preparation of their pageant. The Drapers and the Mercers, as wealthy companies, deck their carriages in sumptuous trim, "with sundry cullors, of velvet, satten, and damaske fine, Taffyta, sersnett, of poppyungee grene." The Drawers of Dee had their ark all painted about with beasts and fowls of all kinds. Others, as the Smiths, provide well-trained minstrels, "with pipe, tabart and flute," and engage, for considerable sums, good voices from "the Abbey Choir." From the Abbey and from St. John's would come their choicest vestments, resplendent with gold and embroidery, copes and tunicles and altar cloths.¹

¹ 1554. To the Minstrells in mane (manu)	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^a .
1561. To Sir Jo : Jenson for songs	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
To the five boyes singing	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^a . vj ^d .
1567. To two of the Clarkes of the Minster	-	-	-	-	-	viii ^d .

In 1384, William of Wykeham denounced the clergy who lent the vestments of the church for this purpose as guilty of sacrilege.

The actors were, doubtless, dressed up in appropriate costumes; the doctors "sit gaye in furies fyne,"¹ the shepherds are but poorly clad, with feet bare: Herod is "crowned in golde," sitting on high in regal splendour; the Smiths paid, year by year, xii^d. for gilding



The Slaughter of the Innocents
Pageant as exhibited before the Abbey Gate

the face of the child who acted Jesus, "the little God"; the Blessed Virgin has her crown;² Satan appears in his "feathers all ragged

1568.	To Mr. Rand' Barnes	-	-	-	-	-	iii ^s .	iiij ^d .
	To Mr. Whyte for singinge	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .	
1569.	Minstrells for our pageant	-	-	-	-	-	iii ^s .	iiij ^d .
	For the Clergy for our songes	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .	ij ^d .
1569.	To the Clarke for the lone of a Cope, an Altar Cloth and Tunicle	-	-	-	-	-		x ^d .
1575.	For Copes and Clothe	-	-	-	-	-		xii ^d .
	To John Shawe for lone of a Doctor's gowne and a hode for our eldest Doctor	-	-	-	-	-		xij ^d .
1566.	Gloves for the Doctors and little God on Midsomer eve	-	-	-	-	-		vj ^d .

—*Smiths' Accounts, Harl. MSS., 2054.*

¹ These furs were provided by the Company of Skinners at a charge of three shillings, and in the Smiths' Accounts occur the entries, "1554 and 1569, To the Skynners, iii^s.; 1567, Skynnes for the play, iii^s."

² The Smiths paid in 1567 x^d. for "mending the crowne and diadem".

and rente." Of Joseph, the Shepherds note that "his head is "whore (hoar), his beirde is like a buske of breyers with a pound "of haire about his moueth and more." The mothers of Bethlehem have distaffs in their hands, which they use freely against the butchering soldiers in defence of their babes. From the stage directions and references in the play, we may conjecture that there was no lack of other properties; Cain brings in his plough, Noah and his sons have their carpenter tools to work at the Ark, the soldiers in the Crucifixion play also have their nails and hammer and ropes, the penitent thief, in the Harrowing of Hell, appears carrying his cross upon his shoulders. Balaam's ass is not forgotten, the Linen Drapers being bidden "to make it speke and "sett yt out livelye."

Though the subject is a sacred one, and there are many stately passages, the people must have their fun. There is abundance of stir and movement throughout. The story of the Flood is told with much dramatic skill. Noah's sons and their wives come forward at their father's command, "men and wemen all, to worche "this shippe chamber and hall, As God hath bedden us doe." Shem "shews his axe, as sharpe as anye in all this towne"; Ham boasts "of his hatchet woundrous kene; Japhet can make well a pynne, "and with this hamner knocks it in." The wives are not idle—they will bring tynber, and "slyche the shippe for to cauke and "pyche," while Japhet's wife will gather chippes and make a fire to prepare dinner against the husbands' coming in.

The great ship grows apace before the eyes of the audience—a tree the mast, tied with cables, furnished with sail-yard, top-castle and bow-spritte. We can imagine how sympathetically the citizens would watch Noah's vain efforts to prevail upon his rebellious spouse to enter the ark:

Good wyffe, doe now as I thee bydde.

Wife: "By Christe! not or I see more neede
Though thou stande all day and stare."

How they would applaud his reply:

"Lorde, that wemen be crabbed aye,
And none are meke I dare well saye,
That is well sene by me to-daye
In witnesse of you ichone." [each one]

Later, the amusing struggle is renewed—Noah is bidden by his angry wife "rowe where he list, and gett him a new wife," She will not go without her gossips. They have a farewell glass of Malmsey good and strong.

"For ofte tymes we have done soe,
For at a draughte thou drinkest a quarte."
"Though Noye think us never so longe,
Heare we will drinke alike."

When, at last, the sons force their mother into the ark, and Noah bids her “welcome into this bote,” the emphatic response he only too meekly receives on his head would be loudly cheered. “Have thou that for thy note.” Noah: “Ha! Marry this is hotte.”

So, too, in Balak and Balaam (a play found only in the Chester cycle), there is abundance of incident. Balak’s eager haste for a prophet to curse Israel—Balaam’s prayer to God for permission—the angel with drawn sword meeting him on the way, and stopping the ass—Balaam’s efforts to make the ass go—His striking the ass—the ass’ complaint of his treatment, and Balaam falling downe on the ground in dismay at sight of the angel.

Goe forth, burnell, goe fourth, goe !
 What the devil ! My asse will not goe !
 Served shee me never so.
 What sorrowe so ever yt ys
 What the devill, now is shee fallen downe
 But nowe rise and make thee bowne
 And beare me soone oute of this towne.

This play, and that of the Shepherds, were apparently favourite selections, and more frequently represented than the others. In a third play the crowd would follow no less keenly the wrestling bout, in which Trowle throws the three Shepherds one after another; the attempt of the rustics to imitate with their rude voices the sweet notes of the Angels’ song, “Gloria in excelsis,” and their quaint explanation of the Latin words. The homely gifts which the shepherds in their simple piety offer as their best to the Child of Bethlehem, a shepherd’s bell, a spoon to eat his porridge, “a payer of his wife’s ould hose,” would be natural enough in those days when so much was given in kind. There is much dramatic skill in the contrast between this pastoral scene with its peaceful surroundings and the pious shepherds’ simple language, and Herod’s proud blasphemous vaunts and blustering rage, which has given rise to Shakespeare’s phrase, “Out-Heroding Herod.”

“I am kinge of all mankinde,
 I byde, I beate, I lose, I bynde.
 I maister the moone, take this in mynde,
 That I am moste of mighte.
 I am the greateste above degree,
 That is, that was, that ever shalbe ;
 The sonne it dare not shine on me,
 And I byde hym goe downe ;
 No rayne to fall shall nowe be freye,
 Nor no lorde have that libertie
 That dare abyde, and I byde fleye,
 But I shall crake his crowne.”—*Vintners’ Play*.

The Wail of the Ale-wife

Many touches of current life occur. Perhaps the most striking is the wail of the fraudulent ale-wife in the Harrowing of Hell, omitted in the later versions (1607.)¹

Some tyme I was a tavernere
 A gentill gossipe and a tapstere
 Of wyne and ale a trustie brewer,
 Which wo hath me wroughte.
 Of cannes I kepte no trewe measuer,
 My cuppes I sould at my pleasuer,
 Deceavinge many a creature,
 Tho my ale were naughte.
 And when I was a brewer longe,
 With hoopes [hops] I made my ale stronge
 Ashes and erbes I blende amonge
 And marred so good maulte.
 Therefore I maye my handes wringe,
 Shake my cannes, and cuppes ringe.
 Sorrowfull may I sicke and singe
 That ever I so dealed.
 Taverners, tapsters of this cittie
 Shalbe promoted heare by me
 For breakinge statutes of this cuntrey,
 Hurtinge the commonwelth ;
 With all tiplinge tapsters that are cuninge
 My spendinge moche maulte, brewinge so theyne.
 Therefore this place ordeyned is
 For such ylle doers so moche amisse
 Here shall the have ther joye and blisse
 For castinge maulte besyddes the combe
 Moche watter takinge for to compounde
 And littill of the seeke ;

Secundus Demon :

Welcome, dere ladye, I shall thee wedd
 For manye a heavye and drunken head
 Cause of thy ale, were brought to bed
 Farre worse than any beaste.

The salve and remedies for diseased sheep² are those in use in Cheshire; the homely meal to which each of the shepherds contributes his portion is of butter bought in Blackon, a jannacke of Lancastershire, with onions and garlick and leeks, a sheep's head, greene cheese, washed down with ale of Halton.

There are, as might be expected, anachronisms, as when Noah's wife swears "Be Christe," and Noah "By St. John," and when the brewer speaks of brewing with hops which were first

¹ The Miserere, in Ludlow Church, represents the deceitful ale-wife with her gay head-dress and false measure being carried off by a demon and thrown into Hell-mouth, while another demon recites from a long roll her offences.

² Heare is tarre in a potte
 To heale from the rotte.

introduced into England in 1524, according to the rhyme in *Baker's Chronicle*, 15 Hen. VIII.¹

Turkey, carp, hops, piccadell and beer,
Came into England all in one year.

Mr. Sharpe, in his "*Dissertation on Pageants*," gives extracts from old parish accounts which show how realistic the representation of these mystery plays became. The terrors of Hell-fire and of Domesday were not left to the imagination of the audience. We read how ii^d. was payd for mending hell mouth; Item, payd for keyping of fyer at hell mothe, iii^d.; for setting the world of fyer, v^d. [On one occasion hell itself took fire, and was well nigh burnt out.] So in the Chester Plays direction is given "*fiat lux in inferno materialis aliqua subtilitate machinata*," and the Demon has a kangaroo-like pouch which, he complains, "is soe heavye with the "condemned thrown in that it well nigh breakes his necke."

The original manuscript of the plays was not to be found in 1567, when Randall Trever, 30 April, gave evidence that he had the book, but "delivered it againe, but where the same is now, or "to whom he then delivered it, he knoweth not."²

In the Smiths' Accounts several entries occur of payments for reading or copying the "original":—1554, for the charges of the Regenall, xii^d.; 1561, for redyng the an Rygynall, ii^s.; 1569, for reding the orraginall book, ii^s.

The traditional account referred to by Archdeacon Rogers, 1590, which attributes their composition to Randall Higden, a monk in St. Werburgh's Abbey, the author of the Polychronicon, or to Henry Fraunces of the same monastery, 1268-1276, has been disputed, and the earliest date accepted by recent critics is that of the end of the fourteenth century. But in support of the tradition, Ormerod [III., 443] has pointed out that the name of Henry Fraunces (who obtained from Pope Clement the licence for exhibiting the Chester Mysteries), as senior monk after William de Mershton, sub-prior, occurs in an agreement of May 5, 1377, between Thomas, Abbot and Convent of St. Werburgh, and John Shalcross, Rector of Taxal; and again, in 1382, in an agreement

¹ And when I was a brewer longe
With hoopes [hops] I made my ale stronge
Ashes and erbes I blende among
And marred so good maulte.

² 10 Eliz., 30 April. Mem. Randall Trever gent was called before the Maior of the Citie of Chester and was demaunded for the originall booke of the Whydson Plaies of the said Citie who then and ther confessed that he have had the same booke which book he deposeth upon the holy evangelist of God that by comaundement he delivered againe but where the same is now or to whom he then delivered the same book, deposeth likewise he knoweth not.

with John de Birchel, Rector of Gawsworth. These entries, Ormerod contends, added to the statement respecting the part taken by Sir John Arneway, go far towards establishing the entire story attributing high antiquity to these performances. That plays were not unknown in Chester in the time of Edward I. is shown by the record of a payment of xii^d. to a certain player in the accounts, 1281-2, of that king's expenses at Rhuddlan and Chester.¹

Repeated reference is made in Henry VIII.'s reign to the antiquity of the plays, but the earliest allusion with date is in the Bakers' Charter, 2 Edward IV., 1462, where it is recited that "there hath bene tyme out of mind a company of bakers . . . and to be redy to pay for the costes and expences of the play and light of Corpus Christi as oft tymes as it shall be assesset by the same stewards for the tyme being."²

The same record, Harl. MSS., 2054, 158, referring to the Painters' and Glaziers' Charter, states "It alsoe appearinge to us that they have beene tyme out of minde one brotherhood for the costs and expenses of the plaie of the Shepperds Wach with the Angells hymne."

11 Edward IV. (1471),³ a Charter of incorporation is granted to the Company of Sadlers, to endure for forty years, that no one should exercise the art of a sadler within the City of Chester without permission of the stewards, aldermen, masters, and occupiers of the said art, under a penalty of 100^s., one-half of which was to be paid to the Earl of Chester, and the other half to the said stewards for the support of the pageant, light and play on the Festival of Corpus Christi (*pagine luminis et ludi corporis Christi*).

The Cappers, in their "Supplication to David Middleton, Maire [1523], and his co-brethren and aldermen, state that they were operated and charged to bring forth a playe concerning the storie of King Balake and Balam the proffet (No. 5 in the Chester Cycle), and claim that the privileges promised should be secured to them, in case their holle mindes shalbe to brynge forth their said playe, and that in their best maner to the pleasure of God, "worship of Maister Maire and the city."⁴

¹ Cuidam Istrioni de dono xii den.—*Archæologia*, xvi., 37.

² Harl. MSS., 2054.

³ Rot. Recogn.

⁴ Supplication of Cappers to David Middleton, Maire, and his co-brethren and Aldermen [1523.]

Shewing that wheras they of late tyme by the right worshipfull Thomas Smythe, 1520-1, in tyme of his mairaltie, were operated and charged to bringe forth a playe concerning the storie of King Balake and Balam the proffet; and at the same tyme by the said Thomas Smythe and his co-brethren it was promysed whereas your supplyants fynde theym grevyde and hurte by reason that not only the mercers of the citie but as well dyvers others occupations doe dayly occupye their said occupation as well in recteyllinge of cowrse wares

12 Henry VIII. [1520] "the Stuards of the Founders and "Pewters agree with the Stewards of the Smiths to bere and "draw the Whitson Playe and Corpus Christi light," &c.

23 Henry VIII., 1531, the Vyntners and Diers made an arrangement with the Goldsmiths and Masons about the use of their carriage for the Whitson Plays.¹

No argument against the earlier date suggested can be founded on the phraseology of the plays in their present form, as they are confessedly translations from the Latin, and were certainly more than once amended. The proclamation made 24 Henry VIII., 1532, is endorsed, "The Proclamacion of the Plaie to be made on "Satreday after the election, newly of Latin into Englishe trans-
lated, and made by the said William Newhall the yere aforesaid."²

under the price of 16/- the dozen as above—and that as yet no Refourmacon thereof can be had aftur great Instance and Request made—It may please your gode masterships considerynge the greate and importable hurts and hydraunces of your suppliants which be but very poore men and have no thing to live by bnt their said occupacon, other to see for due and lawfull reformacon of the premysses, or ells to exonerate and discharge theym of and for the bringinge forthe of the said playe : wherof they wolde be right sorye yf the meanes myghte be fonde that they might be hable to bringe it forthe. And the remedye therof lyethe much in your mastershipps if it wolde please you to put your gode wylls and myndes therunto : for the full and holle myndes and consent of all and every your sayde besechers is now and at all tymes to come shall be to brynge forthe their said playe, and that in their best maner to the pleasure of god, worship of maister maire and the citie. Wherfore they beseche you of your charite other to se for the reformacon of the premysses or elles to take no displeasure with theyme, if they for lakke of habilitie do not bringe forthe theire said play.

¹ Memorandum that the xiiiith day of August in the xxiiird yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the eight It was consended and agreed before of the Citie of Chester in the Pentice of the same Citie and William Bexwik, Stewardes of the occupacion of Vynteners within the citie of Chester and Kettell and Thomas Hasilwall, Stewardes of the occupacion of Diers within the citie of Chester of thone partie and John Trevour, Goldsmyth, steward of the occupacion of Goldsmyth [within the citie of Chester] and Wosewall, Steward of the occupacion of Masons within the Citie of Chester on Thother partie in forme folowyng: That is to witt the saide Stewardes of Vynteners and Diers for theym and their successors be agreid and graunten by these presentes that the Stewardes of Goldsmytes and Masons, and their successors from hensforth shall be occupie and pecible enjoy from tyme to tyme the cariage nowe of Vynteners and Diers to and for the plaies of the saide Goldsmytes and Masons and their successors to be plaied at Whitson tide to serve theym for their saide [plaie] when and as oft as nede shall require, without any lett of the saide [occupacion] of Vynteners and Diers or their successors: for which cariage so in maner and above-said to the saide Stiwards of Goldsmytes and Masons and their Successors graunted to and for their saide plaies from tyme to tyme as is aforesaid, the saide Stewardes or Goldsmytes and Masons for theymselvf and their successors ben agried, covenauten, and graunten by these presents to content and pay, or cause to be paid unto the saide Stewardes of Vynteners and Dieres sterling at the making hereof. And from hensforth yerely fynd, kepe and susteyn the third parte of all and every reparacon necessities belongyng or in eny wise apperteynyng to the same shall require, and also to content and pay or cause to be paid yerely from [hensforth] the third part of all the rents due or to be due for the honse where the said cariage now staundeth or hereafter shall stand.

² The proclamation for the Plaies, newly made by William Newhall, clarke of the Pentice, the first yere of his entre.

For as moche as of old tyme, not only for the Augmentacon and increase of [the holy

In the 16th century some opposition was raised to these plays. In 1574 they were "played to the great dislike of many because "the play was in one parte of the city."¹ But the most formidable objection came from the Puritan party, who, in 1571, prevailed upon Archbishop Grindal, of York, to issue an inhibition, but the inhibition was disregarded for that year (though the plays were discontinued in 1572), and frequently, on occasions of great festivity, one or more of these plays was included amongst the entertainments of welcome given to high officials. Thus, in "1515, the "Shepherds' Play and the Assumption of our Lady were played in "St. John's Churchyard, and 1577, the Shepherds' Play and other "triumphs were performed in the Rood Ee before the Earl of "Derby, Lord Strange, and others." "Henry Hardware, Mayor in "1599, was not liked by the Commons, because he caused the "giants in the Midsummer Show to be put down and broken, and "not to goe, the Devil in his fethers which rode for the Butchers

and catholick] faith of our Savyour, Jhu' Crist, and to exort the mynds of the co'mon people to [good devotion and holsome] doctryne thereof, but also for the co'men Welth and prosperitie of this Citie a plaie [and declaration —] and diverse stories of the bible, begynnyng with the creacon and fall of Lucifer, and [ending with the general] jugement of the World to be declared and plaied in the Witson wek, was devised [and made by one Sir] Henry Fraunces, somtyme monk of this dissolved monastery, who obtayned and gate of Clement, then beyng [bushop of Rome, a thousand] daies of pardon, and of the Busshop of Chester at that time, beyng xlii daies of pardon graunted from thensforth to every person resortyng in pecible maner with good devocon to here and se the sayd [plaies] from tyme to tyme as oft as they shalbe plaied within this Citie [*and that every person disturbing the same plaies in any manner wise to be accursed by thauctoritie of the said Pope Clement bulls unto such tyme as he or they be absolved therof (erased)*], which plaies were devised to the honour of God by John Arneway, then maire of this Citie of Chester, and his brethren, and holl cominalty therof to be brought forthe, declared and plead at the costs and charges of the craftsmen and occupacons of the said Citie, whiche hitherunto have siome tyme to tyme used and performed the same accordingly.

Wherefore Maister Maire, in the Kynges name, straitly chargeth and co'mandeth that every person and persons of what estate degre or condicion soever he or they be, resortyng to the said plaies, do use [themselves] pecible without makyng eny assault, affrey, or other disturbance whereby the same plaies shalbe disturbed, and that no maner person or persons who soever he or they be do use or weare eny unlauffull wepons within the precycnet of the said Citie duryng the tyme of the said plaies [*not only upon payn of cursing by thauctoritie of the said Pope Clement Bulls, but also (erased)*] opon payn of enprisonment of their bodies and makyng fyne to the Kyng at Maister Maires pleasure. And God save the Kyng and Mr. Maire, &c.

per me W. Newhall fact' tempore Willi

Sneyde, draper, secundo tempore sui majorat' [24 Hen. VIII., 1531].

- | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|
| In dorso | - | - | The Proclamacion for the fo . . . ll opon the rode ee made by the } |
| | | | same William Newhall the said first yere. |
| On another sheet | - | The Proclamacion of the Place to be | Satreday after the election newly also and of laten into Englishe translated and made by the said William Newhall the yere aforesaid. |

¹ Harl., 2125.

"[the Play of the Temptation] he put away (and caused a boy to "ride as others [other companies] did), and the cuppes and cannes "and Dragon and naked boyes, but caused a man in complete "armour to goe before the Show in their stead." Robert Brerewood, his successor in the Mayoralty, 1600, "restored agayne "all the ancient customs he founde the firste tyme he was inayor, "1584, and put down by Mr. Hardware."¹ The transcripts made, with very significant omissions, in 1600 and 1607, are an indication that they were not altogether abandoned, though the "Midsummer "Show" was beginning to displace them.

Ormerod [I., 298] states that there does not appear to be the slightest ground for supposing the plays to have been ever revived after 1574. This statement is refuted by the following extract from the Assembly Book, 30 May, 17 Elizabeth [1575], as well as by entries in the Accounts of the Company of Smiths.

239.
Whitson
Plaies.

162b. -Ad congregaconem tentam in communi aula
placitorum civitatis Cestrie xxx die Maii anno Regni regine
Elizabeth &c. xvii. [1575.]

At whiche assembly yt was ordered, concluded & agreed upon by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs & comen counsaile of the said citie, that the plaies comonly called the Whitson plaies at Midsummer next comynge shalbe sett furth & plaied in such orderly manner & sorte as the same have been accustomed with such corrections & amendment as shalbe thought convenient by the said maior & all charges of the said plaies to be supported & borne by thinhabitantes of the said citie as have ben heretofore used.

Copy of a letter, dated 10 November, 1575, from Sir John Savage:—After my right hartie comendacions. Where it hathe bene enformed to the Prevey Counsell that I caused the plays laste at Chester to be sett forwarde onely of my sellfe, whiche yourselves do know the contrary, and that they were by Comon Assemblie apointed as remayneth in recorde. For the easinge and qualefyng all controuersies growen abowte the same, I am moste hartely to desyre you to sende me a certificate under your haundes and seale of youre citie to testefy that the same plays were sett forwarde as well by the counsell of the citie as for the commen-welth of the same: whereby their honors may be the better satisfied thereof, and hopinge thereby to reduce all suche matters quiett as are risen nowe againste me and Mr. Hankye, whom you must make mencyon of in the certificate as well as my self, whiche I pray you may be sente me with as much convenient speede as is possible. So for this tyme I bidd yow farewell. At London the xth of November, 1575. Your loveinge frende,

JOHN SAVAGE.

259.
Whitson
Plaies.

165b. -Tempore prefati Henrici Hardware maioris civitatis
predictae ad congragaconem ibidem tentam in Interiore
Penticio eiusdem civitatis die lune videlicet xxi^o die
Novembris anno R. regine Elizabeth &c. xviii^o.

Whereas informacon was geven to the saide maior & certen others his

¹ Harl. 2125.

bretherne on the behalff of Sir John Savage knyghte that he shuld be charged to have sett furthe & caused to be plaied the accostomed pageons & plays called the Whitson plays in the tyme of his maioraltye at midsommer laste of himself to satisfy his owne will & pleasure & contrary to his othe & dutie without the assente or consente of the reste of his bretherne & of the comen counsell of the same. And whereallsoe the saide Sir John Savage hath addressed his letters to the saide maior & his bretherne thaldermen requestinge them under the cities seale to certefy therein together with the transcripte of an order thereof taken. Whereupon this assemblee was called & the premisses hearde wayed & considered. And whereallsoe at this assemblee John Hanky alderman enformeth the same that he was burthened with the like offence viz. for the settinge furthe himself of the Whitson plays without any assent or consente of the aldermen & comen counsell in the tyme of his late maioralty of this city that is to say the xiiiith yere of the raigne of the queenes majestie that now is, who allsoe made requeste that this assembly wolde allsoe certefy with him the manner howe the said plaies were sett furthe in his late maioralty whether of himself or by assente & consente of the aldermen & comen counsell of this citie, which allso beinge likewise wayed & considered & for that ther appereth of recorde entred in the booke of the orders of this citie a certain conclusion order & constitucon made in the tyme of the maioraltye of the saide Sir John Savage auctorisinge him with assent of thaldermen sheriffs & comen counsell of the saide citie to sett furthe the saide plays in the saide tyme of his maioralty. And for that allsoe it is confessed by this whole assemblee that the saide John Hanky in the tyme of his maioralty of the saide citie did sett furthe the said plays by thassent & consente of the aldermen sheriffs & comen counsell of this citie & so waranted auctorised so to do by thassemblee. It is nowe the saide day yere firste above remembred ordered, concluded upon, & agried by the saide maior the aldermen sheriffs sheriffs peeres & comen counsell of the same city that certificate shalbe made from & in the name of the corporacon of this citie & under the comen seale of the same city purportinge the same said informacon. And that at such requeste as before suche certificate is made that the saide surmysses alledged againste the saide Sir John Savage & John Hankie are untrue & that the saide plays sett furthe in their severall maioralties was severally don by the assent consente good will & agreamente of the aldermen, sheriffs, sheriffs peeres, & comen counsell of the said citie & so determynd by severall orders agried upon in open assemblee acording to the auneynt & laudeable custom of the saide citie, whereunto & for the performance whereof the whole citizens of the citie are bounde & tyed by othe as they ar to other their orders & that they the saide Sir John Savage & John Hanky nor either of them did nothinge in their severall tymes of mairalties towchinge the saide plaies but by thassent, consent, & full agreamente of the aldermen sheriffs & comen counsell of the saide citie in the self same manner & forme as the same now is penned & redd to this assembly. And it is further ordered that as well the said severall letters of the saide Sir John Savage towching his saide requeste as allsoe the saide such certificate shalbe entred verbatim in the saide booke called the table booke of the saide city for the inrolemente of all the indentures leases & deeds concerninge the lands of the saide citie all which was & is soe don acordinglie.

Lease Ledger 28a. To all true Christen people to whom this present writinge shall come to be sene hearde or redd: Henry Hardware, nowe maior of the citie of Chester, & the citizens of the same citie sende greetinge in our Lord God everlastinge, forasmuche as it is enformed unto us the said maior & citizens on the behalff of Sir John Savage, knight, that it is reported that he the saide Sir John Savage, knight, beinge the yere laste paste maior of the saide citie did then of his owne power and authoritie in the same tyme he was maior to the great abuse of the same office unleafulle & by indirect & sinister ways & meanes cause & procure to be plade within the same citie certen pagions or plays comonly there called Witteson playes for the satisfying of his owne singuler will, luste & pleasure to the greates costes & charges, losse & harne of the citizens & inhabitants of the said citie & to their no little impoverishment & not by the orderly assente of his then brethren the aldermen & the comon counsell of the saide citie as he shoulde & ought to have done, nor to & for the wealthe, benefite & comodite of the same citie according to his dutie: all which surmyses we well knowinge to be untrue & that the saide Sir John Savage did nothinge the saide laste yere duringe the tyme he was maior as is aforesaide in or aboute the settinge furthe of the saide pagions or plays, but only accordinge to an order concluded & agried upon for dyvers good & great consideracons redoundinge to the comen wealthe & benefite & profite of the saide citie in assemblie there holden accordinge to the auncient and laudable usages & customes there hadd & used fur above mans remembrance by & with the assente, consente & agreament of his saide then bretherne the aldermen of the saide citie, & of the comen counsell of the same, & in execution & accomplishment of the saide order, to the performance whereof both the saide Sir John Savage & we all that were then citizens & freemen of the saide citie were bounden & tyed by our othes so as we be to all orders taken & made in & by our assembly: & therefore at & upon the motion & requeste made unto us in our assembly holden the day of the date of theses presents on the behalff of the said Sir John Savage, we the saide maior and citizens have caused the tenor and transcripte of the saide order to be here written as foloweth: *Ad congregationem tentam in communi aula placitorum Civitatis Cestrie, xxx die Maii xvii Elizabeth: at which assemblie it was ordered, concluded, & agried upon by the saide maior, aldermen, sheriffs and common counsell of the saide city that the plays commonly called the Whitson plays at Mydsomer nexte cominge shall be sett furth & plaied in such orderly manner & sorte as the same have been accustomed, with suche correction and amendemente as shall be thought conveniente by the saide maior, & all charges of the saide plays to be supported & borne by thinhabitants of the saide citie as have been heretofore used. And in wytnes that this is a true copy & transcripte of the saide order & warrante, wherby & in accomplishment whereof the saide Sir John Savage did cause the saide pagions & plays to be sett furth & plaied as is aforesaide, which did begin the xxvith of June laste paste in the afternone of the same day & there contynued untill the Wednesday at evening then nexte folowinge. And that alsoe this presente daye in our saide assemblie holden & kept within the pentice of our saide citie accordinge to the good and lawdable usages accustomed aforesaide, John Hankey one of the aldermen & late maior of the saide citie to wytt in the xliiith yere of the quenes majesties raigne, that now is made his humble peticion to the saide assembly that it might*

please the same to publishe by theis presents by what warrante he the saide John Hankey caused the saide plays to be sett furthe & plaid in the aforesaide yere that he was maior as is aforesaide of the saide cittie, whiche saide petition consideringe the same is verey reasonable thaught mete to grante the same & therefore the saide maior & citizens doe publishe & declare that it was this day confessed by the saide assembly that the saide John Hankey, alderman, did in the tyme of his saide maioralty cause the saide plais to be sett furth & plaid onlie by vertue & in execucion of an order taken by assemblle of the said citie holden there the xxixth of Aprill in the saide xiiiith yere of the quenes majesties raigne & with the consente & assente of his saide bretherne the then aldermen & comen counsell & allsoe in wytnes herof we the saide maior & citizens have to these presents sett the common seale of the saide citie. Dated at the saide citie the xxiith day of November in the eighteenth yere of the raigne &c. of Elizabeth.

The Smiths' Accounts [Harl. 2054, 17] contain many references under 1575 and 1576 to the continuance of the plays.¹

The "Whitson Plaies" were not the only dramatic entertainments provided for the amusement of the inhabitants of Chester. In 1529, a play founded on the romance of Robert of Cicely was exhibited, at the High Cross, which was "new guylte over for "the occasion;"² and in 1563 the History of Æneas and Queen Dido was set forth on the Roodeye by William Croston and Mr. Man, M.A., with elaborate pageantry, two forts and shipping on the water, besides many horsemen well armed and appointed.

In 1589, another play, "King Ebranke with all his sonnes" was represented at the High Cross before Henry, Earl of Derby, Ebranke being an early British King, the traditional founder of York and Edinburgh, who was notorious for his twenty wives, twenty sons, and thirty daughters. On this occasion (the Chronicler Harl. 2125 records) "such rayne fell, it was hindred much." The play of the Assumption, which (according to Harl. MS. 2125) was played before Lord Strange at the High Cross in 1488, and before Prince Arthur in 1497, both at the Abbey Gates and at the High

¹ 1575. Spent on the players and other things necessary, xii^s.; Spent at Tyes to hear 2 playes before the Aldermen to take the best, xviii^d.; 9 men to carry our carrydge and one tressell and 2 that did help me in the morning, 3/1½; For the banes and doing at the barrs, xii^d.; Little God, 20^d.; Our Marye, xviii^d.; Our 2 doctors, 16^d.; Copes and Clothe, xii^d.; Our 1st Angell, 6^d.; Seameon, 3/-; 1st doctor, 16^d.; Joseph, 16^d.; Second Angell, vi^d.; Dame An, x^d.

1576. Of our sister Hancocke for the please, 15^d.; of Rd. Crockett, 15^d.; of Ric. Locker, 15^d.; of 2 smythes in Handbridge for the please, 2/8; of Jo. Andrew for please, 15^d.; Spent in gathering our play money, xviii^d.; Payd on our plas at Ald. Montforts on Mid-somer Eve, xvi^d.

² The romance of "Kyng Robert of Cicyle" [Sicily] "Hou pride dude him beguile," identified by some with an old French romance, an English version of which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. "In the latter romance an angel is sent to a hermit to show him the penance that he should give to Robert for his sins—part of the penance being that he must keep and counterfeit the ways of a fool and be as he were dumb."

Crosse; and also in 1515, in St. John's Churchyard [Harl. 2125, 206] was, evidently, one of the Chester Cycle, and is referred to in the "Banes" as being provided by the "worshipfull wyves of "the towne." It is omitted from Bellin's transcript in 1600, and was, in all probability, discontinued in Edward VI.'s reign in deference to the religious feeling of that time.

The Mystery plays had, for their original object, the education of the people. In the Midsummer Show, which ultimately displaced the Mystery play, there was no higher purpose than to amuse the populace. The date given (Harl. MSS. 2125, 203) for its first appearance is 1497. "This year, the Wach on Midsummer "Eve¹ was first sett outt and begonne," and the yearly celebration was continued with only occasional interruptions in Elizabeth's reign, until the early part of the 17th century, when it was at its best under the direction of the first and second Randle Holmes. These diligent antiquaries have left us in their MSS. an account of the very elaborate arrangements made for keeping the festival, and, as they were careful to follow precedent, their statement of expenses affords a fairly trustworthy idea of the usage in Plantagenet times. The companies went in procession, each headed by a banner, and preceded by mounted men-at-arms, or a boy gaily dressed.²

Apparently, some of the actors in their plays would ride in this procession, dressed in character, *e.g.*, the Butchers had the Devil dressed in feathers to go before them; the Smiths engaged the learned Doctors and a child representing Jesus, whom they mounted on horses.³

¹ Not to be confounded with the old "Watch on Christmas Eve," page 234.

² A relic of this custom is to be found preserved in the arrangements at the annual "walking" of Friendly Societies, when the members are preceded by a youth on horse-back, horse and rider gaily decorated with rosettes and ribbons.

³ 1565. 3 payre of gloves and horses for the Doctors and little God - - xvi^d.

1566. Gloves for the Doctors and little God on Midsummer Eve - - vi^d.

1569. For things that went to dress our child - - - - vii^d.

A rybbon for our scotchen - - - - - iii^d.

1572. Gere for the child that ridd on Midsomer eve - - - - vi^d.

1575. The Armes for the Showe (first banner they had at Midsomer): Selke for the banner, ii^s. viii^d.; Fring, xii^d.; Sowing it, vi^d.; Paper and wyer for same, ii^d. ob; Workmanshep of same, x^s. iiiii^d.; Dressing the Child, xiii^d.; Hose and Shewes [shoes] for Chyld, xiii^d.; Yellow thred and pines, iii^d.; On Midsummer Eve payed at Mr. Mownfords, iii^s. v^d.; To Minstrells, ii^s.; [This year no mention of Whitson Play].

1576. Lace pynnes and thread to stych the juells, iiiii^d.; Dressinge our signe, ii^s. vi^d.; Hose and shoves for the child, xiii^d.; Gloves for child and footman, v^d.

1577. Spent on Mr. Bavand requestinge his sonne to ride at Midsomer Wach, vi^d.; Trimming the banner, vi^d. [Nothing this year about the Play].

Mem. of an order and agreement made at ye last assembly holden y^e 21 April a^o 1564, betweene Sir Lawrence Smith K^t., Maior of the City of Chester, ye Aldermen

The Play of "Abraham and Isaac"

The Company of Barbers and Barber Surgeons, to whom was allotted the play of "Abraham and Isaac," ordered:—

"That upon everye Mydsomer Even at the watch, at the Companye's charge, the stewardestes for the tyme beinge is to provyde against that tyme and tymes one to Ride Abraham, and "a yonge stripelinge boy to Ride Isaacke; they to be sett fourth accordinge to Ancient custome, as hath bene be fore tymes used "in the said companye; and the said stewardestes for the tyme beinge "to do their best in the settinge fourth of the said shewe, for the "better creditt of the saide societie and company.

"Item more, it is further agreed upon that everie brother of the "said Company shall upon everye Mydsomer even, against the "watch, attende upon the aldermen and stewardestes for the tyme "beinge; and everie one of the saide company to have his man "either in armour or otherwise accordinge to ancient custome as "other companyes use, and soe to repayer with their shewe to the "barres, where it is to be sett out, in paine to every one that doth "not performe this order to paye unto the sayde company in the "name of a fyne—iis."

The Linen-drapers and Bricklayers in 1602, 21 May, record an order from John Ratcliffe, Mayor:—

"Whereas the Companye of Bricklayers within this citty are "to be at charges in settinge forth of the Shewe or Watch at "Mydsomer of Balaam and Balaam's Asse, whereunto as well the "freemen of the Lynnen-drapers, brickmakers, and bricklayers of "this citty, as also the forreners [non-freemen] inhabitinge within "this citty, and using the trades aforesaide, have bene accustomed "to bee contributarye. These are to authorise Roberte Ridley

and Comon Counsell of the said Citty of thone partie and Thomas Poole and Robert Fullwood of the Citty aforesaide, painters, of the other partie, concerning the Watch upon the even of St. John Baptist.

Imprimis: the said Thomas Poole, Robert Fullwood, doth covenant and grant to and with the said Maior, Aldermen, &c., that they, the said Thomas Poole and Robert Fullwood, shall and will yerely during their naturall lives upon their proper costs and charges att and upon the even of St. John Baptist bringe forth repaire and have in readines for the watch aforesaid all such ornaments as hereafter ensueth accordinge as the said watch heretofore hath bene sett forth with all furnitures thereunto belonging, vizt: 4 gyants, 1 unikorne, 1 dramodarye, 1 Luce, 1 Camell, 1 asse, 1 dragon, 6 hobby horses, and 16 naked boys, and the same beinge in readines shall beare and carry or cause to be borne and carryed during the said Watch from place to place according as the same have bene used upon their proper costs and charges: In consideracon wherof the said Maior, &c., doth covenant to and with the same Thomas Poole and Robert Fullwood that they the said Mayor, &c., shall well and truly content and pay or cause to be contented and payed unto the said Thomas Poole and Robert Fullwood yerely during their naturall lives the summe of 40^s. of good and lawfull money of England in and upon the feaste of St. John Baptist in one whole and entire paymente.

Signed _____

"and George Antrobus, Aldermen of the Companie of Bricklayers, "and Roberte Goodaker and Thomas Markes, stewards, to collecte "of everye of the said persons aforesaide all such somes of money "as they have bene heretofore accustomed to paye and as hath "bene accustomed to bee collected towards the charges aforesaide."

The great features of the show were the marvellous structures, figures of monstrous size in buckram and pasteboard, tricked out with tinsel, gold and silver leaf, gay with colour, each carried by two or more men.¹ There were four giants, father, mother, and two daughters, who for all their size and terrific appearance, and huge whiskers which required eight yards of buckram, needed arsenic in the paste which fastened them up, to preserve them, when the show was ended, from being eaten by the rats. There was an elephant and castle, with a cupid inside armed with bow and arrows, the castle covered with tin foil and the cupid with skins so as to appear naked. After these came the four beasts for the leavelookers, a unicorn, an antelope, a flower de luce, a camel, carried each by two men; a dragon, for which the sheriffs were responsible, and six naked boys beating at it; morris-dancers with pipe and tabret, men to play the drums, the recorders, hautbois, &c.²

There were, besides, the Mayor's Mount and the Merchant's Mount, the latter consisting of a moveable ship, worked by a swivel attached to an iron handle by the man who carried it, whilst in attendance upon the mayor and sheriffs were officers bearing lancestaves, and garlands, and above all flaunted a great banner emblazoned with the city arms, of red, yellow, and blue sarsenet.

¹ At £5 a giant, Randle Holme tells us.

² 1588, 1589, 1591, 1593. Thos. Poole, paynter, for dressing Mr. Mayor's mount, six "harnessed" men with halberts, and the Jeyants and beasts at Midsomer - - - - - xiii^s. viii^d.
1588. Thomas Gyllome and Robert Smythe for their moneys daunsinge at Mydsomer - - - - - vi^s. viii^d.
v ells q^r. redd, yallowe, and blewe sarsenet for the Aunciante, and for the staff and other furniture to the same - - - - - iiii^{li}.
1591. Walshe for carrynge the auntiente at Mydsomer - - - - - ii^s.
1569, 1572, 1588, 1591. Paied the Morrisdansares at Mydsomer - - - vi^s. viii^d.
The mynstrells which plaid before them - - - - - xvi^d.
1564. Houghe Gillome for dancing at Midsomer by Mr. Mayor's appointment - - - - - vi^s. viii^d.
1575, 1577. Thome Gillam pro saltatione in festo Nat. St. Johi's Baptiste - - - - - vi^s. viii^d.
Treasurers' Account, 1555. For Mydsommer Wache for the caredege of the pagions and paynters - - - - - xxviii^s. vi^d.
Payd Ryc' Massye for bouckrom and a carpett for the pentyste - - - xxiii^s. v^d.
Mr. Thomas Smythe for vii yards of clothe to the Wettemen's gownys - xxxix^s. viii^d.
1564. Thomas Yeatou for gounne powder at the triumthe by Maister Mayres' appoyntment - - - - - xiiii^s.
,, Paid Mr. Mayre at Midsomer for the triumthe - - - - - xxvi^s. viii^d.

A drum was a necessary accompaniment of the Midsummer show, preceding the soldiers engaged for the procession, and there is evidence that it was beaten somewhat vigorously. A tailor named William Howell wielded the drumsticks in 1588.

Randle Holme's account of expenses in 1661 affords us a valuable insight into some of the arrangements for this show, as he carefully followed old precedents.¹

6ts. City flag to be made and kept with the Drum.	216a. 6 Feb., 30 Eliz. Also it is ordred that a faire flag or ancient with the Cities arms shalbe made and the same together with the Cities drome to be safelye kepte in the Inner pentice of the said Citie to be received and delivered from tyme to time by the Tresurers of the said Citie duringe this service.
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1588-9. Edward Currier for mending the drume and ii drume sticks Playing on the drume at Midsomer	- - - - - - - - - -	ii ^s . iii ^d . viii ^d .
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(in 1591 the charge was xii^d.)

1588. Howell, a taylor, for playing upon the drumme at severall tymes before the souldiers Wm. Howell, v th of June and xxiii th of June for playinge upon the drume	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	ii ^s . iii ^s .
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The staff of the "Aunciente," or flag, was broken in 1593, and repaired at a cost of iii^d, and the "Aunciente" itself was frequently under repair.

The Drum and the Aunciente were ordered to be kept in the Inner Pentice.

The Aunient forme and payments of midsomer Wach or show [*Harl. MSS.*, 2150, 372]: The materialls of the Giants, the beastes, &c., were the proper goods of the paynters, and by them mayd in time of Jo: Ratcliffe, maior, 1601, and the citty maior, shiriffs, and leavelokers payd yerely for the repair, viz.:

Out of the Treasury of the City auniently for above this 80 yeaes for the payntinge of the Giants and the other beastes	- - - - -	xliii ^s . iii ^d .
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More was payd by the Treasurers which was auniently payd by Mr. Maior himself for the City or Maior's Mount till Mr. Edwards time So the Citty payd in all	- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	xxvi ^s . viii ^d . - - - - - - - - - -
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Mr. Maior payd yearly for his 6 mens garlants and balls for his burches to the paynters	- - - - - - - - - -	x ^s . - - - - -
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Beside paying a man to carry the maior's mount	- - - - -	ii ^s . vi ^d .
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And the men new gloves and their wages and for the burches	- - - - -	- - - - -
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Mr. Maior made companys drink as the passed by beare, and the Councill and aldermen wine and a banquet at alighting or wyne and cakes.

The Sheriffs—

Payd yerely for the payntinge of the elephant v ^s . a peece to the paynters	- - - - -	x ^s .
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And payd the Carriers and Cupitt	- - - - -	- - - - -
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Payd for their 8 garlands xii ^s . for their balls to their burches betwene them	- - - - -	ii ^s .
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For their 2 haunce staves xx ^d . a peece	- - - - -	iii ^s . iii ^d .
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for their burches, gloves, and wages to the halberters	- - - - -	- - - - -
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For the dragon at paynters charge only for the carriage and payinge 6 naked boys at the Sheriffs and leavelokers charge	- - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - -
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The Leavelokers payd yearly for payntinge the 4 beastes and 4 hobbyhorses equally betwixt them	- - - - - - - - - -	xliii ^s . iii ^d .
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the payd the carriers and dancers besides	- - - - -	- - - - -
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For Morris dancers had x^s. from all, but now have no fee but the curtesye after the show at eny house what the please.

The mayor payed yearly to the paynters	- - - - -	xii ^s . vi ^d .
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To Sargant Parry and his mate for leading and keeping in order the armed men at wach	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .	vi ^d .
„ Tho: Waler, Citty Ensigne, for carrying Citty cullers at wache	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .	vi ^d .
„ Gest, Citty drummer, for beating drumme at Wache	-	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
„ Rob. Thorneley and Jo Wright for theire worke about the Giants and other payntings at Midsomer Show	-	-	-	-	-	xliiis.	iiii ^d .
for fittinge of the Mayor's mount	-	-	-	-	-	xxvi ^s .	viii ^d .
Leavelokers, 1610—							
Paynting of the beasts and hobyhorses at Midsomer - Sheriff, 1615—	-	-	-	-	-	xliiis.	iiii ^d .
Jasper Gillam for 4 garlands for harness men	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .	-
4 men that carried the armor	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .	-
Gloves for harness men	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvi ^d .
Leveloker, 1628—							
4 men that carried the 2 beastes	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .	vi ^d .
5 men that held the boys that ridd	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .	vi ^d .
2 boys that dancedd the hobyhorses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chatterton the piper, my pt.	-	-	-	-	-	-	xii ^d .
Paynting the beasts at Midsomer, my pt.	-	-	-	-	-	xvi ^s .	viii ^d .

A compute of the charges about Midsomer Show, all thinges to be made newe by reason the ould modell were all broken wh: was Mr. Holmes and Jo. Wrights goods and yearly repayred bertofore by the City Treasury one part, and the Maior and Sheriffs and leavelokers the rest.

Imprimis for finding of all the materials with the workmanship of the 4 great giants all to be made new as neare as may be like as the were before at vi ^a a giant the least that can be in all	-	-	-	-	-	-	£20
4 men to carry them	-	-	-	-	-	-	x ^s .
New makinge the citty mount called the Maior's mount as auntiently it was and for hiring of boyes for the same and a man to carry it	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ^l vi ^s . 8 ^d .
Making anew the marchant's mount as auntiently it was with a shipp to turne, hiring of boys and 5 to carry it	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiij ^l
Making anew the Elephant and Castell and Cupitt to sbute out of it and 2 men to carry it [“boy in it with his bow and arrow”]	-	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^s . viii ^d .
Making new the 4 beastes for the leavelookers called the unicorne, the antelope, the flower de luce, and camel, at 33 ^s . 4 ^d . a peece	-	-	-	-	-	vii ^l xiiis. iiii ^d .	-
8 men to carry them	-	-	-	-	-	-	xvi ^s .
4 hobby horses at vi ^s . viii ^d . a peece	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxvi ^s . viii ^d .
and 4 boys to carry them	-	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .
2 hancestaves for the boys that ride for the sheriffs	-	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^s . viii ^d .
6 garlands for Mr. Maiors halberts and 4 a peece for Mr. Sheriffs at xx ^d . a peece	-	-	-	-	-	-	xxiii ^s . viii ^d .
Balls for the maior and sheriffs burches	-	-	-	-	-	-	x ^s .
Making new the dragon	-	-	-	-	-	-	v ^s .
6 naked boys to beat at it	-	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^s .
6 morris dancers and tabrett and pipe	-	-	-	-	-	-	xx ^s .
The whole some the paynters findinge all this yeare as abovesayd is to borrow the hall as before for them	-	-	-	-	-	-	£45 9 8
Mrs. Maiores barage [drink-money] the tyme will be halph a yeare dowing.							

A note of wages to John Wright's severall workmen to the making of the giants' works. [Harl. 2150].

P ^d . to Wm. Coates for 44 dayes work to the giants, xiiii ^d . per day	-	-	-	-	-	3 10 6
And diet George Malbone 44 dayes vi ^d . a day	-	-	-	-	-	1 2 0
And diet Wm. Siddall vi dayes	-	-	-	-	-	0 6 0
Daniell Cornell Capper for 7 dayes at 20 ^d .	-	-	-	-	-	0 11 8
Diet John Banion 16 dayes xii ^d . per day	-	-	-	-	-	0 16 0

Besides my owne worke dailie my wife and family all herein wholly employed.

6 6 2

26 Companies as goe at Midsomer and their ould names. [Harl. 2150, 376].

1. Tanners, Barkers. 2. Drapers. 3. Berebruers. 4. Barboursurgions, wax and Tallow Chandlers. 5. Cappers pinner wyedrawers lynnendrapers and bricklayers. 6. Wrights glabers tylers daubers and thachers. 7. Joyners, Carvers, and Turners. 8. Paynters Glasiers, Imbrauderers and Stationers. 9. Gouldsmythes Masons and Wachmakers. 10. Smythes, Cutlers, pewterers, Cardmakers, plumers, Girdlers, spurors, arrowhead makers, armorers and bell foundlers (*erased*). 11. Buchers and Fleshmongers. 12. Glovers wett and dry and parchment makers. 13. Shomakers or Cordwainers and *Coblers (erased)* jorneymen incorporate. 14. White and browne bakers and Milners. 15. Fletchers, Bowyers, Conpers, Stringers. 16. Mercers and Appoticaryes. 17. Ironmongers grosers and ropers 18. Cookes Inholders vitlers ostlers and Tapsters. 19. Skynners, or furriers and felt or Hatmakers. 20. Sadlers and Fusterers and *Curriers (erased)*. 21. Taylers and *bothers (erased)*. 22. Fishmongers. 23. Shermen, Clothworkers and Walkers. 24. Dyers or husters. 25. Weavers of linnen and wollen. 26. Marchants venturers mere merchants and *mariners (erased)*. Ale women of no trade ; Bone lace weavers ; Other gent

The Constables to go in every ward for their free benevolence and give it and the note to Mr. Maior.

By Statute 12 Richard II., c. 6. (confirmed by Statute 11 Henry IV., c. 4.), the games of tennis, football, quoits, dice, casting the stone, kailes and the like, were prohibited to serving-men and labourers, and they were enjoined to practise archery instead of playing at these games. Playing at "tables," but only for meat and drink, by apprentices and servants of husbandry, labourers and artificers, was forbidden by Statutes 11 Henry VII., c. 2., and 19 Henry VII., c. 12. This was, of course, with the view of providing for the defence of the kingdom, as it is set forth in Assembly Orders 4 and 7, drawn up by the Mayor, Henry Gee. In 11 Henry VII., c. 2, an act was passed directing that no prentice should play at tenys.¹ It is not, however, until 24 Henry VII., that we find references in the Chester Records to prosecutions under these statutes. Five persons, including a "capellanus," William Wirhall, are fined xld. each for playing at tables and bowls and other unlawful games to the pernicious example of others. These games went on by night as well as by day, and the complaints in the next reign are much more frequent, the keepers of bowling alleys being fined as well as those who frequented them.²

¹ 11 Hen. VII., c. 2. No prentice to play at tenys, clash, dice, cardes, bowles, or such like unlawful games (except durence the Christmas hollydayes and then only within their masters' houses). Also any housholder allowing any of the above games in his house (except at Christmas) should be fined 6/8 for every offence.

² 4 Hen. VIII. Et quod Ric'us Dayn custodit servientes civium Civitatis Cestrie ludentes ad spirulas et alia joca illicita. Et quod Elena Stevenson custodit, &c., tam nocte quam die.

12 Hen. VIII. Richard Milner for keeping in his house (in domo sua) several men daily playing at cards, 3/4. Richard Godeman, Walker, and Cecilia his wife for keeping in their house different persons gaming at night and dancing until 12 o'clock at night to the great nuisance of their neighbours.

38 Hen. VIII. Et quod Rad'us Cutler custodit vallem spirilatoriam voc' a commen bollyng alley contra formam statuti—fine iii^s. iiij^d.

Stephen Gosson, in his *School of Abuse*, 1579, refers in strong terms to the abuses of the game of bowls. "Common bowling alleys are privy mothes that eat up the credit of many idle citizens, whose gaynes at home are not able to weighe downe theyr losses abroad—whose shoppes are so farre from maintaining their play, that theyr wives and children cry out for bread, and go to bedde supperless ofte in the yeare."¹

"Why should I speak of the ancient exercises of the long bow, by the citizens of this city, now almost clean left off and forsaken. By means of closing in of common grounds, our archers, for want of room to shoot abroad, creep into bowling alleys and ordinarie dicing-houses neer home where they have room enough to hazard their money at unlawful games."²

In the curious ordinances for the Northwich Grammar School, while the scholars are directed to "refresh" themselves, according to old custom there and elsewhere, at Christmas and Easter by barring out their master, they are bidden to practice archery and eschew bowling, card-playing, quoiting, &c.³

The practice of bowling was apparently on the increase, for persons were fined $\frac{3}{4}$ each, 4 Edward VI. for "bollyng in the hye way," and the penalty for keeping a bowling alley was increased to $\frac{6}{8}$.

In Elizabeth's reign there are frequent presentments of persons bowling on the Roodce and elsewhere, and occasionally on Sundays and Holy days, but the fine had fallen to xii^d. This was apparently deemed insufficient as a check, for in 1589, a penalty of 2/- was imposed on Hugh Case and William Shurlock for playing football in St. Werburgh's Cemetery during divine service, or rather "sermon-time" (*tempore divine predicationis*), and the strict mayor, Henry Hardware, who made himself so unpopular with the

Et quod Thomas Radelyff pro consimili.

1 Ed. VI. Richard Davy and 2 others were fined ii^s. for keeping unlawful games in their houses at night.

Thomas Merkyn is fined for playing apud le boules, and John Symont and several others for playing ad sortulas.

In 2 Ed. VI. the fine is $\frac{3}{4}$ for keeping a bowling alley, and 8 persons are mulcted in the same penalty as "communes sperilatores."

¹ Steph. Gosson—*School of Abuse*, 1579, quoted by Strutt x. xlviii.

² Stow's Survey, p. 85.

³ Ordinances, 1558, for Free Grammar Schole at North-Wich that upon Thursdaies and Saturdaies in the afternoon and upon Holidiaies, the Scholars do refresh themselves; and that a weeke before Christmas and Easter (according to the old Custome) they barre and keepe forth of the Schoole the Schoolemaster, in such sort as others Scholers doe in great Schooles. And that as well in the Vacations as the other dayes aforesaid they use their bowes and arrowes onely and eschew all Bowleinge, Cardinge, Dyceinge, Quiteinge and all other unlawfull games.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2099, 425.

citizens by prohibiting the Midsummer Show, breaking up the Giants and taking up the Bull ring, fined James Smith in the heavy sum of 20/- for keeping for his own profit a common alley and gaming house,¹ and ten others, 6/8. It is interesting to note that this same year, the Dee being frozen over, "the people played foteball on it."² Was the football "ground," for the nonce, out of the Mayor's jurisdiction? No fines are recorded for this contravention of the statute.³

Amongst other games Shovel-board was a favourite amusement in Tudor times, but included amongst the unlawful games prohibited by statute. It was called also shove-groat, or slide-groat, and was played by propelling or shoving a coin—at one time a silver groat—along a board with the view of reaching certain marks. Taylor, the Water poet, in his "Travels of Twelve Pence," sets forth the complaint of one of Edward VI.'s shillings, often used for this game:

"You see my face is beardlesse, smooth, and plaine,
Because my Sovereigne was a child 'tis knowne,
When as he did put on the English Crowne.
But had my stamp been bearded, as with haire,
Long before this it had beene worne out bare.
For why with me the unthrifts every day
With my face downwards do at shove board play.
That had I had a beard, you may suppose,
Th' had worne it off, as they have done my nose."⁴

The cruel and dangerous pastime of Bull-baiting was especially popular with the citizens of Chester, and formed part of the entertainment provided by the retiring mayor. The bull ring was ordered to be taken up by the same mayor (Henry Hardware, 1599-1600) who sourly proscribed the merry-making at the Mid-

¹ Commune locum jacent' globos, anglice "a common alley and a common gaminge house."

² Harl. MSS., 2125.

³ 17 Eliz., 1575. Jury presented a certain unlawful game lately begun called foteball, practised upon the Roode Dee on each Sunday and Holy Day (nuper inceptum in le Roode Dee singulis diebus dominicis et diebus festis).

12 Aug., 1576. W^m. Crosse, Berebruer, with 3 others, apud Roode Dee fuit in globando, 6/8.

30 Eliz., 1588. 25 fined xii^d. pro globando super le Rode Dee et aliis locis.

31 Eliz., 1589. W^m. Holland and 42 others pro globando voc' Bowles tempore servicii vespertini, fined xii^d.

⁴ 35 Eliz., 1592. Rob. Passivall, card maker, and Thomas Morgan, cook, are fined 6/8 for receiving and harbouring in their houses "mens servants and others playing at 'Shoffull boorde.'"

25 Eliz., 1584. 8 persons are fined 2^s. each for keeping in their cellars an unlawfull game called "slide thrifte."

9-10 Eliz., 1567. 23 persons fined for playing cards (*observant pictas cartas et tabellas lusorias*).

summer Show. But his successor, Robert Brerewood, restored this and other ancient customs, and in Harl. MSS., 2125, we read, under the date 1619, "A bull baytinge at the high crosse the 2nd daye of "October according to Auncient Custome for Mr. Mayor's farewell "out of his office." The scene must have been especially lively, if not riotous, for a "contention arose betweene the bowcliers and "bakers about theire dogges then fightinge."

It was not till the year 1754, in the mayoralty of Dr. William Cowper, that the Corporation withdrew their sanction of this cruel and debasing pastime, by absenting themselves. An ineffectual attempt having been made to abolish it altogether in the mayoralty of Mr. Brodhurst, it continued till the year 1803, when it was suppressed under the powers of an Act of Parliament then passed to amend a former Act for lighting and cleansing the streets of Chester, and for preventing nuisances and annoyances in the streets, rows, and passages of the city.¹

Cock-fighting was also popular, giving its name to some rising ground outside the Walls, towards the end of Cow Lane, called "Cockfight Hill," frequently mentioned in the *Lease Ledger*. In 1619 further provision was made for this pastime, when William, Earl of Derby, made "a fair cockpitt under St. John's, in a garden "by the water side, to which resorted gent of all parts, and great "cocking was used a long while."²

The Maypole appealed to the gentler natures within the city, and gathered round itself in its season, doubtless, many a merry crowd. One continued to stand, within the memory of persons now living, in Handbridge, opposite St. Mary's Church (see Leveaux' Map, page 108).³ A second stood outside the Northgate, near the point where the road divides for Parkgate and Liverpool.

Bear-baiting had at one time been an amusement at Chester, as is indicated by the name of one of the streets, Bearward Lane, and more than one family of that surname lived in the city.⁴

An Assembly Order shows that this cruel sport had not entirely died out in Chester, though it had been repeatedly denounced from the city pulpits. It was maintained at the expense of the city, until by this order (A.O., 935) the practice was finally prohibited.

935. 8 Oct., 38 Eliz. Alsoe where by daylie experience it hath
 Plays and fallen out what great inconveniences there have Arrysen by
 Bearebeats playes and bearebeats within this Citie, besides how the
 restrayned. Magistrates in open pulpitts Have bene exclaymed upon for
 sufferinge the same within Citie, proveinge the same playes and bearebeats

¹ Lysons' Cheshire, 599.

² Harl. MSS., 2125.

³ Referred to by Washington Irving in the "Sketch Book."

⁴ As late as Edward IV.'s reign the name of Agnes *Berward* is found.

contrary to gods Lawes and the Comen wealth, ffor reformacon wherof it is nowe fully ordered by this whole Assembly that hensforth within this Citie there shalbe neither play nor beare beat upon the Cities Charges, and that noe Citizen hensforth upon payn of punishment and fyne shall repayre out of this Citie nor out of the Liberties or franchises thereof to any play or bearebeat And notwithstandinge because yt shall not be alledged that this restraynte is for sparinge of the treasury of this Citie It is ordered that it shalbe Lawfull for the Maior of this Citie for the tyme beinge to appoynt to be geven in rewarde to her Majesties players repayinge to this Citie twentie shillings and to any noble mens players sixe shillings eighte pence and not above.

Besides the pageants, processions and representations of plays which were so popular in "Merry England" during the Tudor period, it was customary for the citizens of Chester to assemble at wakes and other festive gatherings, of which good eating and much drinking of strong ale formed an important part.¹ The ecclesiastical authorities endeavoured to turn this fashion to good account towards defraying the expenses of repairing the church fabrics. Strutt remarks that—

Churchwardens, observing the wakes to be more popular than any other holidays, thought, by establishing similar institutions, they might draw together a large company of people and annually collect from them, gratuitously as it were, such sums of money for the support and repairs of the church as would be a great easement to the parish rates. By way of enticement to the populace, they brewed a certain portion of strong ale, to be ready on the day appointed for the festival, which they sold to them, and most of the better sort in addition to what they paid for their drink contributed something towards the collection.—*Strutt* x. 274.

In certain townes where drunken Bacchus bears swaie, against Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, or some other time, the churchwardens, for so they call them, of every parish, with the consent of the whole parish, provide half-a-score or twentie quarters of mault, whereof some they buy of the church stocke, and some is given to them of the parishioners themselves, everyone conferring somewhat, according to his ability; which mault being made into very strong ale, or beer, is set to sale, either in the church, or in some other place assigned to that purpose. Then, when this nippitatum, this huffe-cappe, as they call it, this nectar of life, is set abroach, well is he that can get the soonest to it, and spends the most at it, for he is counted the godliest man of all the rest, and most in God's favour, because it is spent upon his church forsooth. If all be true which they say, they bestow that money which is got thereby for the repaire of their churches and chappels: they buy bookes for the service, cupps for the celebration of the sacrament, surplusses for Sir John, and such other necessities.—*Stubbs, Anatomie of Abuses*, 1595.

It was to be expected that such gatherings would be the scene of much riot and disorder, and more than once the Mayor and Aldermen in Council passed regulations prohibiting such festivities.

Thus, 2 Hen. VII. It is ordered that no maner of man within the cite of Chester shall nother gedder ne exorte non of his neighbours to eny

¹ John Tylston presented 5 Ed. VI., 1551, for keping a vytallinge house byfore the Comunyon every Sundaye.

comyn ale without the franchises of the said citie upon payn of forfetyng xl^s. as ofte tymes as they be founde giltye therin.

7 Hen. VIII. Tempore Joh'is Rathbone. It is ordred by John Rathbon, maire of the Citie of Chester and his brethern the xxiii; with the holl counsaill of the said citie for diverse consideracions and causes profitable theym movyng that no maner person ner persons inhabityng within the said citie shall not go ner gedder no compayny out of the said Citie into the countrey nother to prest making, walshe weddingys ner ales upon the payn of to hym or theym that doith so gedder x^s., and of hym or theym that therto so goith vi^s. viii^d., as oft as they so offend, and their bodies to ward there to remayn during the maires pleasure.

This order is repeated in the following year, and again in the ninth and nineteenth years of Queen Elizabeth.

Priest
Offerings,
Ales,
Welsh
Weddings.

63b.—Tempore Joh'is Rathbone majoris xxviii^o die Aprilis anno Regni Regn Henrici Octavi Octavo [1516]. For as moche as before this tyme [7 Hen. VIII.] for the publike welthe of this citie a good and moche profitable ordinance hath ben made and established by the mayre aldermen and commyn counseylle of the same that no person beyng resident wythyn the same citie should neyther go ne assemble any companie oute of the saide citie into the Countrey to prests offryngs ales ne to walshe weddingys under the payne to hym or them that so assembleth or geddeth suche company x^s. and to every of them that is so assembled and goithe to the same vi^s. viii^d. as oft as they or anye of them offending in the same and their bodies to prison ther to remayne duryng the mayres pleasure by which ordinance no mencion is made of anye sugn [songen] assembly gederyngs offryngs and also to be hadde and mayde wythin this citie wherefore it is ordeyned establyshed and decreede by the mayre aldermen and counseylle of the saide citie that no maner personne ne personnes inhabytyng or resident within this Citie shall gedder or cause to be gedderid or assembled anye compayne to any prest offrynge, first masse or gospell, walshe weddinge or ale to be said songen or hadde within this citie or eny forener under the sayde payne and forfitture of x^s. of hym or theym that so gederyth or assemblyth or causeth suche assemble or gedderyng to be had and mayde and to hym that so is gedryd or assembled vi^s. viii^d. for every tyme that anye personne therein offendythe and to be further imprisonned at the maires pleasure.

9 Eliz. Temp. Williⁱ Snede, militis, 13 Dec. Forasmuch as in the time of John Rathburne, late mayor of the Citie of Chester at an assembly ther holden the xxviiith of Aprell, 8 Hen. VIII., it was ordered and decred by the said mayer that no maner of person or persons inhabiting or resident within the said citie shuld gether or cause to be gethered or assembled any compeny to any prest offerings, wedding or ale, to be had or said within this Cytie upon paine of x^s. of him or the that so gathereth or assembleth or causeth such assembli or gathering to be had or made, & to him that so is gathered and assembled vi^s. viii^d for every time that eny person therin offendeth & to be punished at Mr. Mayer's pleasure. And for as much as the said order from the making therof have not been observed in all points as it ought to have been, but partly neglected, wherfor great inconveniences have rysen and grown, for remedie wherof it is now ordered by the seid Sir William Snede, Knyght, mayer of the Citie of Chester,

thaldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsail of the said Citie, at an assembly holden in the Common Hall within the said Citie the daie and yere first above written that the same order shall stande, be firme stablished and put in execucion, and every article, sentence, point and clause therin conteyned to remaine and continue in force and vertue from hensfourth for ever upon paine of forfeiture of the severall sommes before in the seid orde expressed.

27 Oct., 19 Eliz. And alsoe it is further ordered at the
 295.
 Welsh
 Weddings said assembly that from hensfurth the former orders for
 welsh weddings & getherings shall stande viz. that noe
 manner of personne or persons inhabitinge this citie nor
 whiche shall inhabite this city shall hereafter have cause nor resort unto
 any ale weddinge, gatheringe, nor offeringe at any maryadge or weddinge,
 ale or gatheringe within the said city nor ellswere upon the former
 paines.

One of the subjects of complaint made before Parliament in 1590, in a report on "The State Civil and Ecclesiastical of the County of Lancaster and some parts of Cheshire," was that Wakes, Ales, &c., were freely exercised upon y^e Sabbath.

It was in keeping with this merry-making spirit that breakfasts and banquets were commonly given on Christmas Day, and other high days—costly dish-meats and drinks were brought to women

70b.—Henry Gee, Mayor, 12 May, 32 Henry VIII. For as
 13.
 Excessive
 Expenses
 at
 Churchings. moche as gret excesse and superfluose costes and charges hath
 and doth dalye grow by reason of costly disses, meytes and
 drynk, brought unto women lying in childbed, and by them
 in lyke wise to the other recompensyth at ther churchings,

whereby such a costome is begon and lyke to contynue, that such as be meane persons in substance many tymes strayne themselves to such chargis more then ther habilities may well sustayne, by occasion of which voluntary expencis the be les able to sustayne and maynteyne ther nessecary charge It is ordered that from hensforth there shall be no such dishes metes and wyne used to be brought to eny woman at childbed nor at churching, nor allso that no women except the mydwife shall go into the house with hur that is churchid but to bring hur home to the dore and so to departe upon payne of forfytour of vi^s. viii^d. to be levied ageynst the person that onith the house, and iiis. iiiid. of every other person offending the said order as oft as anye of thaym shalbe found giltye in the same. Provided that the moders and systers with the systars in lawe of the woman so churchid may lawfully enter and go into the house with the midwife, this order or eny thing therin conteyned notwithstanding.

88a.—Whereas heretofore of late tyme yt hathe been used
 51.
 Breakfasts
 on
 Christmas
 Day. that dyverse of the worshipfull of this citie have caused
 breckfasts to be made in ther houses upon Christenmas daie
 in the mornyng before Dyvyne service endyd by reasone
 wherof manye dysorderid persons have used themselves
 rayther all the daye after idellie in wyse and wantonnes then geven them
 selves holy to contemplacion and prayre the same Sacryt holye and
 prynsepaule feaste, according to ther moste bounden dutye unto God the
 Sone, Redemer of the Worlde, who as that daye came into this worlde

lying in childbed, and much junketting at the churching of women. An endeavour was made by Orders of Assembly to check the growing fashion, as leading to great excess and superfluous cost, entirely beyond the means of the persons who gave such entertainments.

Archery attained a high standard of excellence in Cheshire during the Plantagenet period, and, as we have seen, Cheshire archers were able to give a good account of themselves on more than one important battle-field. The Welsh proverb, "Mwy nag un bwa yw Ynghaer,"—"More than one yew-bow in Chester," testified to the respect in which that means of defence was held by the Welsh marauders. The Chester Records indicate how common the use of the bow was in times of peace, ready to be snatched up and employed in furtherance of a street quarrel.¹ But the practice of shooting with the long bow began to decline in Tudor times, hand-guns and cross-bows being preferred, and it was found necessary to enact more than one statute to promote the use of the bow. Complaint was made to Parliament by bowyers, fletchers, stringers, and arrow-head makers, that numbers of unlawful games, as bowling, dicing, slyde-thrift, and shove-groat, were practised in the fields, to the great hurt and the prejudice of the young people.

In 5 Edward IV. it was ordained that Butts should be provided in each town or township, and every full grown man was ordered to resort thither on each festival day after divine service with his

and was borne of our blessed Virgyn Marye for the redemption of all mankynd and to the intent the same feste may be the better and more hollier kepte according to thorder of God and his holy Church Mr. Mayre by the advyse of his worshipfull Brethern thaldermen of this cytie have thought good that those breckefasts, banckyts the same Christenmes daye in the morning shall not be used and kept hereafter and you shall understand that this ys not meynyd but that every man y^e wyll upon other dayes convenyent may bestowe the same coste upon ther frinds and pore nyghbours as lyberally as thaye have byne accustomed other yeres before tyme to the prayse of God and contentacion of their neighbors, and allso that no maner person or persones go abrode in this citie mummyng in any place within the same citie, ther fayses being coveryd or dysgyed, and that no maner of person or persones within this citie suffer any person or persones to playe at any unlawfull games within his or ther house or houses which be prohibytd by any lawe or statute within this realme, upon payne of impresenment of ther bodyes and makynge fyne according to the statute in that case providyd.

¹ 22 Ric. II., John of York, servant of John de Newton, shot an arrow with a certain Stonenbowe and struck the daughter of John le Walssh, and wounded her so that her life was despaired of.

John, son of Wm. of Brumburgh, on the Sunday of St. Barnabas' Festival, shot three arrows at John de Watl'.

own bow of yew, wych-hazel, or awborne, and shoot his quiverful up and down the Butts, under the penalty of a half-penny for every day's omission. Each pair of Butts had two mounds of earth with targets fixed up, so that the shooters at each Butt had to walk their one hundred paces to pick up their arrows, and then, turning round, they shot them again at the opposite target.

By statute of 3 Henry VIII., c. iii., all men under the age of forty, some certain persons only excepted, were ordered to have bows and arrows and to use shooting. This not being found sufficient, another act was passed (33 Henry VIII., c. 16) for encouragement of the long-bow. It opens with a complaint on account of the decay of archery, ordains that all men under sixty, except spiritual men, justices, &c., shall use shooting with long bow, and shall have bow and arrows ready continually in their house: every person having a man-child in his house shall provide a bow and two shafts for every such man-child being seven years and upwards, till of the age of thirteen, in order to promote shooting, and, if the young men be servants, the expense of such articles shall be abated in their wages. When of the age of seventeen, the young men are to provide a bow and four arrows for themselves, and use shooting; and if a master or father permit his servants or children being seventeen years to lack a bow and arrow for the space of a month, the said master or father shall forfeit $\frac{6}{8}$ for every offence. Every servant upwards of seventeen and under sixty shall pay $\frac{6}{8}$ if he be without bow and four arrows for one month. None under seventeen were to use a yew bow under a penalty of $\frac{6}{8}$, unless he had lands of £10 yearly or had movables of 40 marks value.¹

The inhabitants of every city, town and place were ordered to erect butts and use shooting on holy days and at every other convenient time. On account of the greater price and excellence of yew, it was enacted that bowyers should make four bows of ordinary wood, as elm, ash, wych, hazel, &c., for every one of yew, and on neglect pay a penalty of $\frac{3}{4}$ for every such bow deficient. All artificers of bows and arrows were obliged, on command of

¹ John Ashewod, of Bridgenorth, bounde to maintain his occupacon of a bowyer or else lose his freedom—"if he doe bringe and conveye, &c., unto the Citie of Chester the number of half C [centum=100] of Spaynishe yew bowes or bowe-staves, C English yew bowes or bowe-staves and C elme bowes or bowe-staves, and doe sett up and maintaine the occupacon of a bowyer within the said Citie, and therein doe utter and sell at resonable prices his bowes and bowe-staves, and at all tymes afterwards doe maintaine the said occupacon in orderlie sorte and furnish himselfe with sufficiente number sorts and kynds of bowes and bowe-staves, and doe not occupie any other trade, arte, nor occupacon."—*Mayor's Book*, 16 Eliz.

John Ashewod, of Bridgenorth, Bower, admitted free, quia admissus est ad maintainendum et preimplendum statutum del Artillery et super quamdam recognitionem.

the King, the Lord Chancellor, &c., to go from London to inhabit any town destitute of such artificers, where they may be ordered, on penalty of 40/- a day during their abode, after receiving proper notice. Henry VIII. also (1537) instituted a society for the practice of shooting, under a charter in the name of the fraternity of St. George. It was under four masters, who had the supervision of all such fraternities throughout the kingdom.¹

Several of the bowyers in Chester appear to have hailed from Yorkshire. In 3 Henry V., the names of John Bowyer de Hull and John de Ebor, bowyer, occur; 27 Henry VI., Robert Clydderowe de Ebor, Bower.

In Edward IV.'s reign the bowyers were compelled to sell their best bowstaves at 3/4; this order was confirmed 3 Henry VIII. In Queen Mary's reign the best bows were of foreign yew, costing 6/8 to 3/4; the English yews commanding only 2/-.² In 18 Henry VII., one gross of bowstrings was valued at 4d., and twenty-five arrows at 6d.³

There were various trades connected with archery: besides William le Alblaster mentioned in 25 Edward I., we have Robert le Stringer who lived in Foregate Street, and John le Stringer in St. Jones Lane; Hopkyn le Flechier, and Thomas Ambrose Flechier; George Lewson, arrow-hed macre. The wages of a bowyer in 12 Elizabeth were as high as those of any trade except the millwright, 6d. a day; a fletcher and an arrow-head maker receiving 4d. each. In 39 Elizabeth, bowyers, fletchers, and arrow-head makers were paid 8d. each per diem.

The Mayor of Chester, Henry Gee, was not backward in carrying out the statute,⁴ and an Assembly Order was drawn up, 31 Henry VIII., directing that all children above the age of six

¹ The Seneschals of the Guild of St. George, at Chester, 24 Hen. VIII., were Fulke Dutton and Thomas Hele; 25 Hen. VIII., Fulk Dutton and Robert Barton; 33 Hen. VIII. (1541), John Walley and Ran. Maynewaryng.

² Strutt.

³ 1 Phil. and Mary, le Crosbowe cnm vocat' le wyndeglasse and ii bolts and ii arrows viii^s; 19 Eliz., two yew bows and one daggar were appraised at x^s.

⁴ 38 Hen. VIII. John Bastwell and one other, bowyers, were fined xx^d. for not observing the statute.

1 Ed. VI. Hugh Pearce presented for shoting in a handgone contrary to the statute.

3 Eliz. Above 100 citizens were presented for lack of bows and arrowes, and fined in xii^d. a peece.

9-10 Eliz., 1567. John Hale, apprentice of Roger Sydall, and 116 others, mostly apprentices, are fined 4^d. each for not having a bow and arrows according to the statute. On the other hand, John Grymesdich and five others are fined 2/6 each for shooting "in balistis," contrary to the statute.

17 Eliz., 1575. Wm. Crosse is fined £10 for shooting with an "arcubalist" and killing a hound (molossus) belonging to Edward Grymesdich.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2150, 268.

should go to school on every work-day, and on Sundays and Holy-days, after attendance at their parish church, should resort with bow and arrows to the Rood Dee, or other convenient place, and exercise the craft of shooting during the rest of the day.

A place immediately outside the city was called the "Hollow Butts."

Butts were provided in 1562 for the practice of archery, with the sanction of the Mayor and Corporation, each person practising paying a penny to the owner of the butts; but, as we shall see, the owner did not grow rich with his custom. Regulations were made

A. D. 4.
Children
to go to
School,
practise
Shooting
on
Roodce.

62a. - Tempore Henrici Ge maioris Civitatis Cestrie anno regni Henrici Octavi tricesimo primo.—Forasmuche as the wretched life of ociositie or idlenes is the rote of all vice and engendereth slouth povertie mysserie and other inconvenience as voluptuositie and all other wayne things sleying the bodye wasting good dedes and letting virtue and goodnes to prosede wherunto youth and tender age by course of nature dothe enclyne and obeye unles some grace otherwyse be sent from above or else the use and exercise of busynes in learning of good and vertuus leving, therfore and in avoydinge of the same wretched lyfe of ociositie to set fourth the good and vertuus lyfe of working learning and doing goodness It is ordred by the Right Worshipfull Henry Gee mayre of the Cytye of Chester, the Sheriffs Aldermen and Common Counsaile thereof by ther owne sole and full assent and consent at an assymbley houlden within the Pentice of the saide Citie, the 21st daye of November in ye xxxist yere of the Reigne of our Soveregne lorde King Henry the Eght, that from hensforthe all and every chylde or chyldryn beinge of the age of vi yeres or above upon every wourkeday shalbe set to the schoule to learne ther belefe and other devocious prayers and learning or else to sum other good virtuus laboure craft or occupacyon wherby they and every of them hereafter maye obteyne and have an honest lyving with goodnes, and that none of the same childryne of the same age of vi yeres or above shalbe from hensforth kept idell upon the workeday, and that allso upon ye Sonday and other holye dayes all and every the saide chyldren shall resorte into ther parochie church and there abyde duryng the tyme of devine service ther used, and that donne and the tyme of ther Recreation at dyner all and every the said mayle chyldryn shall resorte with a bowe and arrowes to the rode ee or sum other convenyent place to shoute, and ther shall shote and exercise the craft of shoutinge and artillarie during the rest and remynaunt of the the said Hole daye for pyntes or poyntes and none other thing And that all and every the fathers and mothers of such children shall se this order performyd and also shall bie or cause to be bought for and to ther saide mayle children bowes, arrowes, pyntes and poyntes for the same purpose according to the statute latelye made for the maynteyning of shouting in longe bowes and artillarie whych hath bene always the meynes and the defence of this the Kinges realme of England, and also that from hensforth no unlawfull gaymes be used within the saide citie upon the payne lymtyed in the statutes therof provided, whiche shalbe levied without any pardon therof or any parte of the same.

against betting, bad language, and violent behaviour, and no one was allowed to resort to the butts on Sunday or festivals during the time of divine service, or on week-days before eight in the morning and after eight in the evening.

The Butts would probably be in the square bounded by Frodsham Street, the Canal, Queen Street, and Foregate Street, *i.e.*, the old Justing Croft. This John Bellingham was reduced in 1584 to poverty, for in the Cathedral Treasurers' Book are entries of charity given, 1584, by the consent of Mr. Deane and the Chapter, to an old man named Billingham, ii^s.¹

Articles and orders appoyntyd and set forthe by Mr. John Cowper, Mayor of the Cittie of Chester, and the Worshipfull Bretheren, to be observed and kept at the Gardyn Butts of the Backsyde of the Mansione howse of John Bellingham the joyner, withoute the Eastegate of the said Cittie, the thirde daye of Aprill, Anno Domini 1562.

Efyrest yt ys orderyd, that all gentlemen yomen and other honest and quiytt persones shall have there ffree accesse and Recesse for to se the Shewters at the seid butts upon there honest and quyett behaviours.

Item where there ys buyldid att the proper costes and charges of the preseid John Bellingham fflower severall paire of Butts of severall lengthes rayllid close of every syde and coveryd over the heade for the defence as well of the Shewters as the standors by, *It ys orderyd* that everye persone that shall com in to shewte at the seid Butts in consideracion of the charges of the seid John shall for everye daye that he resortyth to the seid Butts and there shewtyth in game or matche paye to the seid John Billingam the first game that he shewteth be he wyunner or lossor — 1^d.

Item yt ys orderyd that every person that resortyth to the seid Butts not to thentent to exercyse himselfe in the showtynge, but he the rather of purpose to be a Better and Layer of Wadgers or pertyner with a Shewter or Better there, *That* theye and everyone of theme comynge for the same purpose and practysing the same shall as sone as they or eny of theime shall be so taken Bettinge, Lainge of Wadgers or partekynge with any Shewter or Better paye immediately to the said John Bellingam for every daye that he shall be so taken — 1^d. whether he be wyunner or Losser, or ells to be excludid and barrid for any more comyng in the seid gardyn.

Item yt ys orderyd that no person nor persones which shall resorte to the foreseid Butts shall com' within the raylles pertynyng to any Butts there, or sytt upon the same enles he be a Shewter in game shewtyng or be called in by the shuters to measure any shute in contraversie upon payne of paynge — ii^d. for every offence to the co'mon box.

Item yt ys orderyd that no person shall resorte or shewte at the seid Butts upon Sondaye or any ffestyvall dayes in the tyme of dyvyne service usyd in the Churche or in the tyme of any Sermon, nor that no Swearer, Blasphemer of God's holly name, dronker, quarrull pyker, nor ffighter, shall resorte to the same Butts to disquyett the people or Shewters upon payne for everye tyme so doynge to paye to the com'on box — xii^d. or ells to be secludid and barryd the seid Gardyn for ever.

¹ To Byllinnam, a poore old man xvi^d.; 1592. Item to Billingham, a poore olde man xii^d.

On Shrove Tuesday, otherwise called Goteddesday, or Good Tidesday, it was the custom to have a grand football match from the Cross on the Rood Dee to the Common Hall. The Company of Shoemakers provided the ball, valued at $3/4$, which they delivered to the Drapers' Company. In the mayoralty of Henry Gee this was altered, owing to the abuses and disorder which had arisen, and the shoemakers presented to the drapers six gleaves of silver, to the value of vi^d or above, to be competed for in a race upon the Rood Dee before the mayor. The Saddlers' Company had for long time, on the same day, been accustomed to present to the drapers a painted ball of wood, with flowers and arms, which the master, mounted upon horseback, proffered on the point of a spear in the presence of the mayor. In lieu of this they agreed to present a bell of silver, valued at $3/4$, to be competed for in a race on horseback.

Every man who had been married within the year was directed to give an arrow of silver in place of the balls of silk or velvet, which according to custom they had presented, to be competed for by shooting with the long bow.

Item yt ys orderyd that no too shoters shall kepe any paire of Butts above one game yf there be anny mooe shooters which wyll shoote in there companye And also that no person shall speake any braggyngge words to an other (as to say) yf thou darr shoote with me or darr' bett with me which woords be often tymes occasion of inconvenience—upon payne of every tyme so doynge to paye — 11^d. as ys aforeseid.

Item yt ys orderyd that yff there be any person or persons that shall hereafter offend in any of the premissys and will not paye the paynes for his or there offencys above lymytted and appoyntid that then the seid John Bellingam fforthwyth shall brynge the seid offendor or offenders before Mr. Maior That his and theire cause or causys maye be examined and that he maye take further order for there seid offencys.

Item yt ys orderid that no person or persones shall not come to shewte at the seid Butts before viii of the Clok in the forenone, nor after viii in the afternone.

John Cowper, mayor.

H.O. 7. In tyme of Henry Gee, Mayre of the Kings Citie of
Revival of Chester, in the xxxi yere of King Henry theght.

Shooting with For as moche as by the ffeate and exercise of the Kings
long bow: Subjects of this his realme of Englund in shouting in longe
Prizes by bows ther hath continually risen and growen and ben within
Drapers, &c., the said gret multitude of good archers which hath not onelye
Goodtidesday. defended this relme and the subjects therof ageynst the cruell malyse and danger of ther outward enymyes in tyme hertofore passed But allso wyth lyttel nomber and pussanee in regarde have done manye noble actes and discomfitures of warre ageynst the Infidels and others, and furthermore subdud and redused dyvers and manye regions and countries to their due obeysence to the greate honor fame and suertie of this relme and subjects of the same and to the teryble drede and fere of all strange nacyons any

thyng to attempt or to do to the hurte or damage of them or eny of them And albyit that dyverse good statntes and ordenances be provided as well in the tyme of our right dere sovering Lorde Kinge Henry the Eyght, now being as in tyme of his noble progenitors Kings of this realme, confirming the mayntenaunce of archery and shouting in long bowes, yet nevertheles archery and shouting in longe bowes is lyttyll used but dalye menyssheth [mfnisheth] decayeth and abayteth the mor and more to the grete subversion of the common welthe of this the Kyng's Realme and his loving subiēts of the same, and to the greate bouldnes of all outward enymies leving all childryn, yonge men and all other to exercise the same fete smaule corage to use the same but othler unlawfull gaymes prohibited by the Kings highnes and his lawes ¶ In tender consideration of which most godlye feate and exercise in shouting in longe bowes, and for reformation of the said inconvenience and dyverse other happening sodenly open many gode and laudable usages afore tyme usid wherof hath rison and daly dothe and is lyke to do greate emis malys and other inconvenience And to th'entent to set fourth and preserve the same godlye feate and exercyse of shouting in longe bowes and to reveve the said auncient fayme of this the Kings citie of Chester It is orderyd assentyd and agreed by Henry Gee, mayre of the Citie of Chester, the aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Counsell of the same citie, and at an assemble houlden within the said citie in the pentyce ther the tent [tenth] daye of January in the xxxi yere of the Reign of our most dere sovereng Lorde now being Kyng Henry theyght, wyth ther full assent and consent, and allso of the hole occupaycons of Drapers Sadlers and Shoumaykers of and wythin the said citie that the said occupacions of shoumacres which alwayes tyme out of manns remembrance have geven and delyvered yerleye upon Tuesday commonly caulyd Shroft Teuesday otherwyse Goteddesday at afternounge of the same unto the drapars afore the mayre of the citie at the Cros upon the Rood Dee one ball of lether caulyd a fout baule of the value of iiii^s. iiii^d. or about to pley at from thens to the Common Haule of the said Citie and further at pleasure of evill disposed persons wherfore hath ryssyn grete inconvenyence

¶ Ffrom hensforth shall yerlie upon the said Teuesday geve and delyver unto the said Drapars afore the Mayre of the said citie for the tyme being at the said playce and tyme syx gleaves of silver to the value of every of them vi^d. or above to the order at the discretion of the Drapars and the mayre of the said citie for the tyme being to whom shall run best and farthest upon foute before them upon the said Rode Hee that day or any other daye after at the drapers pleasure with the oversight of the mayre for the tyme being And allso that the said occupacion of sadlers within the said citie which be all the same tyme of no mans remembrance hath gevin and delyvered yerleye the said place and tyme every master of them unto the said Drapers ofore the mayre for the tyme being a paynted baule of wood with flowers and armes upon the poynte of a spere being goodly arayd upon horsbake accordingly ¶ From hensforth shall the said Teusday houre and place gyve and delyver unto the said drapars afore the mayre for the tyme beyng upon horsbak a bell of sylver to the value of iiii^s. iiii^d. or above, to be ordred as is aforesaid by the drapers and the mayre of the said citie for the tyme being to whome shall rune best and furthest upon horsbak before them the said daye and tyme and place, and that allso every man that hayth bene maryed within the said citie sithens Shraffs

Teusday last past shall upon the said Shrafft Teusday next to com at the said tyme and place geve and delyver unto the said drapers afore the mayre now being an arrow of silver to the value of five pence or above in value and recompence of such baule of silke or velvit which he being maryed as is aforesaid should or ought then to gyve or delyver according and by the auncient and laudable use and costome of the sayde citie by all the same tyme of no mans remembrance to the contrarye used and approvid, and that also ffrom hensforth every man which hereafter shalbe maryed within the said citie shall in lyke maner upon the said Shraffs teusday next after his maryage at the said tyme and place geve and delyver unto the said Drapers afore the mayre of the said citie for the tyme being a lyke arrow of sylver to the value of v^d. or above in recompenc of the said baule of silke or velvit used and accostomyd to be geven and delyveryd as is aforesaid, Which arrowes of silver so to be geven and delyveryd in recompense of the said banles of sylke or velvit in manner and forme aforesaid shall from hensforth yerly that daye or other dayes after be ordred by the said Drapers and the mayre for the tyme being to and for the preferment and setting forth of the said fete and exercyse of shouting in longe bowes and in avoyding of the said inconvenyence eny use prescription or other thing afore tyme hadde and used to the contrary herof notwithstanding, and further it is orderid and fully assentyd that the said occupation of Drapars and ther successors shall from hensforth kepe and performe this ordinaunce and every artycle therin conteynid in maner and forme aforesaid ordred and mayde, and also the said drapers and their snccesors shall kepe yerly the recreacion and drinking in lyke manner and forme as the same occupations and ther predecessors tyme out of mynd have used to do without eny contradiccion or lett And that also the said occupation of Shoumacres and the occupacyon of Sadlers and ther successors and also every man now being maryed and hereafter to be maryed within the said citie as is aforesaid and every of them shall in lyke maner observe and kepe this ordinaunce and every orteile therof yerlye from hensforth from tyme to tyme without any gruge lett or contradiccion upon payne of every of them so offending to forfyt to the aldermen and stewards of the occupation of Drapars for the tyme being x^{li}. totius quocius [sic] without any pardon therof or any parcill therof according to the auncyent laudable costome and usage of the said citie always used and approvid.

A regulation of the Goldsmiths' Company, 8 March, 1603, enacts that "this order shalbe houlden and kept amongst us all that the broad "arrowes agaynst Shrowftid shall way everie one vi^d. sterling, and everie "on of the Company shall not sell under ix^d. and for everie on that selles "under ix^d. shall forfyt xii^d. And yt is fforether agreyed that the steward "for that time shall come and see them wayd and tuchte, and to have for "his paynes ii^d. a dozen."

"It is agreyed by the Consent of the Alderman and Steward of the "Gouldsmyths that whoe soe ever shall make the bell that shalbe made "against Shrouftide for the Sadlers shall have ffor his paines iii^s iiiii^d. and "yf any of the compeney shall offend in the premisses shall pay unto the "Alderman and Steward and the rest of the Compeney. And yt all the "ould bells shalbe broke and not any of the compeney to by any, to be "newe burnished or sould to the peneltie aforesaid."

8 Feb., 1612. It is agreyed by the whole consent of the Compeneý of the Gouldsmythes that ffor the brood arrowes shall waygh everie Arrowe viii^d. and ffor the makinge of everie Arrowe iiiij^d., soe that yf any shall sell under xiiij^d and for everie defalt that shalbe ffounde by ether Alderman or Stewards ore any of the Compeneý shall pay unto the Alderman and Stewards of the Compeneý for fforfeture xiiij^d. and ffor deniall of the premises yt shalbe lawfull for the Compeneý of the Gouldsmythes to distresse on any thinges in his shope to the value of xiiij^d. And that all the gleves y^t the drapers shall rec^e everie yeare by mariages shalbe broken.

23 Jan., 1674. It was agreed that those who are to make that gleaves for that yeare shall take those gleaves that are left in any of the Brothers hands in the yeare preceeding, and to pay for everie gleave tenn pence a peece and to give twelve pence to those Brethren who doe not make gleaves for that yeare.—*Goldsmiths' Book*.

On one occasion, 33 Elizabeth, an unpleasant dispute arose out of the claim of one Drinkwater to the broad arrow,¹ which had not been awarded on the usual day, the competition being deferred until the following Sunday. The person recording the dispute appears to have been struck more by the insolent and disrespectful behaviour of the claimant than by the merits of the demand which he put forward.²

¹ 33 Eliz., 7 Feb.—Shrofcestewsdæy. Mr. Maire, Mr. Poole, Grene, Balle, Hanky, Lea, Harvy, Bellin, Rogerson, Sheriff Brid, Hamuer, Bterewod, Bavand, Stiles.

The persons aforesaid addressed their lètter to Mr. Peter Warburton, Esquier, declaring the great abuse of his man Drinkwater in cominge to the Maior and clayming of him the brode arrow and flight after those games were (amongst others) differred until Sunday next by proclamacon: saying they were his due albeit unshot for, and that this was the daie and that the maior did not differ the tyme, and that the maior did him wrong, yet wold he have the same with divers other presumptuous and disobedient words, and beinge demaunded by Mr. Grene whether he knew to whom he spake said he spaketh to the maior who did him wrong if he wold not deliver unto him the said ii gaines, and yet not herewith contented thrust himself amongst the justices of peace in his goinge with covered hed and them soulded and encountered with them, and beinge commaunded by an officer to geve place refused the same ether by commandement or dutie. And shewed his M^r. that for his sake his man was pardoned of his imprisonment at that tyme, and praied his opinion towching his said man.

² The following entries in the Muragers' Accounts have reference to the festivities on Shrove Tuesday:—

1 May, 1553.	Laborers for dressing the Watergate against Good tyde	-	vi ^d .
	To the Stuards of the Drapers for good tydds yeld	-	ii ^s .
1554.	iii laborers for dressing about the Watergatt against Good tids day	-	xiiij ^d .
1556.	Paid for clenying the Strett and at Watergate upon Goode tyds day	-	vi ^d .
	Item more paid to the Stuards of the Drapers for Good tids yelde	-	ii ^s .
1559.	Payd unto the drapers at Gutttyde	- - - -	ii ^s .
1560.	Payd unto Stuartts of the drapers	- - - -	ii ^s .
And in the Treasurers' Accounts—			
1555.	For St. George's daye	- - - -	xx ^s . viij ^d .
1558.	Wyne that was sent to ye Cannons on Seynt George day	- -	xvi ^d .
1577, 1580.	Senescallis del Sadlers pro campanilla sua	- -	vi ^s . viijij ^d .
	Ric'o Fullin pro ludendo super le drum usque ad Rood Dee pro le muster per mandat' maioris	- - - -	viiiij ^d .

Minstrels and musicians of all kinds would be in great request at such gatherings, and the City of Chester, with its formally recognised body of Minstrels, was never without an adequate supply of such contributors to the amusement of the public. They were all obliged to have a special licence to ply their trade or follow their profession from the representative of the Dutton family. Notwithstanding the special question put on the court day about drunkenness, these minstrels did not bear a high character for sobriety or orderly behaviour, if we may take the evidence of the Chester Records. Their names occur continually in the list of offenders against the king's peace or the mayor's assize.¹

In the Tabley MSS., c. 143, quoted by Ormerod I., 484, the old ceremony is described as it was used June 24, 1642.

The proclamation orders all musicians and minstrels and others using the "noble art, science and high misterie of musique "and minstrellsie" within the countie palatine and City of Chester, to draw forth their sundry instruments and play here before Robert Viscount Kilmorey or his deputy, unto the accustomed place in dutifull manner and order customablie used by his predecessors before time, and in like good dutifull order to retorne from the said place, playing upon the instruments to the court-house, to make their appearances and do homage, &c., and from thence in like good order, playing upon their instruments to his lodging, and not to depart without license. The deputy then rode to St. John's Church, attended by the minstrels playing before him. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the procession moved from the inn where they assembled [in 1740 it was the Eagle and Child in Northgate Street] in the following order:—A band of music; two trumpeters; licensed musicians with white scarves across their shoulders; the banner borne by one of the principal musicians; the steward on horseback with a white wand in his hand; a tabarder, the tabard emblazoned with the arms of Dutton; the

¹ Ordered that Rich. Rowley and his wief the musician shall both depart the citie of Chester within the space of iii daies next coming and at no tyme afterwards do repaier to the same.

The following are specimens of the entries:—In 34 Ed. I., John, Richard and Roger le Harpere, are indicted for disorder. In 1315 it is Margeria le Rimour and John le Taborer. In 1402, Richard le Rymour (a Tailor), John le Synger, and Agnes de Harper, are under punishment. In 9 Hen. VII., William Weller, mynstrill, is fined for keeping bad company. 19 Hen. VII., mention is made of Richard Ellese, Orgin player of Wrixham, and in Elizabeth's reign the names occur of Wm. Goodeman, virgynall maker, and Thomas Mason, yeoman, *als. dictus* Thomas Mason, syngyngeman.

Hugh Gillam, who was engaged as morris dancer at the Midsummer Show, 1564, is presented for that "he doith kepe evell ruell [rule] in his house."

lord or heir of Dutton, if present, attended by many of the gentry of the county and city on horseback. In the middle of the East-gate proclamation was made of the holding of the court, and from the window of the inn selected for the court, floated a banner emblazoned with the Dutton arms.

On arrival at the church, the heir or deputy, alighting, enters accompanied by his friends, and takes his seat with them in the chancel—"in which place a sett of the lowd musique upon their knees, playeth a solemn lesson or two, which ended, they arise upp with this congratulation, God bless the Kinge and the heire of Dutton! and soe the deputy returneth in like manner to the place where the court is called." He sits awhile to hear the court called (*Curia Minstralcie*), which is done by the steward, who calls the suitors one by one, and "after the apparance made, impanelleth a jurie and soe proceedeth to his charge: (1) That if they knowe of any treason against the kinge or prince, in that court they ought to present it; (2) If any hath exercised his minstrellzie without license of the lord of this court, it is here presentable: whether any of them have prophaned the sabboth by playinge upon that day, unless they have had especial license for it from the lord of that court or his steward, or whether any of them hath been drunke or the like: thirdly, whether they have heard any scandalous words to the prejudice of the heire of Dutton, and by whom."

"After dinner, when the court is over, one of the order delivereth up on his knee the pole or launce whereon the banner was carryed unto the deputy, which is his due, soe that every yeare there is a new launce, but the banner is preserved. The license was 2^s. 2^d. [in 1666, 2^s. 6^d.], and those who are upon the jury the yeare before doe the next yeare after weare long linen towells over their shoulders in manuer of a scarfe, to signify they were elected on the jury *et sic de ceteris*."

In 1539, Matthew Ellis of Overleigh, and Thomas Browne of Netherleigh, having each married a daughter of Sir Piers Dutton, the two weddings were kept at the same time, and with much festivity at Dutton Hall, from which the gentlemen brought their brides on Tuesday, June 24. The company was met at Flookersbrook Bridge by the Steward of Dutton, attended by the pursuivant and standard bearer of the family, each properly habited with their insignia, and preceded by the licensed musicians with white scarves across their shoulders, ranked in pairs, and playing on their several instruments. This procession marched through the city to the respective mansions, where plentiful entertainment was provided.¹

¹ Cowper MSS.

The advowry of the minstrels is stated in the Ministers' Accounts for 17 Edward IV. (801, 5) to bring in *nil*.¹

Amongst others who sat in this court was Abbot Oldon, who was appointed in 1477 to act as steward, *hac vice*, in conjunction with the mayor, Hugh Masey, during the minority of Laurence de Dutton.

The city had a body of Waits-men who were provided annually with gowns,² but according to the custom of the age they appeared to have found their own instruments.³

An interesting document dated 28 May, 1560, records a dispute about the proprietorship of the instruments of music, the hantbois, recorders, cornets, and violins used to discourse sweet music before the City Fathers.⁴

The Chester Archæological Society possesses a set of recorders, four in number, which were presented by Colonel Cholmondeley.⁵

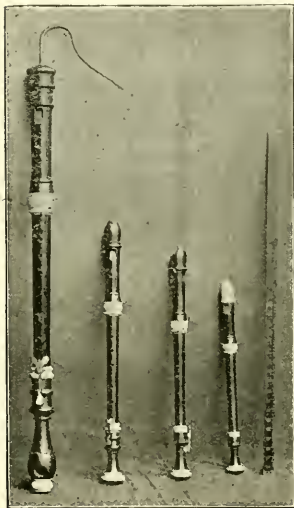
¹ Advocar' Curie Histronum Cestr' De aliquo proficuo proveniente de Advocar' sive curia Histronum non rec' co quod nullum proficuum per dictum tempus.

² 1555 Mr. Thomas Smythe for vii yards of clothe for the Wettemens gownys, xxxix^s. viii^d.—*Treasurers' Accounts*.

³ This they certainly did in the reign of James I. according to an Assembly Order of 30 July, 11 James I.—“George Callie, musitian, exhibiteth his petition desiring that he and his felowe musitians may be admitted waytes of this cittie in steed of the waytes now absent, fyndinge instrumentes of his owne charge to performe the service; which is deferred to be graunted untill it may be understoode what are become of the ould waytes.”

⁴ 28 May, 30 Eliz. 1590, coram Will. Massy, maiore. At which day matter was in question betwene Ales Willms late wief of Thomas Willms, late one of the Waytsmen of the said citie upon thone part, and Christofer Burton and Wm. Madock the other waitesmen of the said citie, for and concerning their instruments of musick, viz., the howboies, the Recorders, the Cornets and Violens, whereof the said Ales claymeth a parte as to her said late husband in his lief tyme belonginge, which they deny to yeld unto: But are contented and soe are now agreed, and it is now fully ordered by assent that the said instruments shall from hensforth for ever remayne continue and bee the owne proper goods of the said Waitesmen and of the survivors of them, and of William Willms late sonne of the said Thomas Willms, and of Henry Burton, sonne of the said Christofer, when they shall have served out their yeres and apprentices to the said exercise and to the survivour of them, and the survivour of every of them experienced or to be experienced in the said citie or els to remayne forever to the said citie At the Appoyntment and Admittance of the maior of the said citie for the tyme beinge.

⁵ These were generally made, like viols, in “sets,” and of different pitches, suitable for quartet playing, and they came freely into use in the Tudor period, and died out after the introduction of the German Flute, circa 1750.



The Recorders

Minstrels were often employed at weddings, and the City Companies did honour in this way to the members of their fraternity who were married in Chester. Thus in the Smiths' books, 1547, there are entries of payments to Minstrells at Rondolph Pasewall's Weding, xx^d.; Robyn Bore's Wedinge and Hugh Stokes's Wedinge, xviii^d.

Corpus Christi Day was a great day in Chester as on the Continent for lights and music, the various Companies going in due order of precedence to one of the city churches, which were decorated for the occasion. Thus a formal agreement was come to between the stewards of the Founderers and Pewterers and the stewards of the Smiths as to sharing equally the expenses of the Whitson Play, Corpus Christi Light, and the finding of the priest of St. Loye Chapel.¹ In the Smiths' accounts for 1546 occur the

The Chester "Recorders" consist of—

Treble in key of F (first space of Treble stave)

Alto in key of D (below Treble stave)

Tenor in key of C (middle C)

Bass in key of F (fourth line of Bass stave)

That is to say, the same fingering which gives the scale of F on the smallest Recorder will give the scales of D, C, and low F respectively on the other Recorders. All semitones are obtained by "cross-fingering," there being no keys for that purpose. Each instrument has the characteristic "thumb-hole" at the back, but there is no sign of the hole near the mouth-piece covered with membrane, which is stated by several writers to have been present in early specimens. The maker's name, Bressau, is stamped upon each, and they date, most probably, from the closing years of the 17th, or the early years of the 18th century. When played, the tone is very soft and pleasing, but the *treble* recorder has a tendency to be "sharp," especially in the upper octave.—*Dr. Bridge, Chester Arch. Journal*, v., 104.

¹ 12 Hen. VIII., 4 Feb., 1520. This Indenture made the iiiijth daye of February betweene Richard Lowe and Edward Tailliour, Stuards of thocupac'on of Founders and Pewtres within the Citie of Chester upon the oon partie, and Richard Taillhour, Smyth, and Richard Anderton, Stuards of the occupac'on of Smythes within the citie of Chester upon that other partie, witnesseth that the said stuards and all thire holle occupacion upon assemble made and communycacon had betweene the seid occupacons for the wele and goode zele of the same: byn fully condecendet and agreid in maner and forme foloying, That is to witte from hensfourth the Stuards of thoccupac'ons of Founders and Pewtrcrs for the tyme beyng to receyve the Incomes and forfets of all such personnes that will cum in to the seid occupacon of Founders and Pewterers and be of thire brotherhod, the stuards of thoccupacion of smythes in no wise to intromedill ne have anything to do therwith. And in like wise the stuards of the occupac'on of smythes to receyve the Incomes and forfets of all suche personnes as will cum in to the said occupacion of smythes, and be of ther Brotherhod, the Stuards of the occupacon of Founders and Pewtrers in no wise intromeddling, ne having anything to do therwith. Also the Stuards of the occupac'on of Founders aud Pewtrers, as the Stuards of thoccupacion of Smythes aforsed byn fully condecendent and agried to berre and drawe to Whitson Playe and Corpus Christi light, and to here to the fyndyng of the preste of Seynt Loye Chapell, and all other costs as they of olde tyme have donne and used. Also the Stuards of thoccupacion of Founders and Pewterers in the name of all thire holle occupac'on as the stuards of thoccupac'on of Smythes in all the holle name of thire occupacion byn fully condecendet and agried that the Stuards of either occupacion for the tyme beyng shall every yere in the Feste of St. Loye or within viii dayes the seid Feste of Seynt Loye immediatly folowyng gefe afore the

payments: "To Ran. Crane [the minstrell] on Corpus Christi day, "iiii^d.; For making our lights, xiii^d.; For rushis to dyght the "Chapell, i^d.; Bellmon, i^d."; and 1547, "At an offeringe on St. "Loy's day, xii^d.; spent same day, xviii^d.; For carriage out of the "Koffers of the Church, ii^d."

The delight in pageants manifested itself no less at funerals, which, whenever possible, were made the occasion of great display.

The will of John Coly, in 1413, is an example of the manner of conducting an ordinary citizen's funeral. After leaving a certain amount to provide wax candles and torches for several churches,—those of Holy Trinity, Chester, Hasulwall, the Friars Minor, and Friars Preachers,—he directs that 10^s. should be expended on buying *white* cloth for dresses for the poor persons who carry the torches, the cross, and the bell; 40^s. to buy black cloth for his wife, relatives, and friends, and one mark to be distributed amongst the clerics present at the funeral. His best silver cup, which is given to Holy Trinity Church, is to be placed yearly on the bier on the anniversary of his burial, and 20^s. in bread distributed annually to the poor. 20^s. are to be expended on meat and drink at the funeral, and several sums to be paid for masses to be said at different churches in Chester. Trentals are prescribed, *i.e.* masses for thirty days.

Will of John Coly, 1413. Ego Joh'es Coly civis Cestrie condo testamentum meum in hunc modum: Inprimis lego animam meam Deo & beate Marie & omnibus sanctis suis & corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia sancte Trinitatis Cestrie coram magna cruce Item lego 94 libras cere ad faciendum decem torches & 13 cerias Item lego unum torche magno altari ecclesie predicte & unum torche & unum cerium altari beate Marie virginis & unum torche & unum cerium altari ecclesie predicte Item lego unum torche & unum cerium fratribus minoribus Cestrie. Item lego unum cerium ecclesie de Hasulwall Item lego unum cerium fratribus predicatoribus Cestrie. Item lego decem solidos argenti ad emendum pannum album pro vestura pauperum portantium torches crucem & campanam mortuorum in sepultura mea Item lego xls. pro panno nigro emendo pro vestura uxoris mee & consanguineorum & amicorum meorum in die sepulture mee. Item lego Rectori ecclesie sancte Trinitatis dum tamen concedat annuatim ut melior siphus meus argenteus ponatur super feretrum meum die sepulture mee, & remaneat imperpetuum in dicta ecclesia pro conservatione corporis Christi. Item lego xx^s. argenti

Stuards of thoccupac'on and iii aldermen of the seid occupacon a juste and a true accompte of almaner Incomes and forfets by theym receyvet during the tyme they stonde Stuards, so that upon the seid accompte now the p'phets [profits] therof shall groo unto the p'phets of Seynt Loye Chapell, upon the payne of theym that contraye to this agreement to forfete to the same use fyve pounds of leyfull money of England. In witnesse whereof to these Indentures the Stuards of either of the seid Crafts in the name of their occupacion enterchaungeably have sette their sealls. These beyng witnesse Thomas Smyth, maire of the Citie of Chester, Thomas Golburne, and Cristofer Wermyncham, Shirreffs of the Citie and mony other.

in pane ad distribuendum pauperibus die sepulture mee. Item lego xx^s. argenti . . . quod expendantur circa epulenta & poculenta in exequiis meis Item lego tribus presbyteris ad celebrandum divina pro anima mea ecclesia sancte Trinitatis Cestrie 24 marcas quorum trium volo quod unus celebret missam suam ad altare beate Marie virginis cum nota si regatur in eadem ecclesia prefata & volo quod duo alii presbyteri celebrent missas suas ad altare sancte Trinitatis prefate ecclesie ita quod uterque istorum duorum presbyterorum cum missis oneretur ad celebrandum Trigintalia magna. Item lego fabrice predicte xiii^s. iiii^d. Item lego fabrice ecclesie S. Michaelis Cestrie xl^d. Item lego pauperibus viduis ecclesie hospitalis S. Johannis extra portam boralem xl^d. Item fratribus minoribus Cestrie medietatem toge mee de wosted viridi pro una casula facienda & x^s. ad celebrandum pro anima mea quatuor trigintalia & unam missam cum nota cum exequiis mortuorum Item fratribus predicatoribus vi^s. viii^d. ad celebrandum pro anima mea duo trentalia & unam missam cum nota cum exequiis mortuorum. Item fratribus Carmelit' Cestrie vi^s. viii^d. ad celebrandum pro anima mea duo trentalia & unum missam cum nota cum exequiis mortuorum Item lego unam marcam ad distribuendum inter presbyteros & clericos existentes in exequiis meis & volo de numero istorum sunt omnes presbyteri ecclesie mee parochie una cum clerico ejusdem ecclesie. Item lego reparationi viarum debilium de Wetfield & consimilium secundum visum seu dispositionem executorum meorum x^s. Item pauperibus in casis jacentibus & discalciatis & non bene potentibus solvere rentale pro domibus suis x^s. Item lego Roberto filio Henrici Coly fratris mei meliorem loricam meam & secundam meliorem togam & meum meliorem dagger' sigillum meum cum xx^s. argenti. Item Ric'o de Trogford x^s. & unani togam cum capicio & remitto sibi omne debitum quod michi debet seu debuit. Item Katerine filie Henrici Coly fratris mei xx^s. cum octo shoppis super le Croftes & in le Doglone.

An Inventory of the goodes of W^m. Goodman al's Goodale. Imprimis fyve greatt Joynctures, 3 hand planes, 1 fyle, x small working cheasells, a little halmer, a brest wymble, 3 sawes, 2 squyres, a Joyncture unmade, (2 platters, 2 sausers, 3 spones of pewter) an old capcase, a little panne of brasse, 2 cheares, a working boorde with 2 stable hooks, 5 shelves, a petticote of flannen, an apron, a wooden quiver, a chest, pented cloth, a carven bedde, a pented clothe over the bed, a coverlett, 2 sheets, 5 pece of brassell, 16 pece of boxe, a little stythye, a bowlster, a whetston, a paire of virginalis undrest, a lute case appreciat' ad valenciam 23^s. 4^d.

Particulars of the order observed at the funeral of Thomas Venables, Baron of Kinderton, have been preserved. He was buried December 1605, at Middlewich:—

First 2 conductors in black cotes w'th black staves, the poore in gownes w'th pencells in their hands 2 & 2, 2 conductors more w'th black staves.

then the yeomen in cotes, in mid[dl]e of them the standard carried by Thurstan Collyer in a Cloke.

the motto carried by M'r Rich. Collier

the penon by M'r Peter Mainwaringe

Mr Coney alone

Mr Wm. Venables

M'r Geff. Cromfield

M'r Robert Venables

M'r Hugh Venables

M'r John Venables alone

Ceremonies at Funerals

M'r John Gargrave	M'r Rob't Gargrave
M'r Leigh of boothes	M'r Shakerley
M'r Egerton of Ridley	M'r Wilbram of Wood[h]ey

knights

S'r Rich. Ashton of Lanc'r	S'r Tho. Smyth
S'r Tho. Houlcroft	S'r W'm Brereton

Then the helme and crest by M'r Rob't Mainwaringe
the shield by M'r Roger Mainwaringe
the cote by M'r Hugh Mainwaringe
The precher & Herald
Then the Corpes

at the 4 Corners therof the 4 last ma[t]ches of Cotton, Needham, brereton,
& Gargrave, in 4 haner roubles borne by

M'r Daniell

M'r Rich. Ashton, M'r Edw. Leigh & M'r peter Leigh
S'r peter Leigh, Cheife mourner in place of M'r Venables [who was] a
child then
his assistants

S'r Rich. Gargrave	S'r Rob't Needham
M'r Marbury & M'r Manwarings of Car'	

Wax candles were burnt freely, and bells rung both on the day
of burial and on the anniversary.

"They sett forth the Corse in there houses all garnished with Crosses
"and set rounde abonte with tapers and candels morning night and daye
"till it be carried to the Church. All which time ye neighbours use to
"visit the Corse, and there everie one to saye a Pater noster, or De
"Profundis for the Sole: the Belles all the while beinge runge many a
"solemne Peale. After wh: they are made partakers of the ded manse
"dowle¹ or Banquet of Charitie. Then at length they carie the Corse
"toweard the Churche all garnished with Crosses, which they sett downe
"by the way at everie Crosse and there all of them devoutly on there
"knees make prayers for the dead. All the day and night after the
"Buriall they use to have excessive ringinge for ye dead, as also at the
"twelmonethes day after, which they calle a minninge day."—*Chetham
Society, xcvi.*

The Smiths' Book for 1546 has an entry: For Wax Candles at
buringe Roger Sprag's wife, 1^d; Payd to the Preste, xiii^s. iiij^d.

The Churchwardens' Accounts for St. Oswald's contain an
entry which appears to refer to the procession on one of the
Rogation Days:—"1608-9, Spent upon the singing men of the
"Quire goeing with the Vicare and Parishioners upon procession
"in City and Contrey, iiii^s. iiij^d." The perambulation of the parish
by the Clergy and Parishioners was enforced in Elizabeth's reign,
but as appears from the Visitation Books of that reign the order
was very frequently disobeyed.

In addition to the Whitson Plays, the parts in which were

¹ A dole, consisting sometimes of a penny, sometimes a small cake, and at others of a
banquet, was made at a funeral for all comers, to secure the prayers of the recipients for
the welfare of the dead man's soul.

taken by amateurs selected from the Citizens, the City had occasionally the opportunity of seeing plays performed by professional actors, bands of whom, with the licence of different noblemen, visited town and village, gathering round them at wakes and fairs and other places of assembly large audiences from whom they gleaned a rich harvest. "The Earl of Leicester's "Servants," who erected the first public theatre in Black Friars, were not the only company of strolling players.¹ William, Earl of Derby, writes 2 December, 1606, to the Mayor of Chester, requesting him to allow the "Lord of Harforth his men" to have the use of the Town Hall at Chester as a theatre, wherein "to "use their quallatie."²

In the following reign, it was found necessary to put a check upon the growing licence of the stage and the ill-conduct of the idlers who frequented the theatres. England was beginning, early in James' reign, to lose her character as "Merry England," but, as it is justly remarked, "the hatred of the Puritans to the stage was "not a mere longing to avenge the insults which it had levelled at "Puritanism: it was in the main the honest hatred of God-fearing "men against the foulest depravity presented in a poetic and "attractive form." The following order made 20 October, 13 James I., touching the use of the town-hall by stage players, shows that their opposition to the grossly indecent comedies of the later period was not without excuse³:—

"Moreover at the same Assemblie consideracion was had of the common "brute [rumour] & scandall whiche this citie hathe of late incurred & "sustained by admittinge of Stage Plaiers to acte their obscene & unlawfull "plaies or tragedies in the Comon hall of this Citie, thereby convertinge "the same beinge appointed & ordained for the judiciall hearinge & "determininge of criminall offences, & for the solempne meetinge & "concourse of this howse into a stage for plaiers & a receptacle for idle

¹ 16 Feb., 1595. A warrant from Edward Lord Dudley to Francis Coffyn and Rich. Bradshaw his servants to travell in the quality of playinge and to use musicke in all City townes, and Corporations—Requests for them the use of the Town Hall or other place and countenance—Allowed to play except during time of Divine Service.—Endorsed, they came 20 Nov., 1602.—*Harl. MSS.*, 2173, 81.

1583.	Payd in charges for conditt at high crosse this yeare	-	-	-	£31/6/3 ¹ ₂ ^d .
	for takinge up the pipes of leade	-	-	-	17/-
	takinge downe the glovers shoppes there	-	-	-	2/-
	making the pillory and tymber	-	-	-	4/-
	Iron to make fetters for cutpurse boys in prison	-	-	-	14 ^d .
	Morris dancers	-	-	-	6/8

² Letters 138, see A.O. 935, page 333.

³ It is interesting to note that 6 Ed. VI., the name of "William Shakespeyre, nuper de Kilmaynham, Hibernia. laborer," occurs as arrested for suspected felony.

In 1567 "Richard Dutton, mayor, kept a very worthy house for all comers all the tyme of Christmas with a Lorde of Misrule and other pastymes in this city as the Whitson Plays."—*Harl. MSS.* 2125.

"persons; & consideringe likewise the many disorders which by reason
 "of plaies acted in the night time doe oftentimes happen & fall out to the
 "discredit of the government of this citie, & to the great disturbance of
 "quiet & well-disposed people and beinge further informed that men's
 "servantes & apprentices neglecting their masters' busines doe resorte to
 "Inn howses to behold such plaies & there manie times wastefullie spend
 "their masters' goodes:—For avoidinge of all whiche inconveniences, It is
 "ordered that from hensforth noe Stage Plaiers upon anie pretence or
 "colour whatsoever shalbe admitted or licensed to set up anye stage in the
 "said Comon Hall or to acte anie tragedie or commedie or any other plaie,
 "by what name soever they shall terme yt, in the said hall or anie other
 "place within this citie or the liberties thereof in the night time or after
 "vi of the clocke in the eveninge."

The necessity of providing for the poor and needy, and of distinguishing the worthy recipient of Christian charity from the worthless and idle vagabond, was found, as early as Edward III.'s reign, to be attended with much difficulty. The monasteries were under the self-imposed obligation of furnishing relief, and this aid to the poor was supplemented largely by the voluntary charity of pious individuals.

Edward III., finding it necessary to check indiscriminate charity, in the twenty-third year of his reign prohibited, in his "Statute of Labourers," the giving alms to any beggars able to labour; and in the twelfth year of Richard II., a system of licences or testimonials under the king's seal was introduced, and while provision was made for impotent beggars, those able to work were punished, and a pair of stocks was to be erected in every town or village to "justify" those begging without licence. Vagrancy, however, increased, and vagabonds and beggars daily augmented into great routs and companies, so that the stern acts of 22 and 27 Henry VIII. were passed to deal with the evil.

In the former of these acts, the justices of the peace were directed to make search and inquiry in all parishes and districts of all aged, poor and impotent persons which live by alms, and to grant, at their discretion, licences to beg within certain limits, the punishment for transgressing the limit being two days' and two nights' imprisonment in the stocks on bread and water. Those begging without licence were stripped naked from the middle upwards and whipped, or set in the stocks for three days and nights. Sturdy and valiant beggars were to be whipped at the cart's tail "till the body be bloody by reason of such whipping," and to return at once with a temporary licence to their parishes, where they should be set to labour.

The same order held for scholars of Oxford and Cambridge begging without licence, shipmen pretending losses of their ships

and goods, proctors, pardoners, and those feigning themselves to have knowledge in physic, physnamye and palmistry or other crafty science, professing to tell fortunes, &c. On the second offence, the right ear was to be cut off with two days' scourging, and on the third day the offender was to stand in the pillory from nine o'clock to eleven; and on the third offence to lose the left ear with more whipping.

In a later statute, private persons were forbidden to give money to beggars whether deserving or undeserving. The alms of the people were to be collected by the churchwardens on Sundays and holy days in the churches. Able-bodied vagrants caught begging a third time were to suffer pains and execution of death as felons and enemies of the commonwealth. Such was the law of England in the reign of Henry VIII. The increase in the number of persons living by alms was very considerable in this reign, the dissolution of the monasteries having deprived the poor of means of relief. Entries in the Mayors' Books show that unlicensed beggars were duly punished,¹ but the evil grew until the energetic Henry Gee procured the passing of an Order of the Assembly, 1539, directing that the number and names of indigent people should be ascertained, and a ward assigned within which they should severally be allowed to beg, and a list of these licensed beggars set up in every house of the ward. Those of the unemployed able to labour were required to offer themselves for hire daily at the High Cross at six o'clock in winter and four o'clock in summer.²

2. **60a.**—Henry Gee, Mayor, 31 Henry VIII. [1539]. For as
Beggars moche as by reasonne of the greate number of multitude of
and valiant idell persons and vagabonds which be stronge and
Vagabonds. able to serve and labour for ther levinges and yett dalye go
on beggyng within the same citie so that the pore impotent and indigente
people and inhabitinge within the same citie and having no other meanes
to get ther lyving but onelye be the charitable allmys of good Cristen
people dalye want and be destitute of the same to the greate displeasure of
Allmyghte God and contrarye to good concyence and the housome statute
and lawes of our soveraigne Lorde the Kinge in such case made and
provided, for reformation whereof it is ordenyd and established by the
saide citie assembled in the house of the pentice of the same citie the
xxth day and yere aforesaid that the number and names of all indigent and

¹ Gilbertus Begger de love lane est mendicator, in corpore habilis ad laborandum—fined x^d. Handbridge was much frequented by these beggars, and Roger Adams, Thomas Cales, and John Stott, all of Handbridge, were severally indicted for supporting and aiding many vagabonds, keeping them in their houses to the great damage of the city.

² 19 Henry VIII., Petrus Richardson, wever, unus Constabular' quia non presentat illos qui forstallant forum in emendo victualia et quia non punit omnes extraneos mendicos venientes ad civitatem et supportores eorundem et quod non presentat illos qui jactant finum infra muros ac etiam in stratis et venellis—Fined 3/4 with twenty-three others.

nedye mendicant people shalbe serched knowne and wrytten and therupon into dyvydit in xv parts and every of them assigned to and what warde thay shall resorte and bege within the saide citie and in no other place within the same and ther names to be wrytten in a byll and sett up in every mans house within every warde for knowledge to whome thay shall geve ther allmys and to no other. And if anye other person or persons com to anye man or womans dore house or person to begge not having his name in the byll within that mans or womans houses then the same man or woman to geve unto the same begger no manar allmys or relefe but rayther to bringe or send him to the stockes within the same warde or els to deliver him to the constable of the same warde or thaldermanes deputye within the same warde and he to put him in the stockes ther to remayne by the space of a day and a nyght and y^t every man and woman that shall offend in using them selves contrarye to this ordynaunce concerninge such valiant beggars shall for every suche offence forfyt xii^d. to be levyed to the use of the common box by the commandment of thalderman of the same warde and for default of payment therof the same man or woman so offendinge to be commytted to the warde by the mayre tyll it be payde. And yf eny of the indigent and pore nedye beggars at any tyme in any other place within this citie out of the warde to them assigned as is aforesaid then the same beger so offendinge to be ponyssed by the mayres discrecyon. And further yt is orderyd that all manner of idle persons being able to laboure abyding within the saide citie and not admytted to live by allmys within the saide citie shall every workday in the morning in the tyme of wynter at vi of the clock and in tyme of somer at iiij of the clock resorte and com unto the highe cross of the saide citie and there to offer themselves to be hyrd to labour for ther leving accordinge to the kinges lawes and his statutes provided for laborers and if anye person or persons do refuse so to do then he or thay so refusing to be commytted to warde by the mayre of the saide citie for the tyme beinge ther to remayne unto such tyme he or thay so refusing hathe founde suffycient suerties to be bounden by recognisance before the saide mayre in a certene sume so to do accordingelye to the Kynges lawes and statutes aforesaide.

Another order was made in 1555, which points to the evil of "valiant beggars" being still unabated.

At an Assembly holden in the Common Hall, 13 Dec., 1555 [2 P. & M.] [John Smith, mayor] The Right Worshipfull Mr. Maire, mynding the Comon Welthe of this Citie and the good order and injunctiō therof to be observed, willeth and requiereth and in the queenes majestes name most stretlie chargeth and comandeth that all maner of persone and persones inhabetting and dwelling within this Citie or within the Liberties of the same, that they and everye of them observe and kepe the ordinaunses and injunctiōs as hereafter ar expressed.

Imprimis forasmuch as by reson of the great number and multitude of valient idle persones and vacabunges which be stronge and able to serve and labur for ther Lyvinge, and yet dailie go one begging within the saide citie, so that the poore, impotent, and indigent people inhabiting within theis citie, having none other meanes to get ther Living but only by charitable allmes of good Christeon people, daily wante to the grate displeasure of All myghtie God, and contrary to good conscience and the holsome statutes of this Realme, ffor Reformation wherof the sayd Mr.

Mayer straightly chargeth and comandeth that from hensforth no maner Idlle valiant vacaboundes abell to serve ffor ther Livinges shall not go abroad in begginge in any plase within this Cittie, but shall goue them selves and dayle worke and laboure ffor the geting of ther levinges trulie and justly, and not to go in begging or Lyve of almes upon payne of imprisonment by Stockes and other ponishment as by any statute of this Reallme is for that case provyded, and also that no impotent poore nor nedie person whatsoever of this citie from hensforth shall goue abroad in begginge gadding or livesse by allmes within this Citie nor intho Countrie and so macke them repaire hem agayne to this citie but those that shalbe appointed and allowed by the seid meyer, and the sam so beinge allowed to remaine and continue in ther houses workinge to the uttermoste of ther power for the sustentation and in consideracion of ther povertie and nede to receve such Relief and allmes as shalbe to them appoynted by the said maire, letting them understand that whoso shalbe remysed or offend in the going abroad in the begginge as aforsed, or that do nott worke to the uttermoste of ther power towards ther sustentacion shal nott only lose suche relieffe, almes, and sucker as to them shalbe appoyntid by the sead mayer, but also shall suffer such ponishment as by the sead maire shall be thoughtt convenient.

In the time of Hugh Aldersey, Mayor [1528, 1541, or 1546], the number of "admitted beggars," according to Harl. MSS., 2091, was, in "St. Oswald's, 14; St. John's, 22; Trinite, 9; St. Peter's, —; St. Bride's, 2; St. Mary's, 8; St. Marten's, 7." In 1570 the number of poor relieved amounted to 120.

In the Lease Ledger Folio (p. 13a) is preserved an interesting agreement between Alexander Harrison, surgeon, and the Mayor and other justices of the peace [16 Eliz.] He undertakes, for his freedom, to see to, cure and heal, all the diseased sick poor people which live by alms, without any fee or other recompence. This "Parish Doctor" of early days had his house in Northgate Street, for which he paid a rent of 7/4.

Noverint universi per presentes me Alexandrum Haryson de Cestr' in Com. Civitatis Cestrie, Cirurgicum, teneri et firmiter obligari Ricardo Bavand et Will^{mo} Wall, Thesaurariis Civit. Cestrie in viginti libris legalis monete Anglie solvend' eisdem Thesaurariis vel successoribus suis. Ad quam quidem solucionem bene et fideliter faciend' obligo me, &c. 9^o Julii, 16 Eliz.

The condicion of this obligacion is that Alex. Harrison hath made his humble peticion and request unto Ric' Dutton, Esquire, now maior of the Citie of Chester, and others the justices of the same citie, to be admitted and receyved into the fraunches and liberties therof, promising that in consideracon of the same he will to the uttermost of his power, knowlege and skill as well see unto, cure, heale all the deseased sicke poore people which live or hereafter shall live by the reliefe and almes of the saide Citie, without any reward, fee, or other recompence, and all other Cytizens which shalbe infected with any desease for such reasonable some or somes of money as shalbe limited and appoynted by the maior of the said citie, and also not to trade any other arte, trade, sciens, nor occupacen, but only

surgery, which is graunted him for that entent accordingly. If the said Alex^r. Harrison from tyme to tyme and at all and every tyme and tymes hereafter upon resonable request without refusall doe diligently and artificially franke and free without any money or other reward (the stuff beinge ordinary excepted) cure, heale, and help all suche the poore deseased people which are or shall be within the said citie inhabitinge liveinge upon the Almes of the same citie of all their ulcers, wounds, sicknes, and deseases, and all other deseased citizens for suche resonable some and somes of money and other consideracon as shalbe appointed by the maior of the said citie, that then this obligacon to be voide and of none effecte or ells yt to stand be and remaine in full power, sense and vertue.

Lease to Alex. Haryson, 2 Aug., 16 Eliz., Surgeon Servante to our said Sovereigne Ladie the Quene, a messuage in Northgate Strete together with all Chambers and lofts, Rowmes, Backsides, Cellers, Solars, entrees, &c., 7/4.—*Lease Ledger Folio*, p. 13a.

Careful distinction was made between the vagabonds who would not work if they could, and the unemployed who were anxious to earn their living by the sweat of their brow.

The Mayor of Exeter gives to George Sampforde and Ede, his wife, a letter of recommendation to his brother mayors, which finally reaches Chester, and, as it went no further than Chester, was, apparently, received favourably and acted upon.¹

Robert Huntington, baker, who had been unfortunate to lose his all by fire, was permitted to make an appeal for help to the charitable; but the loiterer and worthless vagabond was promptly committed to the stocks.²

204b.—11 October, 28 Elizabeth. Alsoe Whereas Robart Huntington Baker lately by Casualtie of fyer had parte of his howse burnte and consumed for recovery of suche his losses beinge A very poore man hathe exhibited his supplicacon to this Assembly to have A gatheringe within every Churche and Chappell within the same Citie And albeit such Maner of gatheringe is restrained by former orders, yet for releefe of the said poore Man It is nowe ordered that it shalbe Lawfull for him ether by him selfe or by certen his frendes shall [sic] have A purse and therewith to repaire to all place and places within the said Citie excepte within the Churches and Chapells therof to collect and receive suche some and somes

542.
Robert
Huntington
licenced
to gather the
devotions of the
good and
godly towards
his loss by
fire (except in
Churches
and
Chapells.)

¹ Letter of Commendacion. To all maiors, Justices, Sheriffes, Bailiffes, and other her Majesties officers to whome these presentes shall come, Robt. Chaffer, maier of the Cittie of Exeter greetinge. Fforasmuche as the bearer hereof, George Sampforde of this Cittie, Tooker, and Ede, his wife, beinge without woork, are desirous to travaille to some conveynient place where they maie have woork for ther better relefe, and also havinge with them one childe: These are therefore to praie you and everie of you to whome these presentes shall come quietly to permitte and suffer these berers herof to seek for work for ther better releff without any of your lett molestacon or trouble. In wittenes wherof to these presentes I, the said maier, have sett my hande and seale yeven the eight daie of June, in the nyuethieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Ladie Elizabeth, &c.

² 1583. Ric. Nowby, laborer, quia recusat ad laborandum cum laborem potuit habere, fined xii^d. 1575. Joh'es Littler, persona ociosa et nemo scit quomodo victum querit. Robert Hall ebriosus et ociosus existit et sic vitam egit.

of money As it shall please the good and Godlie of there free wills to bestowe upon the said poore man towards his losse.

27 December, 1564. To all Crysten pepelle to whom this present testimonyall shall come to be red hare understand that these ii men the which are saylors and the berers herof and saylors in a shippe of Yeremouthe of Mr. Rafe brothers the which shippe was loden with lenten stufe with hering whyt and rede and . . . sayling and going to Sowthe Hampton, the names being the on William Marche and the other Reben Parkes by fortien of tempest of wether the shyp was lost betwen Felixstowe and Wallden within the county of Suffolk the 27 daye of Desember in anno 1564 and were all drowned saving thes ii men and one other, the wh ii men by lose and suffrance throw that tempest of wether having spent all that they have that the desyred a pasport for ther dyscharg to travel and goe to the town of West Chester within the county of Chessher for his discharge, I the said Syr Awwen Hopton and Wyllam Bellyngam, Mr. Willyam Wode justeces of pece and crowner within the county of Suffolk sendythe gretying in our Lord God Everlastyng to all justises Sherewes bailewes and cunstable and all other ecclesyastycall persons as well mynysters and churche wardens to permyt and suffer them to aske and gather the relefe of good and well disposed pepel . . . selves as trewe men. Wrytt by the befor subscribed the 10 of January, 1564, and in the seventhe yere of the Rayne of our soverant ladye quen Elyzabeth of France and Ireland et setear [et cetera] for iiiii monthes after the datt herof.

3 seals defaced and broken—Awwen Hopthton Wylliam Bellingam Willm. Wood.

535. **212b.**—28 Elizabeth. Alsoe at the same Assembly it is
 Beggars ordred that everye Justice of peace within this Citie in every
 and there severall wardes onst every moneth shall survey all the
 Vagabonds poore people, loyterers, vacabondes, beggers in every there
 to be severall wardes upon paine of every of them makeinge therof
 surveyed. dafalt x^s. duly to be levied At Mr. Maiors appointment.

1591.—Item the same Mayor myndinge as well to yelde the
 Beggars. due punishment to every loyterer, vacabond, begger, as to
 provyde that accordinge to the lawes the poore and needy
 may be sufficientlie be releevd doth admonish and warne all and every
 person and persons to worke to applie the same without vacabondinge
 or begginge straitlie charginge and comaundinge all constaples, and
 other officers to be vigilant and diligent from tyme to tyme to apprehend
 all such as they shall fynde and take soe rogeinge and beginge contrary
 to the laws and them to bringe before him to be examined and ordered
 accordinge to their desert: And doth in like manner straitlie charge all
 such as be appoynted to pay weeklie monethlie or quarterley eny some or
 somes of money for and towards the releefe of the poore that they orderly
 discharge the same with all the arrearages, upon payne upon complaynte
 made to remayne in warde untill the same be satisfied.

Item the same Maior willeth that noe person within this Citie doe use
 or frequent eny unleafull game or games prohibited by eny statute, Lawe
 of this Realme, nor eny person or persons doe keepe any howse of gameinge
 or playinge or suffer any resorte of eny maner of person or persons usinge
 or frequenting the same upon payne of such punishment by fyne and
 ymprisonment as by any statute or law is for the same provided.

Item further he willeth and in the Queens majesties name comaundeth all and every person and persons as well thinhabitants of this Citie and the libertyes of the same be of good rule, order, deede and disposicon as well in observinge the lawes, statutes and peace of this Realme As alsoe the good orders and auncient customes of ould tyme used and allowed within this Citie upon payne of such punishment without remission to be ministered as for the offender heretofore for such offences have been ordayned and provided.—*Letters*, 99.

A systematic effort was made to collect regular subscriptions for the relief of the poor, and a list is given of those who in 1567 contributed to this object. The list is valuable as furnishing the names of the householders then living in the several parishes.¹

¹ 9 Eliz., 1567. Names of all such persons of every warde and parishe which doe pay the poor within the Citie of Chester, as also the names of the poore in every parishe to whom the money folowing is bestowed :—

St. Peter's Parische, every of the pariseners thereof wekely as foloweth :—Mr. Ric. Dutton, Ald., 6^d. ; M^{tres} Webster, 4^d. ; Rauff Davenport, 2^d. ; John Thomas, 1^d. ; Maurice Williams, Ald., 2^d. ; Ric. Barton, 2^d. ; Nicholas Wright, ob. ; Ric. Marshe, 1^d. ; Henrie Maynwaring, 1^d. ; Ric. Cowper, 1^d. ; Rob. Laton, 1^d. ; Pawle Chauntrell, 1^d. ; John Tudder, — ; Griff Tudder, — ; Christofer Smith, 1^d. ; Richard Done, ob. ; Will. Cradock, ob. ; Wm. Wall, 2^d. ; Roger Sidall, ob. ; Rob. Wall, 1^d. ; Henry Houghton, 1^d. ; Rob. Wilding, 1^d. ob. ; Rece Owen, 1^d. ; John Hevers, ob.

Watergate Strete :—M^{tres} Mainwaring, 1^d. ; Rob. Croket, 1^d. ; M^{tres} Radford, 1^d. ; Mr. Drihurst, 3^d. ; John Chalner, 2^d. ; Rob. Brid, 2^d. ; John Thoruton, 1^d. ; John Middleton, 2^d. ; Rauff Tailer, — ; Thomas Lynacar, ob. ; Ryc Walley, ob. ; Rob. Evans, 1^d. ; Thomas Gillam, — ; Walter Fox, 1^d. ; Willm. Cooek, ob.

Goselane :—M^{tres} Bavande, 1^d. ; Rye Brine, 1^d. ; Roger Bryne, 1^d. ; John Byrth, ob. ; John Gill, — ; Thomas Tumlinson, ob. ; Willm. Griff, ob. ; Rauff Tumlinson, ob. ; Rychard Thornton, ob. ; Thomas Radford, 1^d. ; Ryc Robinson, ob.

Estgate Strete :—Mr. Bellin, Ald., 4^d. ; Mr. Leche, Ald., 2^d. ; Mr. Jewet, 4^d. ; Mr. Kuowles, 2^d. ; Mr. Thompson, 2^d. ; Mr. Harry Leche, 3^d. ; Mr. Foulk Aldersay, 4^d. ; Thomas Darsie, — ; Wm. Leche, jun., 2^d. ; Wm. Stiles, 2^d. ; Ric. Bunbury, 1^d. ; John Allen, 2^d. ; Ric. Leche, ob. ; Wm. Nycholas, 1^d. ; 23 others=12³/₄.

Northgate :—Mr. Montford, 4^d. ; M^{tres} Snede, 1^d. ; Wm. Golburne, 2^d. ; John Twis, ob. ; Thomas Richardson, 1^d. ; Ryc Hody, ob. ; Thomas Poole, ob. ; Wm. Garfield, ob. ; John Tailer, ^{qr}. ; John Asmore, 1^d. ; Rob. Nycoles, ob. ; Roger Tailer, —

Names of poore which are appointed within the said parish of St. Peter's to be relieved, to whom is geven wekely as foloweth :—Wm. Aldersay, 6^d. ; Wedow Wetherall, 6^d. ; Wedow Barber, 6^d. ; Mawde Devie, 4^d. ; Rob. Yorke, 4^d. ; Ales Cooley, 4^d. ; Dauat Corrie, 4^d. ; Margaret Trubsha, 4^d. ; Margaret Kennet, 4^d. ; Wedow Ince, 6^d. ; Ales Cancile, 4^d. ; John Jouson, 4^d. ; Ales France and Margaret Midleton, 4^d. ; Dauat Clov et uxor, 6^d. ; Hanmet Smith, 3^d. ; Randall Asheton, 4^d.

St. Michael's Parische paying wekely as foloweth :—Mr. Cowper, 6^d. ; Adam Goodman, 2^d. ; Wm. Ball, 2^d. ; Wm. Dod, 2^d. ; + 9 1^d. ; + 18 ob. ; + 8 ^{qr}. Poore monthly—Thomas Fisher, 2/- ; Wedow Garret, 16^d. ; two other widows, 16^d. ; + three men, 16^d.

St. Trynytie Ward monethly :—Sir Wm. Calverley, 2/- ; Mr. Ric. Poole, 16^d. ; Mr. Rob. Jones, 12^d. ; Mr. Rauff Goodman, 12^d. ; Mr. Rogerson, 12^d. ; Mr. Morvill, 12^d. ; Mr. Hanmet, 12^d. ; + 3 8^d. ; + 4 6^d. ; + 15 4^d. ; + 12 2^d. ; 1 1^d. Poore—1 6^d. ; 5 4^d. ; 6 3^d. = 12 weekly.

St. Oswald's Parish wekely.—Sir Wm. Snede, 6^d. ; Mr. Bamville, 6^d. ; Mr. Pe—6^d. ; The Lorde Bussshop p^d. the last yere 20^s. ; The Howse p^d. 40^s. ; R^d. of my Lord Bussshop, 6/8, 1 1^d. , 5^d. , 2 1^d.

Within Northgate, 13 1^d. ; 17 ob. ; 10 ^{qr}.

Without Northgate, 2 1^d. ; 30 ob. ; 7 ^{qr}.

Relief of the Poor, 1583

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The Estgate Strete, 9^{1d.}; 12^{ob.}; 3^{qr.}

Persons' Lane, 1^{ob.}; 5^{qr.} Barne Lane, 1^{ob.}; 2^{qr.} Cow Lane, 3^{qr.}

Boughton, 9^{1d.}; 4^{ob.}; 1^{qr.} Newton, 7^{1d.} Craball, 2^{1d.}

Poore (wekely)—2^{sd.}; 3^{6d.}; 4^{1d.}; 7^{3d.}; 7^{2d.}

St. Jones' Parish monethly:—The Lady Brereton, 3/4; Mr. Recorder, 2/-; Mr. Glaseor, 2/-; M^{tres} Grace Stanley, 2/- 2^{12d.}; 8^{sd.}; 6^{6d.}; 3^{5d.}; 10^{4d.}; 9^{2d.}; 17^{1d.}

St. Jones' Lane, 1^{sd.}; 1^{6d.}; 1^{4d.}; 4^{3d.}; 2^{1d.} Fleshmongers' Lane, 1^{sd.}; 3^{4d.}; 3^{2d.}; 2^{1d.} Cow Lane, 1^{6d.}; 2^{3d.} Spittal, Boughton, 4^{2d.}

Poore (monthly)—1^{20d.}; 3^{16d.}; 10^{12d.}; 9^{sd.}; 10^{6d.}; 11^{4d.} Danat Hardies and children, 2/-; Rose Bonell, 2/-

St. Brides:—Raufe Goodman, Ald., 4^{d.}; 5^{2d.}; 7^{1d.}; 13^{ob.}; 1^{qr.}

Poore—Ris ap Evan, 6^{d.}; 3^{4d.}; 5^{2d.}

St. Bride's Ward:

23 July, 1583. Names of those which pay towards the poore.

Ralf Calvey,
James Grymesdich, } Collectors.

	Weekly.	Monthly.		Weekly.	Monthly.
Mr. Rich Poole	-	ii ^{d.}	Rob. Amery	-	ii ^{d.}
— Roger Lea	-	ii ^{d.}	Raffe Calvey	-	ii ^{d.}
— Xtofer Goodman	-	ii ^{d.}	Raffe Cowper	-	ii ^{d.}
— Fytton	-	ii ^{d.}	Xtofer Walker	-	ob.
— Wm. Wall	-	iii ^{d.}	John Glover	-	ob.
M ^{tres} Burg	-	ii ^{d.}	Mr. Thomas Kent	-	ii ^{d.}
Mr. Croughton	-	ii ^{d.}	James Grymesdich	-	ii ^{d.}
Rich. Marshe	-	ii ^{d.}	Wm. Holland	-	ob.
Roger Sydall	-	ii ^{d.}	John Watkins	-	ii ^{d.}
Rich. Wright	-	ob.	John Loy	-	ii ^{d.}
Raffe Rathburne	-	ii ^{d.}	Henry Blunett	-	ii ^{d.}
Wm. Wright	-	ii ^{d.}	Mr. Hughe Rogerson	-	ii ^{d.}
Thomas Wright	-	—			
Mr. Wm. Fletcher	-	ii ^{d.}			
Edward Doby	-	ob.	Summa	-	ix ^{s.} x ^{d.}

Poore relieved in this Ward:—

		Month.			Month.
Ellen Prince	-	-	xx ^{d.}	Thomas Smith, sen.	- ii ^{s.} vi ^{d.}
Wm. Croshall	-	-	xvi ^{d.}	Alex. Ince	- xii ^{d.}
Margaret Lethwall	-	-	viii ^{d.}	Alex. Hallywell Children	- viii ^{d.}
Elizabeth Cowan	-	-	viii ^{d.}		
Alex. Tomlinson	-	-	xvi ^{d.}		
Elizab. Cowper, cripple	-	-	xvi ^{d.}	Sum is	- xi ^{s.} ii ^{d.}

The Northgate Ward:

23 July, 1583. Mr. Birkhened, Recorder, Ald. The names of those which pay to the poore in this Warde:—

John Ratcliffe,
Thomas Heath, } Collectors.

	Weekly.	Monthly.		Weekly.	Monthly.
12 ^{d.} Mr. Recorder	-	iii ^{d.}	12 ^{d.} M ^{ter} Glasior of ye		
1 ^{s.} 3 ^{d.} William Shurlocke	ob.	ii ^{d.}	Northgat	-	ii ^{d.}
1 ^{s.} 0 ^{d.} Mr. Ric. Spencer	jd.	iii ^{d.}	18 ^{d.} Peter Jenkin	-	ob.
1 ^{s.} 6 ^{d.} Thomas Spencer	ob.	ii ^{d.}	18 ^{d.} John Ratclif	-	ob.
9 ^{d.} Rich. Rathburne	qr.	jd.	9 ^{d.} Wm. Witle	-	qr.
18 ^{d.} Henry Yonge	-	ob.			
			29 ^{s.} Sum total	-	iii ^{s.} ii ^{d.}

Wm. Styles, Maior.

The Northgate Ward. The poore in this Ward to be relieved:—

			Monthly.				Monthly.
Thomas Knece	-	-	xvi ^{d.}	Owen ap Edwards	-	-	xx ^{d.}
Grace Walshe	-	-	xvi ^{d.}	Danold Holland	-	-	xvi ^{d.}
Christopher Key	-	-	xii ^{d.}				

In 14 Elizabeth, 1571, in accordance with an act passed empowering justices of the peace to tax the county towards the relief of Paupers, the Assembly (John Hanky, Mayor) commissioned the Recorder and certain other citizens to take note of those who were able to work, and those for whom relief should be provided; and also to raise funds for erecting and making a "convenient place and stock for the maintenance of spyning and "making cloth" where the poor may apply for work, the profits to be devoted to the support of the impotent poor.¹

126b.—Temp. Johannis Hanky [1571], xiiii die Marci, Elizabeth xiv. Whereas by reason of the great number and multitude of valyaunte ydell persounes and vacabounds whiche are stronge and able to serve and labour for their lyvinge and yet dailie goe on begginge within the same citie, the poore impotent and indigent people inhabiting within the same and having none other meanes to get their lyvinge but onlie by the charitable almes of good Christian people dailie want and be destitute of lyvinge to the great displeasure of almightie God and contraire to good conscience and the holosome statutes and orders of this cittie, Godlie meanes and devises have bene ordeyned and appointed howe the same suche poore and nedy shulde be relived and maynteyned and suche valiaunte idell personnes ponished and put to labour. And wheralsoe the wekelie relieff and maintenaunce geven unto the poore by suche meanes and orders will not sufficientlie suffice to maynteyne the same suche number nowe relyved if they shulde kepe their howses and not wander abroad to seke anie further almes as they dailee doe wherby suche number increase and the cittie dowble charged and the most nedy and impotent not sufficientlie relyved to the great displeasure of Almighty God and contrarie to the saide estatuts and orders therof provided for reformation, whereof it is nowe at an asseemble holden in the common Hall of the said cittie the daie and yeare aforesaide ordered decreied concluded and agried uppon by the said maior and by the aldermen sheriffs and comon counsell of the saide cittie whose names ar subscribed with one assent and consent That William Bernard esquier recorder of the saide cittie John Cowper Thomas Grene Richard Dutton Thomas Bellin and Hugh Rogerson Aldermen Robert Drihurst William Bridd the elder Robert Brerewoodd Thomas Lyniall Randall Leche Pawle Chauntrell Rauff Barlowe and Robart Modesley shall with convenient spede repaire from parish to parish in all partes and places within this citie to take the vere [true] and certayne note of all such persounes which

¹ This house of Correction was erected in the Quarry beyond the Northgate, and the amounts paid, 18 Eliz., in the several wards were as follows:—

1. 72 persons contributed in *Eastgate Street* £64 10s. 10d., of which the Bishop gave £10; T. Dutton of London, £6; three other persons, £5; three, £2; ten, 20s.; the remainder in various sums, 10/-, 6/8, 3/4, 2/6.

2. 49 persons in Watergate Street gave £16 15s. 10d., one contributing £5, one £2, six 20/-

3. In Northgate Streete £19 5s. 10d. was obtained from 25 contributors, of whom one gave £5 and four 20/-

4. Bridge Street provided £44 18s. 4d., given by 69 persons, of whom one gave £2, one 25/-, nineteen 20/-

A report delivered by those who made enquiries in Trinity and Northgate Wards, and a third Ward, the name of which is not given, throws light upon the condition of the "residuum" of the population in Chester in the days of good Queen Bess.¹

nowe remain remayne as idle vacabounds and lyve by almes within this cittie and how many of them ar able to wurke and not mete to be relyved and howe many of the indigent and nedy necessarilie ar to be provided for with relieff and howe muche and to what somme of money the wholle collection for the poore within this cittie in the yeare doe amounte unto accordinge as every person is rated therunto and therof to certifie the said maior and his bretherne in writinge at the nexte assemblee here nowe to be holden to thintint the saide cittie might as well be unburthened and discharged of suche idle persons lyvinge by almes not mete therewith to be maynteyned as also that every inhabitant within this cittie appoynted to pay towards the relieff of the poore and nedy might disburse before hand fore yeares payment thereof to founde erect and make a convenient place and stock for the maintenaunce of spyninge and cardinge and makinge of clothe whereby the poore and nedy able to wurke may apply the same, and with the profett therof they and the other poore mete to be relyved and not able to wourke be relived and mainteyned and the stock preserved and idlenes the mother of all vice abolished Whereunto the persounes whose names ar subscribed have presentlie consented and faithfullie doe promise to accomlishe and further the same trustinge the aide and furtherance of dyvers others godlie and weldisposed persounes fore suche godlie use to be therunto extended.

John Hanky maior	Gilbart Knowles	John Hoole
William Bernard	William Briddsen	William Golburne
William Aldersaie	Robert Brerewoodd	Richard Wright
John Cowper	Edward Marten	Rauff Barlowe
Randall Bamvile	Oliver Smith	Robert Hill
Richard Poole	Edward Hanmer	Thomas Lyniall
Thomas Grene	Roger Ley	Robert Modesley
Richard Dutton	Richard Massie	William Mee
William Ball	Peter Litherland	Roger Bryne
Richard Bavand	John Middleton	John Barnes
William Wall	William Stiles	Nicholas Massie
William Leche	William Massie	Panll Chauntrell
Thomas Bellice	William Dymock	Richard Marsh
Hugh Rogerson	James ffullin	Thomas Radford
William Hanmett	William Leche	Randall Leche
Thomas Burge	Rauff Radford	Christopher Smith
Simon Montford	Rauff Thorneton	
Robert Drihurst	Thomas Fletcher	
	Fraunces Bamvile	

¹ 1575. Report on the *Trinity Ward* [bad writing and spelling]:

1. Wee fynd 4 persons ynglishe, born in Chester, and have beyn housboulders this ix yeares or thear abowtts and leyves by their labour.
2. 17 householders of mariske and yrishe—40 persons, with men, women, and children, whom hath beyne heare in Chester some of xi yeares, some more, some lesse.
3. No freman that doth sell alle or beare.

——— Ward —Katherine Tayliour selles alle 1^d. the wine quarte; Rondle Jusa

The Assembly Book contains numerous orders with reference to this House of Correction and the Stock for the poor, which was taken by several citizens in succession.

284.
Stock for the
Poor
and House of
Correction.

170b.—Tempore Henrici Hardware, xxiii September, 1576., in the Comen Hall. Whereas yt was ordeyred (amonge other things) by the laste estatute made the yere aforesaid a convenient stock for the maintenance of the poore as allso a conveniente howse of correction in this citie shuld be provided, and that there shuld be censors, wardens, governors, and collectors therof, and wherealsoe in thaccomplishement of the said estatute in that behalfe some parte of the saide stocke as suche convenient howse within the said citie is provided, and for the better government and execucon thereof yt is now ordered, concluded and agreed upon by the said maior, Aldermen, sheriffs, and comen counsaile of the said citie that Henry Hardware, John Cowper, and Thomas Grene, ald., shalbe and are by this hole assembly ordeyned and appointed Censors and wardens as well of the said stock alredy gathered and to be collected and gathered as allso of the said howse, and that Edward Thompson and Edward Marten shalbe and are by this hole assembly ordayne and appointed governors and collectors of the said stock gathered and to be gathered, and of the said howse to oversee, accomlishe, fulfill, and putt in execucon every point, article, clause and sentence contayned and mencioned in the said estatute.

285.
Edward
Thompson
and
Edward Marten
to have the
Stock house.

And alsoe yt is ordered by the said maior, Aldermen, sheriffs, and Comen Counsaile of the saide Citie that the said Edward Thompson and Edward Marten shall geve and yelde a juste, perfect plaine and true accompt of their said charges, receipts and payments before the maior of the same city for the tyme beinge and others the justices of peace within the citie aforesaid, the viiith daie of October, whiche shalbe in anno domini 1577, and thereupon imediatly geve and yelde to the relief of the poore people inhabitinge within the said Citie suche porcon of suche there gaines thereby to be gotten as shalbe thought charitable and convenient to the same Edward Thompson and Edward Marten, and that thereupon the said Edward Thompson and Edward Marten shall have the preferment and offer of the said Stockhowse and charge for foure or six yeres after, before any others doinge as others will.

and 3 others selles alle 1^d. and ob [for beer] the wine quart. Every one of thes [and 8 others with note "a woman doth it for hym"] do occupie tables in their howses. Wee can find no Idle vacaboundes in our ward nethyer mariskes nor Irish.

The names of the mariske and Iryshe dwellinge within the *Northgate Warde* with all Idell roges and vacaboundes at typplinge howses and off ther mysdemeanors by the constable of the Northgate Ward: William Brave, a Iryshe man, maryed, usinge labore as dicheinge, clanging, and suche like, dwellinge in Chester abowte xii yeres; Edmunde Martin, a mariske man, a laborer, dwellinge in Chester abowte x yeres; Elizabeth Crane, a younge wenche, usinge begginge, a mariske borne, dwellinge abowte vi yeres.

5 impotent, 5 begginge, 17 Mariske, 4 laborer.

Rychard Hyll and his wyffe, mariske loyterers, drunken and unruly, dwellinge abowte on or ii yeres; Jane Dye lane, a Iryshe woman, a beggar borne in Irland, dwellinge here this xxx yeres; Gyll Anowe and wyffe, aunient beggars — xx yeres; Jane Dryer, with 4 Idell wenshes and boyes goinge a beggin', xxx yeres; 2 others, common dronkards, unruly and workinge on daye in a weeke, and the reste lyinge in blinde ale howses at cardes.

332. Peter Newall's plan for relief of poor. 23 Eliz., 20 March. And whereas Peter Newall, merchaunte, heretofore hath made sondry peticons to have some auctoritie from the cite & in the prosecuting for some licenses & other graunts at the hands or by the meanes of the lords of the quenes majestie moste honorable pryvie Counsell to her majestie to obtayn for the reliefe of the poore decayed estate of this cite, & to the benefit and comon weale of the same & to have some quantitie of money to furnishe himselfe presently up to London about the same and howe to be had. And thereupon at this assembly it was ordered that the said Peter Newall shall prosecute the saide sute & resorte to Mr. Recorder from tyme to tyme & imparte to him all his proceedings & by him to be advised towching the same & to be furnished with XL^{li}. wherof were appointed sessers for thestgate streete, Richard Wright & John Barnes; for the Watergate streete, John Middleton and Paule Chauntrell; for the Northegate streete, Richard Bavand & John Yerworth; & for the Bridgstreete, Robart Brenewoode, alderman, and Valentine Broughton.

379. Offer of £100 for relief of the poor. Conditions about ale brewers and tippling. 24 Eliz. Rich. Bavand, maior, xith daie of September. Whereas a well willer of this cite offereth c^{li}. to the releefe of the same upon certaine condicons exhibited to this Assembly to be employed to set the poore on worke, viz., that noe more ale or beere bruers be suffered in this cite then may suffice, and that noe citizen resorte to any tiplinge or ale howse and that noe ale or beere be sould above one halfe penie the quarte, and that the poore be provided for as not to goe abrode and if they refuse to be soe provided for but goe abrode: then to be banished from the cite, and that all the accomptants of this cite be called to accompt and deliver up the same [and] namely, Mr. John Harvie, Mr. Thomas Lyniall, Mr. William Jewet, and by conjecture Mr. David Montford due and discreate consideracons and deliberacons of the said premisses by this assembly have ben had, and thereupon it is nowe fullie concluded and ordered that Mr. Maior shall call before him Mr. Christopher Goodman,¹ professor of divinitie, and requeste him for that such well willer will not be known openly to yeld such well willer thankes and to be a meane to such well willer that the said c^{li}. may be bestowed upon this Citie to be employed at the discretion of the aldermen of the same Citie without any other condicon, for that the said Articles seme to this assembly not requisite nor convenient nether yet some of them sufferable by Lawe.

515. House of Correction surrendered by Wm. Aldersay 200a.—And wheras W^m. Aldersey of the Citie of Chester merchaunt had thoccupacon of the howse of Correction, the quarrell & c^{li}. stock for vii yeres not yet expired, yet libertie by his Covenants upon warninge to give over the same within the said terme, he the same W^m. Aldersay at this Assembly offereth the said c^{li}. howse & quarell in discharge of his Covenants, which is assented unto.

516. John Delahey's petition for House of Correction. And wheras John Delahey of the said Citie merchaunt exhibited his supplication to this Assembly to have to him graunted upon good Assurans the said howse quarrell & xlii. parcell of the said c^{li}. It is nowe considered of & soe differred upon untill further advise untill the nexte Assemblie here to be holden.

¹ Rector of Aldford and friend of John Knox.

639. xiv December xxxi Elizabeth. At whiche Assemblie it
 Arrerages was debated whether meete that the arrerages of the money
 for restinge due to the poore people liveinge by almes unpaid
 the Poor. and remayninge ungathered should be levied yea or not, And
 now it is ordered and soe thought meete by this whole Assembly that all
 the same arrerages shalbe presentlie gathered and for want of paym^t the
 persons refusinge to make suche paym^t to be presentlie comitted to warde
 there to remaine untill they shall and have discharged all the same suche
 arrerages remayninge upon them.

The Indenture Ledger contains an interesting schedule of the implements belonging to the House of Correction.¹

Amongst the records preserved of the Elizabethan period are four lists of the rates of wages appointed to be paid to servants and labourers in 12, 35, 38, and 39 Elizabeth. It is a revival of the attempt made, in all honesty but with little success, to determine a fair living wage.

In 21 Edward III., a carpenter received from 2½d. to 3d. a day; a mason, 3d.; an "operator," 2½d.; an ordinary labourer in the Forest de la Mara, 2d.; a cartwright the same; "daubers" were paid 1½d.; and women engaged in carrying water or stones and other material, 1d. a day.²

¹ A schedule conteigning all the goodes and ymplements whereof the Indenture maketh mencion which belonge to the Citty and House of Correction.

Imprimis 1 leade or flornace, price	iiii ^{li} .	Item 1 wheele	-	-	-
Item 1 ould hogshead, price	-	„ 1 fire forke	-	-	vi ^d .
„ 1 Trough	-	„ 2 flornes to flock carde	-	-	viii ^d .
„ 3 ould flakes	-	„ 1 warpyng trough	-	-	iii ^s . iii ^d .
„ 1 barrell withoute a head price	xii ^d .	„ 1 warpyng beame	-	-	viii ^d .
„ 1 buckett with an Iron Chaine	v ^s .	„ 6 doores with lockes	-	-	xiii ^s . iii ^d .
„ 1 Loom	-	„ the whole glasse and	-	-	
„ 1 Warpyng Wheele	-	windowes	-	-	vi ^s . viii ^d .
„ 1 Chest	-	„ certeine Reedes and flees	-	-	
„ 1 Shilfe board	-	belonging to a loome	-	-	
„ 1 flake to lipp	-	„ a litle Iron Candlestick	-	-	iii ^d .
„ 1 shearboarde	-				

—*Indenture Ledger* 69b.

Thomas Lord Cromwell to Earl of Chester for extirpation of Gipsies, v Dec., 29 Hen. 8. Whereas the King's Majestie, about a twelfmonth past, gave a pardonne to a company of lewde personnes calling themselves Gipeyans, for a most shamfull and detestable murder commytted amongst them—with a speciall proviso that onles they should all avoyde this realme by a certeyn daye long sythens expired, yt shuld be lawfull to all his Grace's officers to hang them in all places of his realme, where they might be apprehended without any further examynacon or tryal after forme of the lawe. Hering that they yet doe lynger here, and that albeit his poore subjects be dayly spoyled, robbed and deceyved by them, yet his Highnes Officers and Ministres do permyt them to lynger and loyter. . . . ye shall compell them to depart to the next porte of the See to the place where they shal be taken and eyther wythout delaye upon the first wynde that may convey them into any parte of beyond the Sees, to take shipping and to passe in to owtward partyes, or if they shall in any wise breke that commandement, without any tract [delay] to see them executed, &c.

—*Ellis' Letters*, ii.

² The Mayor's Book of 2 Richard III. contains an entry that John White took in excess for his labour, receiving fourpence a day with his dinner, contrary to the Statute of Labourers. He was pardoned "*quod construxit cum predicto maheremio*."

By an act of 6 Henry VIII., the average wage of artisans was fixed at $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ a day, and common labourers were to receive fourpence a day for half the year, and threepence for the remaining half, exception being made for harvest time, when they were allowed to receive higher payment. Mr. Froude states (*History of England*, i., 30) that the daily pay of a soldier, which was sixpence, furnishes a good criterion for determining the average wage of the unskilled labourer, and that the 4th of the 5th of Elizabeth enacted that wages should be adjusted to the price of food, and the wages of the day labourer in London was fixed at ninepence the day. It will be seen from the subjoined list that no artisan except a master carpenter obtained this wage in Chester at the dates mentioned.¹

¹ The rates of Servants Labourers and hierers wages within the Citie of Chester, taxed and appoynted by the right worshipfull Thomas Smith, Esquier, Maior, by the advyse and consultacon of divers of others the Justices of Peace within the said Cittie at the nexte and firste generall sessions of her Highbnes peace within the Countie of the said Citie of Chester, houlden and had after the feaste day of Pasche als Easter scilicet the eyght day of Aprill Anno Regine Elizabeth, &c., tricesimo nono [39] accordinge to the statute thereof made in the fiefte yeare of the Raigne of the Queenes Majestie that now is, with respecte and consideracon had of the great dearth and scarsitie of things at this present.—*Letter Book*, 61.

The rates of Servants, Laborers, and Hierers Wages taxed and appoynted by the right worshipfull ——— by the advice and consultacon of divers others of the Citie at the nexte and firste generall sessions of the Countie of the said Citie of Chester houlden and passed Eliz. 35. [With this table is conjoined a statement of particulars in two later years, 38 and 39 Eliz., and in part for 12 Eliz.]

	Wages by the yeare and with meate and drink.	Wages by the yeare without meate and drink.			Wages by the day with meate and drink.		Wages by the day without meate.	
	35 Eliz.	35 Eliz.	38 Eliz.	39 Eliz.	35 Eliz.	39 Eliz.	12 Eliz.	39 Eliz.
Smith - - -	£1 6/8	£4 10/	£5	£5 10/	2d.	1½d.	6d.	7d.
Whelewright - -	2	5	5 10/	6	2½	2	8	7
Plowwright - -	1 10/	4 13/4	5	5 10/	2	1½	8	7½
Milnewright - -	1 3/4	5	5 10/	6	3	2½	10	7½
Mr Carpenter -	2 13/4	5 10/	5 13/4	6 6/8	4	3½	12	9
Servant Carpenter	1	3	3 10/	4	1	1	6	7
Joyner - - -	1 10/	3 13/4	4	4 10/	2	1½	8	7½
Rough Mason - -	1 6/8	4 10/	5	5 10/	2½	2	6	8
Playsterer - -	1	4 10/	5	5 10/	2	1½	6	8
Sawier - - -	1 8/	4 4/	4 10/	5	2	1½	8	7
Lymemaker - -	1 3/	4	4 6/8	4 13/4	2	1½	4	8
Bricklayer - -	1	3 13/4	4	4 6/8	2½	2	4	7
Brickman - - -	1 6/	4	4 10/	5	2	1½	6	8
Tyler - - -	1 5/	3 10/	3 13/4	4	2	1½	4	7
Sclater - - -	1 6/	3 13/	4	4 10/	1½	1½	4	8
Tylemaker - -	1 10/	3 16/	4	4 10/	2	1½	5	7
Lynen Weaver -	1	3 12/	4	4 10/	1	1½	6	8
Turner - - -	16/	2 16/	3	3 6/8	1	1	3	7
Wollen Weaver -	1 8/	3 10/	3 13/4	4	1	1	6	7
Cowpers - - -	1 10/	3 15/	4	4 10/	2	1½	6	8
Milner - - -	1 10/	3 13/4	4	4 10/	2	1½	6	8

	Wages by the year and with meate and drink.	Wages by the yeare without meate and drink.				Wages by the day with meate and drink.	Wages by the day without meate.	
	35 Eliz.	35 Eliz.	38 Eliz.	39 Eliz.	35 Eliz.	39 Eliz.	12 Eliz.	39 Eliz.
Fuller - - -	£1 6/	£3 8/	£3 13/4	£4	1½d.	1d.	5d.	7d.
Walker - - -	1 3/4	3 14/	4	4 10/	1½	1	4	7
Thatcher - - -	1	3 13/	4	4 10/	1	1	4	7
Shingler - - -	1 10/	3 13/4	4	4 10/	2	1½	6	8
Sherman - - -	1	3 6/8	3 13/4	4	1½	1	4	7
Dyer - - -	1 6/8	3 10/	3 13/4	4	1½	1	5	6
Hosiers - - -	1 3/	3 5/	3 10/	3 16/8	1	1	4	7
Shomakers - - -	1 10/	3 16/	4	4 10/	2	1½	4	8
Tanners - - -	1 6/	3 15/	4	4 10/	1	1	4	7
Pewterers - - -	1	3 10/	3 13/4	4	2½	2	3½	8
Bakers - - -	16/	3 5/	3 10/	3 16/8	1	1	3	7
Bruers - - -	1	3 5/	3 10/	3 16/8	1½	1	—	7
Glovers - - -	1 6/8	3 10/	3 16/	4	1	1	—	7
Cutlers - - -	1 7/	4	4 10/	5	1½	1	—	7
Saddlers - - -	1 5/	3 10/	4	4 10/	1½	1	5	8
Spurriers - - -	1 5/	3 10/	4	4 10/	1½	1	4	8
Cappers - - -	1	3	3 10/	3 16/8	2	1½	4	8
Hatmakers - - -	1 10/	—	4 10/	5	2	1½	5	8
Bowers - - -	1 8/	—	4	4 10/	2	1½	6	8
Fletchers - - -	1	—	3 10/	4	2	1½	4	8
Arrowhead Makers -	15/	—	3 10/	4	2	1	4	8
Butchers - - -	1 6/8	—	3 10/	4	1	1½	4	8
Cooks - - -	1	—	3 5/	4	—	1	3	6
Bayliffs of husbandry	2	—	4	4 10/	3	2	6	9
Mowers of Grasse -	—	—	—	—	4	3	8	—
Taskers - - -	—	—	—	—	4	3	—	—
Reapers - - -	—	—	—	—	2	1½	6	—
Mowers of Corne—								
Of the best sorte -	1	—	3	4	4	—	3	—
2nd sorte -	10/	—	2 10/	3	—	—	2	—
3rd sorte -	8/	—	1 15/	—	—	—	2	—

—*Harl. MSS.*, 2093, 31; and 2054

There was abundant variety in the life of Chester during the Plantagenet period. Within the walls all kinds of manufactures were carried on, the most offensive, such as the skinnners, tanners, and glovers, being relegated to the outside of the city. This would appear to have been the case also at Carnarvon, where Skinner Street is outside the walls.

The records during the reigns of the Edwards, Richard II., and Henry IV., furnish a long and interesting list of trades, subdivided in a remarkable way. The different articles of clothing have each their manufacturer, the corvyser or shoemaker, the souter, the pelliپر or furrier, the capper, the pinner, the chalonier who made chalons or coverlets, the plumer or feather-worker, the

cordewainer, the girdler, the sherman, the wooleman, the spencer, the walker, the linnen-weaver, the glover, the hosier, the taillour, the broderer, the vestiment-maker, the silkwoman. Tanners, curriers, and skinners formed a numerous body of themselves, because leather became an important article of dress, the leather used for this purpose being dressed with lime and fat.¹

There was, besides, a large number engaged in the furnishing of arms and armour: the stringer, the bowyer, the arrowhead maker, the flecchier, the arbalester, the labourer who made drums, the sporiour, the smith, the ferrouer, in addition to the makers of special weapons, spears, swords, pikes, and bolts for cross-bars. Add to these the cutler, the carpenter, the wodehewer, the cooper, the wheelmaker, the cartwright, the locksmith, the sadler, the slater, the wharyour (quarryman?), and all those employed in supplying provisions—the baxter or baker, the fleshener or butcher, the fishmonger, the saucemaker, the spicer, the cook or refreshment-house keeper, the vyntner, the brewer, the waterleder or water-carrier; the shippemon, the panyer maker, the barber, the roper, the dosser or paperhanger; the wyredrawer, the bellyetter or bell-founder, the stalker, the staynour, the payntour, the illuminator, the parchmener (17 Richard II., percheymeyner), the scryvener (bookbinder does not occur until Henry VI.), Alicia the lavender or laundress, the orfeur, the pryker, the dyer, the dauber, the goldsmith. As each of these artisans and tradesmen had a more or less distinctive dress, we may gather from the list, which is by no means exhaustive, some idea of the great variety which characterised the inhabitants of Chester in the Middle Ages.

As for names in the earlier part of our period (up to the accession of Richard II., when surnames became more usual), we find but the Christian name (John, William, Henry, Richard, Ranulph, being the favourites) with the trade-name, preceded by the Norman French “le,” even in the Latin record, thus—Johannes le Spycer de Castellone, Nicholas le Taillieur, Alicia le Baxter, Alicia le lavender, Margeria le rimour, Jordanus le meyremou. Occasionally this is varied by some appellation as a personal mark of distinction, *e.g.*, Will Traylemantel, Nicholas le lyttle, William le Small, Adam Oldmon, John le long, Richard le grip, Henry Massebok, Ranulph Mendechepyns, Roger le lypre (the leper), John Sillesone, Ranulph Viduesone (Widowson), William Wydue sone, Henry Waynepayne, Nicholas Forthewynt, Richard Godeneit, William Getegod, Robert Goldhabe, Cecilia le bel (the fair), Robert Tankard, William le beremon, Richard le brun (brown), Richard le

¹ Rogers, *History of Agricultural Prices*, i., 104.

blond, Will. Bilbody, Henry Mustard, John Lightfote, Richard Jolisquier, Robert Smalproud, John Hoggebache, Henry Swetemile, John Throstilberd, Robert le Proudmercier, Roger le Calf, Adam le Wolf, Robert Fox. We have also a large class of names denoting the place of origin, as Richard de Brunburgh, William de Spaldinge, Thomas de Derby, Will de Doncaster (Lancaster, Stafford, Ludlowe, Kendal, Notingham, Birmincham, Warwick, Leicester, Mamcestre, Coventrie, Coneway, Frodsham), Adam de Kylkenny, Hugo de Honebrigge (34 Edward I.), Felicia Norman, Ithel le Walisse de Iorwerth le Walisse, John de Snowdon, Mason.

The women's names which are most common are Isolda. Mabilia, Wentliana, Alicia, Margeria, Emma, Katerina, Juliana, Johanna, Elena, Agnes, Anota, Letissa, Lucia, Anabilla, Felicia. All these instances are taken from the records in the reigns of the three Edwards. Hardly any Welsh names occur during the reign of Edward I., while there are several entries of Scottish names.

After the accession of Henry VII., Welsh names occur with marked frequency in the lists of admission to the franchise. The severe measures taken by Henry IV. and Henry V. against the Welsh were not without effect upon their settlement in Chester long after the suppression of Glyndwr's rebellion, and Welsh names are found rarely in the records of the reign of Henry VI. Most of the instances noted are of persons bound over to keep the peace, e.g., 34 Henry V., Madoe' ap Robyn ap Eden "*de pace gerenda cuncto populo*," Ieuan ap Eden de Northope, John ap Bellyn, Res ap Ithell ap David, Gruff' ap Dicus, Ienan Lloit, and Gruff' ap Grono, all apparently turbulent and troublesome to their neighbours.

In the time of Henry VI., the place of origin or local name is given without the preposition "de," as John Lyverpull, Edmund Lythlerland, John Barton, John Patryk, Henry Wermincham; and surnames are later of common occurrence, having lost their special significance.

It may be worth while to note here the few instances which have been found of the names of physicians and other members of the healing art.

4 Philip and Mary, John Burgonyon of Chester, Chirurgion, "alias John Frenchemon, is indicted for stealing from a house a "cap case, a payre of gloves, and three veils, three bed cloths, "value 30s."

"22 Henry VIII., Magister Nicholas, doctor de Fysik, is "indicted for having a nuisance outside his house in White Friar "Lane."

In the Letter Book is a letter dated 28 November, 1612, to the

Vicar and the Curate of St. John's, Chester, begging that the parishioners of St. John's may be moved to make a collection for the relief of a poor woman (wife of Thomas Farrington, carrier), who is fallen into a frenzy or lunacy, and has been placed under charge of Widow Mercer, "who is supposed to have experience in "such diseases."¹

Emma medica is a defendant in a case in 1314. A physician is indicted, 8 Henry VI., for being concerned in an affray.

The "wisewoman" or sorceress was to be found in Chester city as in other places, and her evil influence was fully believed in. It is ordered, 9 Elizabeth, that "Jane Sutton, al. Rodgeshed, al. Shorak, al. Hanley, al. Dodell, al. *Wisewoman*, shall from time to "time and at all tymes hereafter during her lief be of good "behaviour against all the quenes majesties liege people and at "any time hereafter do not epare [appear] within two miles of the "said Citie of Chester, except she be brought by ordenary process, "upon paine of cli."

Two years later, 11 Elizabeth, 1569, another woman, Margaret Buggeley, of the Crofts of Chester, widow, is to appear before the mayor on eight days' notice given to her or her sureties, to answer the charges brought against her. The authorities cautiously add that she has "warning to appere and not to use any witchcraft, "sorcery."

A century later, the mayor and his brethren were not content with merely warning. It was the time for prosecution and persecution for alleged sorcery, and in Chester, as in Lancashire, bigoted ignorance demanded its victims. In 1656, three poor women were tried before John Bradshaw, the regicide, and condemned to be hung on the gallows at Boughton for sorcery.²

¹ Also Alex. Harrison. See page 357.

² They were—(1) Anne Thornton, late of Eytton in Cheshire, widow, for that on 9 Feb., 1655-6, and on divers other days and times, at Eccleston, not having God before her eyes, but by the instigacon of the Devill being moved and seduced, did exercise and practise certayne devillish and wicked actes and incantations, called Witchcrafts, Inchauntments, Charmes, and Sorceries, upon one Daniell Finchett, sonne of Ralphe Fynchett of Eccleston, yoman, being an infant of three days, wherbye he languished from the 9th till the 11th day of February, and died.

(2) Anne Osboston, wife of James Osboston of Ranowe, husbandman, for practising certain wicked and devilish acts upon John Stevenson, husbandman, whereof he died; also on Barbara Pott of Ranowe, late wife of John Pott, whereof she died, and two other persons.

(3) Ellen, wife of John Beech, late of Ranowe, collier, did exercise and practise the invocation and conjuration of evil and wicked spirits, and consulted and covenanted with, entertayned, employed, fedd and rewarded them; and exercised on Elizabeth Cooper of Rainowe, whereby she languished, and in eight days died.—*Plea Rolls*, 1656.

We have seen that the Abbot of Chester had his champion to represent him and his convent in trials by combat. The old English custom of dealing with accusations of criminality or questions of right was by "compurgation," when the accused could be acquitted of a charge on the voluntary oath of his neighbours and kinsmen. This was abolished for all parts of England, except the County Palatine of Chester, by the Assize of Clarendon, and in its place the trial by "ordeal," or "judgment of God," was instituted, where innocence was proved by the holding hot iron in the hand, or by sinking when flung into the water; for swimming was a proof of guilt. Though trial by ordeal was abolished by the Lateran Council, 1215, this trial by ordeal of water continued to be put in practice as regards those charged with witchcraft until early in the eighteenth century. A touching story is told in connection with the trial by combat, which had been introduced at Leicester in place of that by "compurgation." Two kinsmen waged a duel about a piece of land, and fought from the first to the ninth hour, each conquering by turns. Then one of them, fleeing from the other till he came to the brink of a little pit, was saved from falling into it by the warning of his opponent. The clamour which arose on this reached the earl's ears, and the result was that on the earnest petition of the townsmen trial by combat was discontinued in favour of a judgment by a jury of twenty-four citizens.¹

Two instances of trial by combat in Cheshire are given below from the Plea Rolls of Henry III.

The ceremonies of combat were as follows:—The defendant, having pleaded "Not guilty," put himself upon his personal defence. The plaintiff took the defendant by the left hand, and laid his own right hand upon the gospels. He then addressed the defendant by name, "You, Thomas, whom I, John, do hold by the

Adam de Witeby appellat Joh'em de Albo monaster' quod nequiter et felonice equam suam cepit furtive in communi pastura de Witeby et ad hoc disr'onand' per corpus suum ad horam unius diei: dedit vad' et pleg' invenit scil. Laurent' de Stoke et Henr' de Sutton. Joh'es defendidit et optulit se defendere per corpus suum et addictus est sibi dies ad proximum com'. Die sibi addicto comparuere in pleno com' armati modo debito et vincti ad hoc immitti et prefato sacramento campum duelli adierunt' vero dictus Adam dictum Johannem . . . occidit et per judicium com' ipsum suspendit et equam suam quam exigit adduxit.

Cadogon de Hadleg appellat Ric'um de Brumshall quod ipse nequiter et felonice contra pacem domini insult' precogitato die sabati in vig. Sancte Trinitatis aº 44 Wm. de Werliston nepotem suum in campo de Werliston cum quadam sagitta et securi felonice interfecit et hoc optulit disr'onandum per corpus suum.—*Plea Rolls, i.*—*Welsh Records, Henry III.*

¹ Green (*History of English People*, i., 220).

"hand, I do here charge thee that upon such a year and day thou
 "didst feloniously rob me or kill, &c. (repeating the full charge),
 "and I am ready to aver the same by my body, as a good and
 "lawful man, and that my appeal is true, so help me God and all
 "his Saints." Then they disjoin their hands, and the defendant
 took the left hand of the plaintiff in his left hand, laying his right
 hand also upon the book, making his declaration—"You, John,
 "whom I, Thomas, do hold by the hand, have basely and falsely
 "lied upon me, for that I did not rob thee or kill, &c., as thou hast
 "charged me. This I am ready to maintain by my body, and that
 "this my defence is true, so help me God and all his Saints." The plaintiff, if within three days he found pledges of his battle, was set at liberty, but the defendant [Bracton says both parties] was committed to the custody of the marshal, who took care that he should have sufficiency both of meat and drink as also of rest and quiet.

When they came into the field prepared for the combat, they must, either of them, take an oath that their cause was just, and also disclaim the use of enchantments or devilish arts to obtain the victory.¹ If the plaintiff was set at liberty, he was obliged, the night preceding the day of combat, to come to the marshal to be by him arrayed in the requisite armour. The plaintiff fought with head covered, the defendant was bareheaded.²

This trial by combat was usual also in cases of writs of right, when champions or substitutes were employed. Hollingshead, iii., 1225-6, describes the arrangements made for trying a writ for some lands in Kent, 13 Elizabeth, the lists, twenty-six yards square, being prepared in Tothill Fields, Westminster, carefully railed round.

The champions were usually attired in red leather, with a leathern target at their backs, and a knight held for each his red baston or truncheon, a staff of an ell long, made taper-wise, tipped with horn at end. The chief justice measured the staves, and caused their persons to be searched to see if they had any rhyme, charm, or herb about them. Thorne, one of the champions, came in to London appparelled in a dublet and gallie-gascoine breeches, all of crimson sattin, cut and raised, a hat of black velvet with a red feather and band, before him drums and fifes playing. The gauntlet cast down by Thorne was borne before Nailor upon a sword's point, and his baston with his shield of hard leather was

¹ 29 Edward III., the champion of the Bishop of Salisbury, in a writ of right, was found to have rolls of orizons and invocations wrapped about him.

² Strutt—Manners and Customs, page 41.

borne after him by a yeoman of the queene's guard. The combatants were led in each by the hand by a knight, and made elaborate courtesies to the court and assembled spectators.

In the Plea Roll of 34 Edward I., 1306,¹ is recorded "an appeal of murder" by David, son of William le Huxle, against John, son of Warin le Grosvenour the elder, for feloniously slaying with an arrow his grandson, Richard, son of Robert de Pulford, on Sunday next after Easter, at mid-day in Budeworth. The plea curiously describes, in full detail, the weapon used, and exhibits a striking illustration of ancient manners and customs, as well as the uncertainty attending the suit of an individual against a murderer:

The . . . of the arrow was of boulo, 24 inches long, the iron was smalhokethened, whereof the length of the iron was two inches, and the breadth one inch, and the fledge (flechia) was feathered with the feather of a goose, sewn up and bound with thread and silk of the value of a farthing; value of the iron, a farthing; value of the feathers, thread, and silk, a farthing; value of the whole arrow, three farthings; and the bow was of yue, of the length of 6 feet, and the breadth $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the thickness 6 inches, value of the bow, eight pence; and the cord of the bow was of flax, in length 6 feet, value of the cord, a farthing.

After the death of the aforesaid Richard, David raised the hue and cry against the aforesaid John, as a felon of the Lord Earl of Chester, at the four next towns—Lowe, Merton, Utkintone, and Wetenhall, and from these townships to the coroners, and from the coroners until the aforesaid John was attached here in the court of our lord the Earl of Chester. Pledges for prosecuting, Robert de Huxle and Roger de Clutton. The accused was mute and adjudged to the *peine forte et dure*, but finally, after several adjournments, demurred that the plaintiff had not made mention in his appeal of the bigness of the fledge (*grossura flechie*), nor of the colours of the feathers of the fledge. Therefore, it is considered that the aforesaid John go quit of the suit of the aforesaid David, and the same David, for false appeal, be committed to gaol.

Afterwards, John, at the suit of the Earl, being required how he would acquit himself of the said felony, says, "that he is not "guilty, and hereof he putteth himself upon the country, to wit, "upon William de Venables, Richard de Somerford, Richard de "Audertone, Richard de Munshul, Robert de Keman, and Robert "de Rowton, and all others in the pannel contained he challenged." He was committed to gaol and safe custody until the next county, and ordered, in the meanwhile, that he have victuals and his necessities, as an acceptor of common law.

Another Plea Roll of an earlier date, 16-17 Edward I., throws

¹ Cited by Mr. Black, *Brit. Arch. J.*, 1849.

light upon the condition of serfdom in Cheshire. Hugh de Dutton demands the return of Henry Heyhale of Crouton, his "nativus" or bondsman, who had run away (*nativum et fugitivum suum*), together with all his chattels and issue (*tota sequela sua*). The aforesaid Henry denies his claim. Hugh maintains that his ancestor Hugh was seized of a certain Kenewric, grandfather of this Henry as his "nativus."¹ He then sets forth the man's descent, and brings witnesses in support of his statements.

Amongst the Eaton Manuscripts is a deed whereby Sir Robert de Pulford transfers to another owner, a woman and two brothers, and all their issue, as if they were so much sheep and oxen sold at a fair.

Grant by Sir Robert de Pulford, knight, to the Abbey of Deulacres of three villains or bondservants—Adam, William, sons of Thomas, and their sister, and their goods and issue.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Robertus de Pulford miles salutem in domino. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse, concessisse et quiet' clamasse pro me et heredibus meis Domino et Beate Marie de Deulacres et ejusdem loci Abbati et Conventui Adam et Willm. fil' Thome et sororem suam nativos meos cum omnibus catallis suis et eorum sequela. Ita scilicet quod nec ego vel heredes mei aliquid jus vel clamium in predictis nativis meis cum eorum sequela et catallis imperpetuum habere seu vindicare pot'imus. In cujus rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui.—*Eaton MSS., 52, Temp. Edward I.*



Lionel, Duke of Clarence,
illustrating costume at the
close of the 14th century

A.D. 16.
Regulations
about
women's caps
and bats.

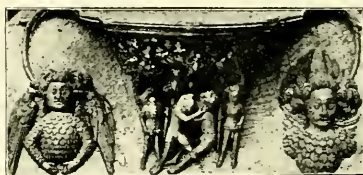
72b.—H. Gee, mayor. 32 Henry VIII.

Also wher it hath bene longe tyme continued within the cite and yet is that not onely the wiffs widowes and manye mayds of the same comonly used to were upon ther hedes both whyte capes and kercheffs and upon that grete brode blacke hatts, but also all the mayds and unmarried women use to were on ther heds both whyte clurchars wherby can not be knowne a syngle woman from a maryed, which disordering and abusing of apparrell is not onely contrary to the good use and honest facion used in other good cities and places of the relme, wherby greate obloquy amonge strangers hath and doth run abroad, but also is verrey costly more then nessessary charges conveniently requireth and ageynst the common welthe of this cite. Therfore is ordered by the said mayre, aldermen, and common counsaile of the said cite that after the eght day of September next comyng no

¹ Cap' exple' ut in talliando ipsum ad voluntatem suam et faciendo ipsum propositum suum in redemptione sanguinis ad filiam suam maritandam et aliis consuetudinibus similibus ad valenc', &c., ut de feodo et jure tempore pacis, tempore domini Henrici Regis.

manar single or unmarried woman within the saide citie shall were upon hur hed eny whyte cap or of other colour under payne of ii^s. for every tyme so offendinge nor that eny wyfe, wedo, or other woman or mayde within the same citie after the day aforesaid shall were eny hatt of black or other colour ones it be when she rydes or els goith on walking abrode into the feldes or country under payne of iii^s. iiiid. and every tyme so offending this ordinaunce. Provided allwayes that all wemen being veri aged or diseased with grete sickenes may for ther healthe and necessary comforth of ther healthe use hatts and capes as they have done aforetyme This ordinaunce or eny thinge therein conteynid to the contrary not wythstanding.

¹ P. & M. John Newhall, nuper de Cestr, yoman, indicted in accordance with an act passed 1 P. & M. q'd nullus persona natus infra hoc regnum Anglie alius quam qui sit filius et heres apprens militis vel alius quam qui dispendat 20 libras per annum in terr' officiis feod' vel aliis annualibus reventionibus pro termino vite vel valeat in bonis 200 libr. haberet sive gereret aliquod sericum vocat' le sylke in vel super pileum feltam bonetam pileum nocturnum vocat' le night cappe vaginam caligas calceamenta et corria calcaria vocat' le spnre lether sub pena imprisonnement per tres menses et forisfacturam x librarum pro quolibet die sic habendo &c. gessit unum le vellet cappe super caput suum q'd habeat in se sericum vocat' le sylke continuand' sic de die in diem per spacium unius mensis.



Discreet in Chester Cathedral
Representing a Wrestling Match

CHAPTER VII.

The City Companies and Trade of Chester



HENRY VII. and Henry VIII. did much to promote the commercial prosperity of Chester. Allusion has been made to its importance, from a very early period, both as a trading city and as a military position. This importance was certainly not least when Hugh Lupus succeeded to the Earldom. Domesday contains in-

teresting details about the number of houses, the regulations for trade, the amount of tax paid to the king and the earl, the laws in force for the government of the city, and the court for the administration of justice in the time of Edward the Confessor.

The city was then under the control of a *prepositus*, the king's officer or bailiff, to whom fines, *e.g.*, for using false measures and brewing unwholesome ale, were paid. But the citizens are referred to as "*burgenses*," and most undoubtedly had some organization of their own. The ground on which St. Peter's Church stands, which was claimed by Robert de Rodelent as *teinland* [thane-land], was proved to belong to the borough, and to have been always in the custody of the king and earl as the land of the other burgesses.

This is certainly the case immediately after the Norman Conquest. The settlement of the order-loving Normans amongst them, and the increase of trade in the quieter times which followed, would stimulate the Chester traders to improve their organization where it was defective.

Earl Hugh Lupus in his Charter to St. Werburgh's Abbey ("*Sanctorum Prisca*"), 1093, mentions the "burgesses and other "his freemen." Earl Randle Meschines (1120-1128) in his Confirmation Charter to the Abbey, as well as his successor Randle Gernons (1128-1153), directs offences committed during the Midsummer Fair to be tried by the abbot's officers *in conjunction*

with the sheriff of the city (*vice-comes civitatis*). In another charter Randle Gernons speaks also of his own sheriff, as though at that time (as was very probable) there were two such officers—the Earl's Sheriff and the City Sheriff.

As late as Elizabeth's reign, 1566 [A.O. 828], one sheriff is called the queen's sheriff.

In Edward the Confessor's time there were twelve judges (relics of the Danish lawmen), one perhaps from each ward of the city, chosen indifferently from the men of the king, the earl, and the bishop, who sat in the Hundred Court under the presidency of the earl and bishop or their representatives.

When Earl Hugh came into power, as the bishop had removed his See to Lichfield, he constituted the abbey into an independent "soke," with a court and officers of its own. So careful was Randle Meschines to secure this independence, that he set the example of appearing in person at the abbot's court in a plea the judgment on which he accepted, not from his own but from the abbot's judges, "*ut in omnibus haberet beata Werburga jus sue dignitatis in perpetuum.*"

Later, St. Mary's Nunnery received from Randle Gernons the same privilege of an independent court, which was confirmed by Hugh Cyveliok, and claimed in answer to a *Quo Warranto* as late as 1499. (See page 139).

A like privilege was claimed by St. Giles' Hospital at Boughton, in 1499, as having been granted by Earl Randle and confirmed by Earl Hugh, "*quod non respondend' justic' vic' nec ministris Domini Principis nisi in Curia Hospitalis predict'.*"

An interesting trial took place in the sixth year of Edward II. in connection with the Abbot's claim of independence. Thomas de Ynes (or Ince) was attached to answer to the sheriffs for toll of corn imported. Upon this came the Abbot of Chester, and set forth his claim, declaring that he and all his men and tenants were free of toll throughout the whole of Cheshire by the Earl's charter. The abbot besought the mayor and sheriffs to preserve his freedom unimpaired. The case was deferred to allow time for the investigation of the claim, the abbot appointing William de Bromburgh

"Et si quisquam deprehensus fuerit, &c., precipio *vice-comiti Civitatis* quicumque fuerit . . . ut ipsi et ministri abbatis cum eo eant et accipiant ipsnm mercatorem cum sua mercatione retinentes eum donec inveniat fide-jussores faciendi rectum in curia S. Werburge.

. . . de denariis et nominatim decimum denarium de illis novem denariis qui accipiuntur de ponte, &c. . . . volo ut computetur et talliatur *vice-comiti meo* in firmam suam a camerariis meis."

as his attorney. The case came up at several Portmotes, the sheriffs, William Clerk and Robert de Macclesfield, opposing the claim, which the abbot supported by bringing into court the old charters conferring the independent jurisdiction.

The citizens under the Norman Earls, apparently, took all pleas before the Earl's high officer, though some business would be transacted under their sheriff in their own town moot, which gave the name of "Mothall laue" (41 Edward III.) to the offshoot of Bridge Street called in later times Common-hall Lane.

The earliest date which has been suggested for the appointment of a mayor in Chester is 1257. But certainly one century before this the city had granted to it the formal organisation called the "Gild Merchant." The term first occurs in Randle Blundeville's Charter [1200-1202]. But as in that charter he confirms the grant of Gild Merchant in as ample a form as they enjoyed it in the time of his ancestors, the date of the original grant could not be later than the time of Randle Gernons, 1128-1153. This would correspond to the time when Earl Randle refers to the Vice-comes of the city, who may well have been the president of this Gild Merchant. Indeed there is no reason why the date of its foundation should not be as early as that of the Chapman Gild of Canterbury, 1087-1107, the deed for which was signed when Anselm (Earl Hugh's spiritual adviser) was Archbishop of Canterbury.

This Gild Merchant was granted with all the usual liberties and free customs which were such important privileges in those feudal times. First and foremost would be the concession of the exclusive right to trade within the borough. But, besides this monopoly, there would be the no less valued privileges of freedom from interference by the Earl's bailiffs in city affairs, and the exemption, secured by payment of a certain fixed sum, from tax and toll, which was always more or less capricious, and might become burdensome beyond all measure to the citizens.

They had also the right to hold markets and fairs, though the profits of one of these fairs were conveyed away to St. Werburgh's Abbey; to devise lands and tenements; and exemption from *Caption*, except for the direct use of the Earl or his justice, and this under certain conditions.¹ These privileges were all granted by the Norman Earls and confirmed by successive kings. Edward I.

¹ This Caption was a kind of purveyance by which provision was made for the wants of the Earl and his household. In Charter 8, Earl John directs that no caption be made in the City of Chester, except for the use of the Lord Earl and his Justice while they are there, and that this should be 13 pennyworths for 12 pence, except only of beer, *i.e.*, 4 pints at most of each brewing, at 4d. a pint; and this last was allowed to none but the Earl and his Justiciary.

added, in consideration of a fee-farm of £100, the privilege of electing coroners; of holding pleas of the Crown before their own mayor and bailiffs and receiving fines; having prisoners in their own gaol; besides quittance from various burdens.

The gild in other cities was presided over by an alderman, with whom were associated other officers—wardens, or stewards, levelokers, or collectors of fines, and sergeants, &c.

It is a much-debated question whether the Gild Merchant was a society of private traders independent of the city, or the body of burgesses under another name. Chester received in early days no other charter of incorporation than those granted by the Norman Earls, which were confirmed by the succeeding Plantagenet and Tudor Earls. And whereas, in 21 Richard II., to enter into the Gild mercatory is synonymous with entering into the franchise of the city, there is no formal document in which the appointment of a mayor and corporate body is authorised until that of 21 Henry VII.

The presiding officer or alderman of the Gild Merchant would follow the example of other cities and take the title of mayor, most probably at the time when Henry III. took over the Earldom of Chester in 1237. The different wards, at first probably twelve in number, into which the city was divided, sent up representatives, who would form the Council.

21 Ric. II. Isti intraverunt gildam mercatoriam tempore Joh'is de Capenhurst.

S. Dyonisii Martiris

Joh'e de Wilberforce Spycer pro libertate sua habenda xviii die Octobris. xxvi^s. & viii^d. de quibus solvit vi^s. viii^d. infra quatuor dies et residuum [ad festum] Nativitatis S. Joh'is Bapte prox' fut' equal iter per plegium Joh'is le Chamberleyn.

Edwardo Halkyn Taylliour pro libertate 3 Dec. 268 de quibus solvit in manibus vi^s. viii^d. per plegium Rob'ti Danyell et Rog'i de Dytton.

Joh'e Sym'e Tayllyour 3 Dec. 268 per plegium Rad'i de Hatton.

Mauricio filio Stephani le Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	26/8
per plegium Will'i K . . .						

Will'o Mody Taylliour	-	-	-	-	-	26/8
solvit 13/- per plegium Radi de . . .						

Joh'e Blound Portour	-	-	-	-	-	26/8
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Joh'e de Derlyngton	-	-	-	-	-	
per plegium . . . Belleyetter et Will'i de Rachedale vynt'.						

That the City was divided originally into twelve wards is to be inferred from the recurrence of the number *twelve* and multiples of it in connection with Chester, after the example of other towns. There were, according to Domesday, 12 judices or law men. The Council consisted of 24 aldermen and 48 councillors. The Churches were 12, one apparently for each ward, St. Peter's, St. Olave's, St. Mary's, St. Martin's, St. Bridget's, St. Michael's, Trinity, St. Chad's, St. Nicholas', St. Oswald's, and, outside the walls, St. John's and St. Giles'.

There would be as previously the two sheriffs, one for the king, the other the people's sheriff. There were in addition the murengers, whose province it was to collect the tolls for the sustenance of walls and pavements; two levelookers¹ who would collect other tolls, especially from the foreigners, or non-free-traders, and the usual complement of subordinate officers.

The members of the Gild paid a certain fee at their initiation, which varied at different periods, some being admitted at a low rate because of their supposed usefulness to the city, or by favour, others being required to pay a very heavy fee. Even those who obtained the freedom by inheritance paid 10½^d and wine. This gift of wine was the relic of the custom which prevailed in the early days of Gilds, when social recreation was a necessary part of the usual functions—the members of the Gild meeting on special days for eating and dining together.

In the 1st Assembly Book more than one reference occurs to the practice of assembling on Sunday when there was "a shot," or contribution to the drinking fund, which is spoken of as an old ancient custome.

Item where heretofore an old ancient custome hath been used within this citie every Sondag for all justices of peace, aldermen, sheriffs, sheriffs peeres and levelokers to meete together at the Inner pentice of the said citie and ther to have a shott or drinking, every man to spend a penny, which maner of meeting ther is much comended, yet the maner of such payments for divers consideracons not so well liked of. It is now, at this Assembly holden the said daie and yere, ordered and fully agreed upon by the said now maior, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsaile of the saide citie that from hensfurth yerely from yere to yere and every quarter of the yere every the justices of peace, aldermen, sheriffs, sheriffs peres and levelokers of the said citie which now are and whiche shalbe, truly contente and pay or cause to be truly paid unto the hands of the levelokers of ye said citie, which now are and shalbe tenne-pens for and towards the better provision for and more orderly finding and maytayning of the said such accostomably shott and meetinge.

Richard Dutton, Maior.

William Gerrard

Wyllyam Aldersey dothe consent to all this excepte to the ffurst clause

John Cowper

Ryc^d Poll

Thomas Grene

Wyllyam Ball

John Hankye

Roger Legh

W^m. Massye

Paull Chauntrell

Thomas Billing

Wyllyam Leche

Hughe Rogerson

Willyam Hamnet

Crystopher Morvell

Edward Martyn

Rychard Bavand

¹ In 1561, A.O. 77, the levelookers are "otherwyse cauldyd the wardones of the Gild Merchant of the City."

From the inner Pentice, after this social gathering, the members of the Corporation went in procession to church, each grade in order, wearing their scarlet and murrey gowns and tippets [A.O., 103, 146, & 153].

It is possible that the items in the Muragers' Accounts, 2 May, 1555, refer to the continuance of one of these social customs:—

Pd. the day of makyng of accompts in brede iiij^d; Item appuls iiij^d; Item in wyne ii galons i quarte iis. iiij^d; Item in ale ii^d; Item more in brede v^d; Item i potell Malvosy xvi^d; Item i galon methe [mead] xii^d; Item gynger ii^d.

Dr. Gross, "*Gild Merchant*, i. 34," states that "at Guildford "bull-baiting was a favorite amusement of the brethren; new "members being generally obliged to promise to feast the Gild and "to provide a bull." In Chester, also, bull-baiting was in fashion and not put down until 1599, when the mayor, Henry Hardware,

Robert Hill	Robert Moslye	saving the first and
Rich. Boydell	W ^m . Goodman	to that for
Edward Hanmer	Rondell Leche	
Thomas wart	× John Barnes	Will ^m . Knight
Edward Thompson	Roger Rad——	Thomas Tetlowe
Rychard Wright	Ollever Smythe	Richard Barber
Robert Hyll	Rychard Massye	Thomas Fletcher
Peter Balad	John Bowke	Ryc ^d . Mershe
W ^m . Wall	Anthony Hankye	Robert——
Peter lydderland	W ^m . Leche	Fraunces Ro
William Golbone	Vallentyne Broughton	Rauffe Thornton
Roger Bryn	William Dymok	
× Symon ——	Robert Brocke to all	W ^m . Jones
Nycholas Massye		

22^d.
Shel on
Sunday. 14 Dec., 1574. And whereas the said Richard Dutton in the tyme of his laste mairaltie of the said citie altered the forme of the olde auncient shott of the aldermen & sheriffs

peeres used in the Pentice upon every Sondag and holyday whereby the yoman of the Pentice hath growen into great debt, in that divers refuse to pay suche somes of money as ar for them appointed to pay by such new order & thought that the longer the same such new order shuld be followed the more inconvenience in tyme will it grow into. Wherefore (the same beinge wayed & considered) yt is now at this assembly ordered & constituted by the said now maior, ye aldermen, sheriffs & comen counsaile that the said suche new order made by the said Mr. Dutton the laste tyme of his mairalty shalbe, from hensfurth, utterly voide & of none effect, & that the saide olde accustomed order & forme of the olde shott shalbe hensfurth folowed, used & put in execucon as the same in tymes paste hath ben accustomed or used. And further it is ordered that all the arrerages of the said new shott shalbe levyed & payed to the yeman of the said Pentice, John Ramesden, for his discharge of the said debt, of every person within the bill or streat thereof inhabiting within the said citie usually charged with that shott.

incurred great unpopularity by ordering "the Bull-ring to be taken upp. Leavelookers were restrayned from sending wine according to the auncient use and custome of this citty."¹

It was the same Henry Hardware in the time of whose mayoralty forty years before, 1559, an order was made that "all such as shalbe enfranchessed and fre within the city, in place of a drynking which every such person so enfrauchessed was acconstomyd to make unto the mayre and his brethern in the Pentice, shall in consideracon therof paye iii^s. iiiid. towards the haven."²

The candidate for admission was required to produce two sureties, who were responsible for his fulfilment of the obligations of the Gild and for his good conduct.³

Another feature of the Gild Merchant was the principle of settling quarrels without litigation, by the arbitration of six brethren of the Gild on either side. An order to this effect is more than once renewed, in 1390, 1404, and 1421.⁴

It was also incumbent on the gildsman to "bear scot and lot," i.e., to contribute to the expenses of administration, and to bear a share of the burdens of the city.

Thus in — Richard II.—"Ordinatum fuit quod quilibet qui est de libertate civitatis predictę juratus quod quamdiu commoratur infra civitatem predictam et det et faciat sicut cives ejusdem civitatis secundum possessionem suam quod habeat et gaudeat dictam libertatem et aliter perdat libertatem suam." The same rule is repeated in 1400 (John Bebington, mayor) and 9 Henry V. An English version is given in the Chartulary under the date of 1400:—"That every cittizen shall be sworne, so longe as he shall abide in the liberties, to doe beare and drawe as Cittizens according to their possession, that they shulde have and enjoie the saide libertie and otherwise not."⁵

¹ Harl. MSS., 2125.

² A.O. 68.

³ 3 Hen., IV., John filius Joh'is Bold, Shermon, pro libertate sua habenda x^d. ob. [103^d.] pro eo quod pater ejus fuit in libertate.

Roger de Penwortham, mercer, for his freedom ii marcs, half paid at once, the remainder in equal portions by Easter, and John Baptist's day, *per pleg.* [sureties] Roger le Potter, Joh'is de Preston.

⁴ 16 Ric. II., 1390. "Item si aliqua discordia sevilis [sic] mota seu orta fuerit inter aliquos vicinorum dicte civitatis quod capiant quatuor vel sex de vicinis suis ex utraque parte ad ipsos concordandos, et si ipsi non possint ipsos concordare et quod veniant ad majorem suum [9 Hen. V. ducantur ad majorem et vic'] pro ipsis concordandis antequam vadant in patria ad conquerendum ad aliquos magnates." (Renewed 6 Henry IV.)

9 Henry V. it is added "sub pena forisfacture libertatis sue."

⁵ Pent. Chart. 97a.

The expenses connected with the safe keeping of an important frontier city and trading place would bear all the more heavily upon the citizens, owing to the number of inhabitants who would not be contributories as being tenants and dependants of independent sokes, the Abbey, the Nunnery, and St. Giles' Hospital.

In later times the Friaries obtained similar though not such extensive exemptions for their clients. It was not unnatural that in return for the conveniences of a great trading centre, and the security and other advantages offered by a walled city, the members of the Gild should demand from those who did not bear scot and lot with them some payment in return. Hence in the Sheriffs' Books we find that numbers of traders in all branches compounded yearly or half-yearly for the privilege of trading in the city as gildsmen. These traders outside the Gild were called *foranci*, *forinseci*, or "foriners," as being "outside" the pale of the Gild. Without such payment, all outsiders, though resident, were strictly forbidden to trade within the city except at the annual fairs.¹

In 22 Richard II., "Thomas Hamelyn and Thomas Blundell "of Molahide came to the Port of Chester on the Sunday before "the Ascension with 400 white fish, which they sold to Richard "de Strangeways. For these they ought to have paid to the Lord "King viii^d. as 'custom' and toll, and they did not pay, and so are "Anglicè *Tollebyton* to the prejudice of the Lord King."

21 Richard II., "Isabella, late servant of Robert Lanncelyn, "who is not a freeman, traffics in and sells within the franchise of "the City of Chester, to the value of 20 marks, Gascony wine in "unsealed measures, as well as several other goods, to the prejudice "of the Lord King, the damage of the whole city, and contrary to "the Charter."

22 Richard II., "Robert de Bromesgrove of Coventry, came to "Chester on Monday before St. Andrew's Day with three carts of "different merchandise, for which merchandise the same Robert "ought to have paid to the Lord King xvi^d. for custom, but did "not. He is therefore *Tollebyton* to the prejudice of the Lord "King. But the jury say that the said Robert sent the aforesaid

¹ Thus, 30 Hen. VIII., Roger Carior is indicted for occupying le Tailliors Crafte, not being admitted to the Gild. 21 Ric. II., several persons paid, *pro artificio suo*, 13 April, one, ii^s.; seven, xii^d.; one, iii^s. iiiii^d. and a goose; two, xviii^d.; one, xx^d. 15 April, *pro mercandisi suis*, xvi^d. iii^s. iiiii^d. 16 April, xii^d. viii^d. In the same year several pay vi^s. viii^d. for liberty to sell beer. 22 Ric. II., 27 Jan., three tradesmen pay *pro artificio suo* vi^s. viii^d. 26 Feb., 12 Hen. IV., *pro merc' suis et pro quodam loco ubi fac' merc'*, ii^s. Amongst them are John le Goldsmith, Wm. le Bowyer, Robert le Flecher, John Haddon Webster and his wife, John le Spycer de Castellone, John le Payntour, John le Baxter.

"custom by the hands of one James Fyfield, and the said James "paid the fine for him."

The relation of the various craftsmen and tradesmen within the city to the Gild Merchant has been the subject of much discussion. It has been maintained that this relation was, generally speaking, not a friendly one, and that the Gild acted tyrannically towards the craftsmen, and endeavoured, as far as possible, to exclude them from a share in the mercantile privileges of the town. This does not appear to have been the case in Chester, as far as can be gathered from the existing records. Craftsmen were freely admitted into the Gild Merchant, and indeed must have formed the majority of that body. The difficulty which arose in later times was that it was necessary to force them, by direct ordinance, to take up their freedom; in other words, to pay the usual fees and to bear the ordinary burdens of a citizen. This there was a constant tendency to evade, and the Mayors' and Sheriffs' Books contain long lists of persons fined for the offence of trading when not admitted to the franchise. It would appear, too, that the several companies were not unwilling to admit persons into their fellowship on payment of the company's fees, without caring to insist upon the fulfilment of duty to the general body of the citizens. To check this, an order was passed 21 Henry VII. [1505], in the mayoralty of Thomas Thornton, requiring every "foriner" admitted into any occupation to be "constrained to come into the franchise, being "able and of powre to be franchised," as well as every person engaged in buying and selling any kind of merchandise.

22 Ric. II. Inquisicio capta die lune prox. post Claus' Pasche per sacramentum Rogeri le Wolf fletcher, Joh'is Chirche corveser, Henrici Bellamy, Joh'is de Wybberley, Joh'is le Pynner, Willi le Tailliour, Thome Jakes, Ith' le Fflesher, Joh'is de Tranmole, Joh'is Brown corvyser, Joh'is le Sheremon, et Rogeri de Wylberham Jur' Qui dicunt, &c., quod Joh'es Cook serviens Willi Palmer de Coventr' venit apud Cestriam die lune prox. ante festum Purif' Beate Marie cum x doliis vini pro quibus solvisse debuit domino Regi iiii^s. ix^d. pro custuma et postea cepit vi dolia vini de dictis x doliis et ea cariavit extra libertatem Cestrie pro quibus solvisse debuit domino Regi ii^s. et illam custumam asportavit contra pacem Domini Regis et sic dicunt quod predictus Johannes modo exstat Anglice *tollebyten*. Fecit finem xiiii die Maii pro xiii^s. iiii^d. una cum v^s. i^d. de custuma de dictis xiii^s. iiii^d. et sic finis ejus excedit custumam suam per viii^s. iiii^d. ad speciale rogatum Will'i de Rachedale vynter et solvit in manibus. [In margin "fecit."]

69a.—21 Hen. VII., Thomas Thornton, Mayor [1505].

10. Traders, &c., Item it is ordred by assent of Thomas Thornton, mayre of the
to be Citie of Chester and his co-aldermen with all their hole
franchised counsaile, that the stewards of every occupacon within this
citie be bounden in the name of all the hole occupacion in the some of xl^s.

that no maner foryn person shalbe received or reputed as a master of any occupacion oneles he or they be fyrst franchised, and all such foryn persons as now do occupye any occupacion as maister being able and of powre to be freanchised thay to be constrenid to come to the sade franchises and also such persons as do occupye bying and selling eny manner of merchandys to be constraynid to come in to the same franchises according to thordinance therupon made and ordred, that is to wyt, every person being a freeman's sonne to pay for the wyne and fese [fees] after the oulde use and costome. And allso every forin person that hath byne prentice within the cite and trewlie hath his prentishold and his indenture therof recordett afor the mayre for the tyme being to pay for his franchises xxvi^s. viii^d. and the wyne and fese du of custome. Allso that every foryn person that hath not been prentise to pay iiii markes with wyne and fese due of custome and also that no manner person not borne and bred within the realme of England and Wayles nor under the obeysaunce of the King's grace in no wyse to be takyn or reconid into ye franchises under the soume of x^{li}. or at the discrecion of the mayre and his counsayle, and allso that no manner person being within the liberties of the towne in no wyse be takyn or recevid into the franchises ne have eny manner liberties within the said cite.

A similar order was issued in the mayoralty of the active Henry Gee, 31 Henry VIII. [1539], which further ordained that everyone holding any office in the city should be franchised, and that appointments to office should not be made on the petition of any gentleman in favour of his servant or protégé.

1.
None but
freemen
to occupy
any trade.

58a.—H. Gee, Mayor, xxi Nov., 31 Henry 8 [1539]. Where this the Kynges pore cite of Chester is and long tyme afore the conquest of England hath bene an olde auncient and free cite and by all the same tyme by the profitable ordynaunces laudable usages grete liberties, graunts and privileges most prudently had kept and conserved by the mayre, sherffes and other governors therof for the tyme beinge in a right discret honest and commendable forme the gode Astate and common welthe of ye same cytye and the citizyns and Inhabytaunts therof hath from tyme to tyme ben exalted, administered, and highly preservid among whiche laudable provicions, liberties, graunts and usages have by all the same tyme byne used that no manor of person ne persons inhabytyng within the saide cite or the precinct therof should occupye, exercyse or mistre eny maner occupacion, mistre or craft or anything do use or occupye within the saide Citie Oneles he or they wer fyrst franchessed and admytted to the liberties of the said cite. And for as muche as of late tyme diverse officers and comon servaunts not beyng franchessed or admytted to the liberties of the said cite, have ben elected and chosyn somme of them by favor of the mayre for the tyme being, and other sum by the mienes and labor of gentyllmen in the countrye and sum other for mede, drede or otherwyse, not regarding the good order, tranqueletye and common welthe of the saide cite ne ye said profitable usages and ordynaunces by meanes wherof the gentyllmens servants of the country manye tymes have byne preferyd to the offices and Roumes ther and ye cyticens and fre men of ye said Citie beinge in decaye part by resone of casualties upon the see and other sum

by Seuertyeship and other mysfortunes dalye happenyng and fortunynge have byne set at nought and lyttill regardyd and the common counsaile laudable usages and secrets of the said Citie therby have byne disclosed and finally Justice could not trewlye and indeferentlye take place accordynglye. In advoydyng wherof and for the preferment of the common welthe of ye said citie herafter to be preservid, administred, and highlye exaultyd accordinge to the kings lawes: Item it is ordenid by Henry Gee, mayre of ye said citie, the shireffs, aldermen, and common counsell therof by on ther hole and common assent and consent at a full assemble had within the pentice of the saide citie the xxist day of November in the xxxi yere of the reigne of our Soverenge lorde Kynge Henry the Eyght, that from hensforthe no manner persone ne persons shall have, exercise or occupie anye manner office or offices, rounge or rounmes within the said Cytie ne from hensforthe shalbe enye common servant of the said citie ne servant or servants to the mayre or sheriffs of the said citie for the tyme being or enye of them ones he or they be or were lawfully admytted to the liberties of the said citie and made fraunchessed and free therof afor the tyme of such office, rounge, or servis to hym or them grauntyd. And that all such offices, rounmes and services and every of them which now be otherwyse used, exercised, and occupied by other then by fraunchessed and freemen of the said citie as is aforesaid, from henceffourth shalbe voyde and no further to be occupyed by enye of the saide person or persons so not lawfully fraunchessed and admytted to the liberties of the said citie as is aforesaide, saving allwayes to them that now be and were in offyce before thys presend daye that it be lawfull to them to occupye still upon ther behaviour And that it shalbe lafull to the Mayre of the same citie by the advyce of his brethren or the most partye of them to elect, name and appoynt other person or persones fraunchessed and admitted lawfully unto the liberties of the saide Citie experte and apt for the same office or offices rounge or rounmes service or services so being voyde or voydable as is afore remembred to have and excercise the same office or offices rounge or rounmes service or services at and duringe the pleasure and mynde of the Mayre and Shiriffs of the saide citie for the tyme beinge and of every of them. And further yt is orderid and establyshed by the full assent and consente of the saide Mayre, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and Common Counsell of the said citie at the saide Assymblee that from henceffourthe yt shalbe lafull and at the wyll and pleasure of the saide mayre and Sheriffs of the saide Citie and of every of them for the tyme beinge to amove expell and put from his or ther office or offices rounge or rounmes service or services from tyme to tyme all and everye suche persone or persones offendynge or not doynge his dutie belongyng and apperteynyng to his or ther office or offices, &c. And to admyt to the same office, &c., such other persone or persons franchessed and fre men of the saide cytye as by the said Mayre and Sheriffs and every of them for the tyme beinge with the advice of the Mayres brethren or the more parte of them shalbe thought most experte and apt to occupye the same office &c. during and at the pleasure of the Mayre and sheriffs for the tyme beinge, and that from hensforthe no officer ne officers common servant ne servants to the mayre or sheriffs of the sayde Citie for the tyme being shalbe mayde for anye loboure or favoure of enye gentyllman of the cuntrye nor by anye other meanes shalbe made otherwyse then as it ys aforesaide in this order. And that this ordynance and decre and every article and clause therin contenid shalbe observid and

kept from tyme to tyme from hensforth according to the trew intent and meynynge therof and of every article and clause of the same wyth out eny contradicion, male Ingyne [*? malo ingenio*] or collusion.

The mayor and aldermen appear from the Assembly Book during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, to have shown a laudable anxiety to protect the companies from unlicensed trading. Thus, in the mayoralty of Thomas Aldersey, 1549, an order is made in the interest of the Drapers' Company and others. "Forasmuch as diverse persons within this cytye have and dalye do exercise and occupie the misterie, &c., of drapers' craft in selling of mantells, checkers, &c., by retayle, in ther houses and at their dores, being not fre of the felowship of drapers, such offenders are warned under penalty of 20^s."

79b.—Tempore Thomæ Aldersay [1549]. Where as this
 30. Drapers and other traders to be free. pore citie is & longe tyme before ye conquist of England hath bene an aunций & fre citie by all the same tyme by ye profitable ordenaunces laudable usages & liberties most prudently had kept & conservid by the mayre sheriffs & other governours therof for the tyme being in a right discrete & good forme amongst which laudable usages & liberties hath by all ye said tyme bene used that no maner of person ne persons inhabiting within ye said citie & the precinct therof should occupye exercise mistre eny maner of occupacon mystery or craft within ye said citie except he or they wer fraunchissed & admyttyd to the liberties of the said citie & therunto mayde free & admyttyd therunto by the maysters of the same occupacon, & forasmuch as of late tyme diverse persons within this cytye have & dalye do exercise & occupie as well the mistre craft & occupacon of drapers craft within this citie as diverse other occupations in selling of mantells checkers fleggs mantell frice [frieze] and such other lyke by retayle in ther houses & at ther dores being not fre of the felowship of drapers crafte & other lyke occupacons, ne therunto admyttyd by ye same felowship to ye grete los & hindraunce of the same occupacons & contrary to the forme & effect of ye said laudable usages privileges & graunts; In consideracon and avoyding wherof yt is ordred at an assemble houlden in ye pentice of the Citie of Chester the xxvth day of October in the third yere of ye reigne of our sovereigne lord king Edward the sixt by the mayre shiriffs aldermen & comen counsaile of ye same citie that from hensforth no maner of person ne persons within the same citie shall occupye or exercise any maner of mistre or occupacon except he or they be fyrest made fre of the same occupacon or mystere & admyttyd to the same by ye felowship therof upon payne of forfyture for every default xx^s after lawfull monysson & warning geven to him or them of the premisses; and also it ys ordred by ye said mayre sheriffs aldermen & comen counsell of the same that from hensforth ther shall no maner of person ne persons within this citie retayle eny kynde of war[k]es or merchaundise except he or they be fyrst mayde free of such occupations as the same wares & merchaundese shall apparteyne & belonge unto upon lyke payne of xx^s for every default, provided allwayes that yt shalbe lawfull for every free man of this citie to sell all maner of kinds of wares & merchaundese in grose by dosyns hundrithes tonnes & such other lycke according to the auneynt usages coustomes & liberties of this citie anything abov mentioned to the contrary not withstandinge.

Care was taken that before the admission of any craftsman the consent of the company to such admission should have been obtained. Thus it is ordered that "every forener mayde free shall agree with the syence which he entendyth to occupy withall."¹

23 Eliz. John Nutter, draper, apprentice to David Lloid, draper, is made free, upon agreeing with the occupation of drapers and paying £10, "the hed of the Drapers reporting that they were contented that he should be free and would accepte of him."

3 Nov., 23 Eliz. At the same assembly it is moved whether
 356. John Nutter, draper, apprentice to David Lloid, draper, shalbe
 made free free of this citie, and what he shall give for his freedom
 for xli. because he hath not served as an apprentice. It is at this
 with consent assembly fully concluded upon by the whole assembly that
 of Drapers' the said John Nutter shalbe franchessed and made free,
 Company. agreeinge with the occupacon of drapers within the same citie
 and shall paye for the same tenne pounds, which was don accordingly upon
 reporte of the hed of the drapers that they were contented that he should
 be free and would accepte of him.

Thomas Burgess, who had been admitted to the freedom, had on complaint of the Dyers' Company to pay them a fee of £6.

1 April, 28 Eliz. And wheras the Company of Diers have
 517. T. Burgess' exhibited there bill of greefe ag^t Thomas Burgess dier, That
 freedom he appointed by a former assembly to be free of this Citie &
 and Company to agree with the said Company of Diers hath not nether will
 of Diers. Agree therwith & in respecte therof the same occupacon
 requeste this Citie to set downe what he the said Thomas Burgess shall
 give unto them It is nowe therefore ordred that the said Thomas Burgess
 shall content & paie to the said Company the some of vi^{li}. without delay,
 in respecte to be admitted into the said Company of Diers.

The same course was taken with William Snell, cook, and William Knight, taylor, servant to the Bishop of Chester.

528. Wm. Snell, Cooke, servant to Wm. Glaseor, Esquior,
 William Snell admitted, agreeing with at his worship's request made free to use the trade of a
 Company of Cooks. cooke, payinge as Apprentice & agreeinge with the
 Company before he be made free.

28 March, 30 Eliz. At the same Assemblie one Willm.
 627. Knight, Taylor, late servant to y^e Lord Bishop of Chester
 freedom. preferred his L[ordship] and Sir John Savage Knight there
 letter to Mr. Maior in favour of the said Knight to be enfranchised which
 beinge Red is deferred to thend he shall goe about to win the assente of
 the occupacon of Taylors in this Citie.

A number of wrights and slaters received the freedom for £10.

24 Eliz., 6 April. And whereas at the same assembly
 358. 20 of Wrights the wrightes and slaters of this citie, in number xx, have
 and Slaters exhibited there bill to the same assembly to be made free
 made free for within the same for such some as this assembly shall lymitt
 xli. and appointe. It is therefore [at this assembly by the said

maior, aldermen and sheriffs and comen counsell] fully concluded and agreed upon, for that it seemeth verie unfitt for eny compeny to have any meetinge within this citie excepte they were free and members of the same, and for that it appereth by auncient writings under the seale of this citie, that they have ben a compeny of them selves, beinge foreners that the saide wrightes and slaters whose names are menconed in the said bill in nomber xx shalbe free of this citie payinge x^{li}. for there admittment and fyne

It is seldom that any applicant for admission was accepted against the will of the company or occupation whose trade or craft he wished to follow. In the cases which do occur the reason given is the general good of the city. Thus, 17 Elizabeth, Richard Wells of Shrewsbury petitioned to have his freedom, which was granted, notwithstanding the refusal of the Weavers' Company to accept him, because he promised to introduce a new method of weaving.¹

Frequent mention is made of the system of "common bargains." These were cargoes of goods, iron, corn, salt, wine, &c., brought into the port by any non-freeman, which were purchased by certain persons at the direction and in the name of the commonalty, to be distributed amongst the citizens. No one but the burgesses were permitted to buy any portion of these cargoes until the civic authorities had declined to purchase.

An Inquisition of 38 Edward III. shows that in the times of the Norman Earls the privilege of pre-emption was reserved for the earl and his officers, then for the barons and others.²

¹ 17 Eliz. R^d. Wells of Shrewsbury petitioned to have his "freedom out of hande, and, whereas the weavers doe worke for xviii^d. a dosen, I will woike for xii^d. a dosen as well as any is in Shrosbury, for I wolde not medle with no kinde of worke but this that is new begon in this Cittie which shalbe no hurte to the wevers occupation if soe be that I might have the worke still. I did offer myself to the wevers, but they did not greatly esteame of me, therefore I am determynd not to teach a master my cunninge of that trade, but I had rather take some honest mans sonne prentisse, then I woulde teache them my cunninge." Granted upon condition that he shall worke, weve and dresse all other sorts and kinds of clothes made in Shrosbury and now devised and determynd to be made in this Cyty, as well and as goode chepe in all respects as the same such wollen clothes are or shalbe wrought and made in Shrosbury.

18 Aug., 29 Eliz. John Alcocke, Bowier, is admitted in respecte of the greate want of a bowier within this citie, paying xxvi^s. — *A.O.*, 594.

18 Dec., 30 Eliz. "Richard Powell, Fletcher, in consideracon of the wante of a fletcher to serve this Citie to be enfranchised paying for his admittment and freedom liii^s. iv^d. — *A.O.*, 611."

27 Eliz. W^m. Sampson, clockmaker, free in consideracon of making a clock diall and chimes in St. Peter's Church, ye citty finding all materials but ye labor. — *See ante*, page 170.

² 38 Ed. III. Inquisicio—Cum quelibet navis ad aliquem portum maris infra Com' Cestr' de quibuscunque partibus veniens cum piscibus et aliis victualibus ad vendendum ibi stare debeat aperte per tres primos dies ad vendend' pisces et alia victualia sua primo die Comiti Cestr' et ministris suis, postea Baronibus et aliis hominibus Com' Cestr' per parcellas secundum quod convenire cum eis poterunt et nullus infra dies predictos de navibus aliquod ad regratand' emere debuisset et ibi ven' Joh'es de Trancmol de Cestria, Will' de Meysham, &c. [11 others], et emerunt apud Burton in Wyrhale et alios portus per 3 dies primos in grosso per regratiam ad grave dampnum Comitis et ministrorum et Baronum.

So, too, 24 Henry VIII., an order was made that of every cargo of iron brought to the city, one half should go to the buyer, the other half should be for a "common bargain."

The regulations are repeated in an order 13 Sept., 11 Elizabeth [A.O. 118]. Before the sale of any part of a cargo, the owner was required to offer the whole bargain to the mayor for the whole use of the commoners. This offer was to hold for forty days, on the expiration of that time he was at liberty to sell the wares to any freeman, or else take them away and sell to whom he pleased. This was done with cargoes of iron, wine, rye, and wheat, oil, pitch, rosin, hemp, flax, salt. [A.O. 307, 311, 357, 537, 538, 568, 574, 575].

660. **220a.**—18 April, 31 Eliz. And whereas there is arived at Cargo of Corn this Citie from Milford 400 buz. of wheate Rye and barly which from Milford. is brought for a Comen Bargaine, the wheate for vi^s. vi^d. the buz, the Rye for vi^s. iv^d. the buz, and the Barlie for v^s. vi^d. the buz, motion is made howe the same shalbe used and whoe shall have the charge therof. And thereupon it is nowe fullie ordered and concluded upon by the said Maior, the Aldermen, sheriffes, and Comen Conncell of the saide Citie that Mr. Henry Annion, Mr. Rafe Allen, Mr. Godfrey Win and Rafe Rathburne draper shall have the oversight, measuringe, recepte and delivery of all the said Corne, viz., to every Alderman i buz wheate i buz Rye and i buz barlie, and to every sheriffes peeres i buz wheate and i buz barly, and to every of the fortie i strike wheate and i strike barly, and to every other Comoner a strike of the said Corne which may be beste spared.

It was found later that the interval of forty days was too long, and tended to discourage trade and send merchants away from Chester to other ports. The limit was therefore altered, 28 Eliz., to ten days. All merchandise was included in this order except "hides, fells, yarn, brass, and pewter of the growth of Ireland."

Common **Whereas** heretofore for the publike and comen welth of Bargain, this Citie divers good and profitable orders and constitucons 28 Eliz. have been made by the Maior, the Aldermen, Sheriffs and comen counsaile of the said Citie, touching comen bargaines of all strangers goods wares and merchandizes cominge to this Citie to be solde, and whereas in the tyme of the Mairaltie of Mr. Wm. Balle [xiii Sept., xi Eliz., &c.], the former orders thereof by Assemblie then were confirmed, and at that same Assemblie it was further ordered that the firste offer of all wares and merchaundises cominge into this Citie by the River or Haven of Chester beinge of merchaunte strangers, before any sale thereof, shalle be made to the Maior of the said Citie for the tyme beyng and that every merchaunt stranger of all such commodities should remaine expecting the pleasure of the same suche maior, whether the same maior please to buy those comodities for a comen bargain or not by the space of xl daies before any sale or offer of sale of any suche wares and merchaundises to any person or persons with a paine of one clⁱ. to be imposed upon every suche person and persons which shall own any such wares before the said such offer the said xl daies expired as by those former orders more plainly

appereth: And for that it is thought the said staie of xl daies contained in the said last order expecting the pleasure of the maior, &c., upon eny the said offer of the said stranger commodities to be overlonge and not to be profitable to the comen weale, but rather an hindrance therbie diswadinge all merchaunt strangers with their comodities to passe into other partes then to repaire into the River: It is therefore at the Assembly holden xxi —, xxviii Eliz., ordered, &c., by the said Mr. Wall, maior, &c., that the said order made in the mairaltie of the said Mr. Balle, concerning the said daies of staie and paine of c^{li}. shalbe repeled and at this present made voide and soe from hensfourth to be of none effect (anything therein contained to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding).

And it is further ordered &c. that from tyme to tyme and at all and every tyme and tymes hereafter when and soe often as any wyne, iron, traine, oyle, fishe, hemp, flax, corne or eny other sort or kynd of wares or merchaundizes whatsoever (hides, fells, yerne, bras, and pewter of the groth of Ireland excepted) are or shall happen to be conveyed, transferred or brought by seas into this Ryver, port or Haven of Chester by any foriner or stranger, not beinge a freeman of this Citie and beinge foriners goods, and cominge by waye of merchandises to be sould, that every or merchant and merchants of all and every such sort nature and kynd of goods, wares and merchandizes (except before excepted) their and every of their factors lungers doers and attorneis before any sale or offer of sale directlie or indirectlie of every or eny of the said such goods &c. or eny parte or parcell thereof to eny maner of person or persons shall repaire to the maior of the said Citie &c. and offer unto him the whole bargaine of all such goods, wares &c. for transporte or to be transported by sea into the said River to the use of this whole for a comen bargain, and know the pleasure of the same such maior therein and staie upon the understanding of such his pleasure by the space of tenne daies before any sale or offer of sale in any wise of suche &c.

And in case such maire doe or shall give full answer in refusall of suche comen bargaines at the first offer hereafter within tenne daies after the same offer so to him thereof made, that then every owner or owners of all such goods, wares &c. their ffactours, attornes and assignes shall and maie at their wills and pleasures after suche refusall and day expired utter and sell within this citie all and every such their goods, wares and commodities to any free and franchised persons. And alsoe at this said assemblee it is further ordered by the said Maire, the Aldermen, &c. that every Citizen of the said Citie wh^h. shall happen after the said offer and tenne dayes expired appointed for the expectinge of the maire's pleasure towchinge the said bargaines to bargain, buy, exchange, or make any contract, commission or agreement for eny the said goods or other commodities shall yeld, geve, convent and pay to the hands of the Tresurers of the said Citie for the tyme beinge to and for the use of the said Citie for every tonne and estimate of tonne quantety beinge by Cask or without of the said goods, wares and merchandizes soe had, delt for, or bought iiij^s. iiij^d. upon demand without denyall and for want of such speedy payment every such cityzen to be committed to warde by the maior of the saide citie for the tyme beinge and ther to remaine without baile or mainprize untill full and whole payment thereof be made without any remission.

Moreover at this assembly it is ordered agreed and fully concluded

upon by the said Maior, the Aldermen, &c. that from hensforth noe maner of Citizen of the said citie of what estate, callinge, degree or condicion soever he or they shall be, at any tyme or tymes hereafter by him self or by any other person or persons for him directly or indirectly buy or bargain for any suche wine, iron, traine, oile, fishe, yarn, corne, hempe, flax, or any other sort, or kinde of wares or merchandises whatsoever which are or shalbe transported, conveyed, or brought into the said River of Chester beinge foriners or strangers goods (except before excepted), nor exchange or make any contract, composicion or agrement for any the same goods, wares or merchandizes into their hands, custody nor possession, nor into the possession of any by his or their mens aid or deed, before refusall thereof made by the said maior for the tyme beinge, and before the said tenne daies fully expired upon pain of disfranchisement, and also that noe maner of citizen of the said Citie by himself or by any other person for him by his meanes, act, deed or pretence, at any tyme or tymes hereafter shall travell to the Holyhead.

The profits of these common bargains were often devoted to public objects, the new Haven, the relief of the poor, the repairing of the streets, the building of a new Common Hall.

An interesting illustration is given in the Mayor's Book of 1598 of the manner in which the selfish action of the companies was held in check by the mayor acting for the common welfare of the whole community.

28 March, 1598. Whereas Mr. Maior, as clerk of the
 Common Bargain. Market, hath bene in hande to buy certaine newland fishe, linges and cod, for a common bargaine to the use of this Citie, Thomas Lynaker the yonger and John Scons, Stewards of the fishmongers, have unknowen unto the said Maior and underhand bought the said fishe for their owne use and of their Company out of Mr. Maires hands, which they confesse to be true. Therefore it is fully agreed by the Aldermen and justices of the Peax whose names are subscribed, that the said Stewards for their said offence and abuse shall presently be committed to the Gaole of the Northgate, there to remaine until they shalbe thens delivered by Assembly.

"1 Ed. VI. The Jury presentith that Rauff Skeckirson of Leverpoole, merchaunt, did forstall a ship of Iron and trayn that should have come on to this citie to be solde for the Comyn welthe of the holle citie, if that the said Rauf had not bene."

It was an offence against the rules of the Gild Merchant for any member to put forth goods belonging to a non-gildsman as his own, the penalty being disfranchisement. This was called "colouring," *i.e.*, selling or purchasing under colour or pretence. William de Hergreve is indicted for having on Saturday after St. Symon and St. Jude's Day, 20 Richard II., sold fish at Chester (millewelles, codelynges, &c.) to the value of 40s. and more, the goods of Richard Swyndley of Liverpool, who was to receive half the profit, "et sic colorat pisces predictas in prejudicium domini regis et nocumentum totius civitatis."—*Tib.* 10.

Peter Colman, 1561, was charged with this same offence, having entered in the Pentice books twenty-two tons of Spanish iron from Bilboa as imported by him, whereas the cargo belonged to John Hawks, of Plymouth; and on another occasion five butts of sack, &c., half of which were the goods of Robert Rawsons of Carnarvon. For these offences he was disfranchised.

A.O. 80. Temp. W. Aldersey, 1561, 5 July. At the assemblie
 Concealment houlden in the pentice of the saide cytye. Forasmuch as all
 of person and persons which hathe to fore bene admyttyd to the
 foreign goods. liberties and franchises of this Cytye of Chester were sworne
 amongst other thinges and poyntes of his othe what tyme they enterid
 into the franchises and libertes of Chester that they should not by any
 wayes or meynes no forren goods concele in merchaundes in Coustome nor
 in none other wyse to the detrement, horte, or derogasion of the coustomes
 of the said cytye of ould tyme used to be payd by strangers not frenen of
 the said cytye. And foras that *Peter Colman* of the said citie, merchant,
 contrarye to his othe, dutie, and affyance that he oweth to the said cytye and
 to the liberties of the same hathe to the difraudinge and consellenge of the
 coustomes and aunceyent duties of ould tyme used and belonging to the
 said cytye, entyred into the pentice books of enteryes of wares of mer-
 chandiz comyng by see to the said cytie xxii tonnes Spanyshe Irone in his
 owne name by the name of Peter Colman, supposyd to be lodyn by hym at
 Bylbowe in the realme of Spayne, in a certen barke cauled the Margaryt
 Warton of Chester, wherof was master of that voyage Robart Bythell, and
 that same Irne not beinge his owne proper goods as he by the same
 enterid hath affirmed but the very goods of one *John Hawks of Plemouth*
in the Countye of Devenshier, merchant, as by the trewe confession and
 declaration of the same John Hawks upon his othe ys expressid before the
 said William Aldersey, and therupon the said John Hancks in the declara-
 tion of the trewyth therof hath made an new entery of the same xxiii^{ti}
 Irne in his owne name as by the same entry boucke apperithe, yet the
 premysse notwithstanding the same Peter Colman at costs eftsons made
 an new entery in the pentice boucke of the said cytye of v boutts of sacke
 and one pype Raspys, supposyd by hym to be laden at Bylbowe in Spane
 in the Premyrose of Chester, Mr. Jamys Ffullyn Kyecke as ye same had
 bene all his owne proper goods, wheras the deposicion of John Pyllyn,
 Jamys ffullyn and yt otherwyse apperithe that haulefe the
 same wyne were and be the goods of Robert Rawsons of Carnarwyn,
 merchant, wherby ye coustomes and deutes belonging to the said citie
 due for strangers to be payed ys of this meanes defraudyd and consellyd,
 and will dary (?) be defraudid and concyllyd yf according remedye be not
 therin providid and pounysment therupon had, so the example of the
 lycke not to be comytted hereafter. Yt ys therefore orderid and decryed by
 this present assemble, by the mayre, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsell
 of the same cytye upon the hering and the manyfest understanding of the
 shamfull perjury and disceyte so unjustely perpetrated and doune by the
 said Peter Colman as ys aforsaid, that the said Peter Colman at Costes
 shalbe from the daye of this present Assemble dysgratyed and dismissed of
 his franchises and fredome for evermore, and not to be takyn, reputyd or
 estemyd anye franchised man but a very and mere stranger, allwayes

herafter paying the dentyes and constomes for all his wares and merchaundes as all strangers be used to paye in ye said cytye for ye lycke without any remeyttment or pardoning of any parte or parcell of the same.

23 Eliz. John White, glover, was disfranchised and fined £5 for the same offence.

327.
John White
entering
Stranger's
goods in his
own name
disfranchised.

3 March, 23 Eliz. And whereas one John White glover, a free citizin, hath freed foreners goods & entered into the custom booke of the citie of Chester strangers goods in his owne name as his goods contrarie to his othe, It is fully concluded upon by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs & comon counsaile that he the same John White for the same ffacte shalbe presentlye disfranchised & pay vi^{li} for a fyne to the use of the citie, & whereas one Humfrey Weston glover, a free citizin, was pryvie of the said John White his falte, & consoled the same, it is ordered that excepte the same Humfrey can justlye clie himself before Mr. Maior thereof to paye twentie shillings fyne.

Regrating and forestalling¹ were, from the early days of the Gild, offences against the common weal. A Regrator was one who brought up any corn or victuals in a market for the purpose of selling it in the same market at an enhanced price.

A Forestaller was one who bought any victuals on the way to a fair or market to be sold, and made a bargain for them before they were brought into the fair or market.

All traders were required to bring their wares into some public place as a market (later into the Common Hall), so that their mercantile transactions might come more readily under supervision, and that no citizen should have an advantage over his fellows. An hour was fixed before which no selling could commence. A regulation in the mayoralty of John Hope, 9 Henry V., 1421, forbade butchers, fishmongers, and cooks to buy calves, fresh fish, capons, or hens before the first hour (*ante horam primam*, six o'clock), or to go outside the city to forestall the same before they were brought into the city; and they were directed to permit the same to be brought to the market-place for sale under penalty of disfranchisement and a fine of 6/8 to the Sheriffs. The same year an order was made that no foreigner (*extraneus*) or baker should buy, or cause to be bought, any grain within the market before eleven o'clock, nor after that hour until the citizens and commonalty of the city were able to buy in sufficiency for themselves. The penalty was imprisonment and 6/8 to the Sheriffs.

These rules were clearly of old standing, and instances occur

¹ Used in *Domesday Book* of the offence of "maliciously lying in wait for another on the high way."

16 Edward I., 1287, and 11 Edward II., 1317, where several women are indicted as common forestallers of geese, fowls, and victuals, including fruit, butter, and cheese, buying before the wares are brought into the market, and before the proper hour.¹

"20 Richard II. Johanna, wife of John de Hilley, and "Margeria, wife of John Torfoot, are common forestallers and "regrators of apples, pears, cheese, butter, fowls, before the first "hour, and sell the goods a second time in retail from the Saturday "after St. John Baptist's day to the Feast of the Purification." [Tib. 10.]

2 Henry IV. Alicia de Holand, Huxster, buys butter, cheese, milk, and other victuals (xiiiⁱ *discos butiri*, price xiii^d.) before the first hour.

Some persons were especially active in their own interest. One Thomas Johnson in 1551, 5 Edward VI., was indicted "for "ingrossinge the market in byinge barlye stondinge in the feld "unshorne and growinge."

Henry Gee, who introduced so many regulations in his mayoralty [1533], procured an order that all corn and grain for sale should be brought into the market place, and that none should be showed or opened until the market bell had rung. The citizens should then be at liberty to buy for their household use. The bakers were permitted to buy at one o'clock, and at two o'clock the common people were allowed to make their purchases until three o'clock. This regulation was re-enacted in the time of John Webster [1556], with the addition that "no person not

1317.—11 Ed. II. Agnes uxor Rogeri Cotie sunt communes forstallatores ancarum, gallinarum, capilorum, columbarum, volucrum, & de omnibus aliis, volatilibus & victualibus venientibus ad civitatem ad vendendum & omnia predicta emunt ante horam debitam, & contra proclamationem. Et predicti Ricardus Johannes, fructar', & Agnes uxor Rogeri de consuetudine vendunt carum & pisces mundas & non sanas, crudas & non honesto modo coctas & alia victualia insana turpiter hassata per quem dampnum & periculum populo potest imminere. Cecilia de le leeke, Tylba de Wyco, Letitia uxor Ade le tasker, Matilda le Erleston, Nicolaus de Bockock, Giliana le cakester, Margeria Bagell, Elena uxor Stephani Brun, Margareta de Werinton, Ricardus le bel & Agnes uxor ejus, Wymarc de Brestath sunt communes forstallatores de gallinis, columb' voluer' & de omnibus aliis volatilibus, de butiro, caseo, ovis, nuci[bu]s. pomis & omnibus aliis fructibus injuste veniunt in civitatem ad vendend' & omnia predicta emunt ante horam debitam, contra, &c.—*Pent. Ch. 90.*

¹ 16 Ed. I., 1287. Agnes del Ma'the est communis forstallatrix de pomis, piris et nucibus venientibus de partibus Herford, et emit ante horam debitam et contra proclamationem et in domo sua ante— Uxor Thome Spurriour, uxor Thome le Couper, et uxor Roberti le Marler omnes iste sunt communes regratores feni et turbarum, &c.

"inhabiting within the city should come to buy before two
"o'clock."

3.
Corn to
be sold only
in
Market-time
of Sale.

61a.—H. Gee, Mayor. Hit ys orderyd at an assemble holden within the pentice of the Citie of Chester by Henry Gee mayre of the same, and by the Shiriffs, Recorder and bretheren Aldermen and Common Cownsell of the same Citie that every maner of person or persons comynge unto this markyt within the said citie with all maner of corne and grayne to be soule shal not brynge upon a markett daye no corne to no maner of place within this citie nor the liberties of the same to be soule but onelye into the markyt place within this citie assignyd and that none of the saide corne brought into the said markyt to be soule shall not be shewid ne openyd unto suche tyme as the markyt bel be rounge and that no manar of byre coum into the markyt place to the intent to by anye manar corne or grayne unto suche tyme as the saide bell be rounge and then imedyateley after the saide bell be rounge it shalbe lawfull to all and every citizene within this citie aforesaide inhabytinge for ther oune proper use to the mayntenance of ther housholde to by all manar of corne and grayne so that ther be but one byre in the markyt for every housould and then after at one of the clocke yt shalbe lawfull for all maner of bakers inhabyting within this citie to go unto the saide markyt and ther to by ther corne and grayne with every one of them as shalbe for them requisit  and then at ii of the clocke it shalbe lawfull to all and every the comon peple to com unto the saide markyt and ther to bye at ther liberties till iii of the clocke all manar of corne and grayne as for them and every of them shalbe requisit and also mayster mayre stratelye commandyth that no maner of person ne persons coming in to this citie apou the markyt daye to sell corne and all manar of grayne shall not goo abrode in the saide markyt to disturbe nor let the same but shall pacyentlye stand by his or there corne and grayne which they have ther to sell. Item that no maner of person shal by barly to make maulde of before i of the clocke upon payne for every tyme so offending xii^d to be levyed to thuse of the Common box or to remayne in warde unto such tyme he or they pay the same.

46.
Corn and
Grain to be
brought
into
Market-place.

87a.—John Webster, Mayor [1556.] 3 and 4 Philip and Mary. Whereas dyvers and many good ordinaunces as well in the tyme of Henry Gee Mayre of this Citie, as dyvers other his predessessors have been made and set fourth concernyng corne and grayne comyng to this markyt to be soule which presentlie is not observed but dayle infringed by dyvers gredye persons for ther oune lucre and profyt Mr. Mayre by the advyse of the hole counsell of this citie have thought good that upon [open] proclaymation and warning shoulde be mayde and geven in the corne markyt for observation and keping of the saide ordinaunces the tenure wherof herafter folowith. That every person and persons comyng into this markyt with any kynde of corne and grayne to be soule upon the markyt daye shal bringe the same corne or grayne into the markyt place of this citie for the same appoyntyd and to none other places within the liberties of the same to be soule and that none of the same corne or grayne comyng to the markyt to be soule shalbe shewid or openyd befor the markyt bell be ronge and then every such person and persones having corne or grayne to

be sould in the markyt shall contynue and abyde by ther said corne and not go abrod in the markyt to disturb and let the same but shall pacyently stande and abyde by ther said corne and grayne which they have ther to sell upon payne of impryssenment of ther bodyes.

And further Mr. Mayre by thadvise of his worshipfull brethren and counsell of this citie doth strately charge and commaunde that no maner of person or persones not inhabytyng within this citie do come into the markyt of this citie to bye any kynde of corne or graine before two of the clocke of the same daye at after nounge and that every such person or persones shall by in the same markyt but onely such reasonable corne and grayne as shalbe for ther use in ther oune houesis to be spente and not to sel ageyne upon payne of impresonment of ther bodyes, and mayking fyne according to the statutes of our soveraign Lorde and Ladye the Kinge and Quenes highnes in that kayse mayde and provided and more over that every such person and persones coming to this markyt to bye corne and grayne and having other kynde of corne to sell shall bringe at the same tyme soum reasonable part or parcell of the same corne which he or the have or haythe to sell into this markyt to be sould accordinge to the statute in that case made and provided upon the payne therin mentioned.

Wheras Mr. Mayre by thadvise of his worshipfull bretherne thaldermen of this Citie and comon counsell of the same have concludid and agried upon serten ordinaunces as well for hyng of corne and grayne in the market of this Citie as allso for selling of bere and ayle within the same Citie and talow candels to all and every the citizens and Inhabytants of the said citie at ye pryce appoynted for ye same And to the intent the said ordynaunces may be dulye kept and performed from tyme to tyme Mr. Mayre doth straightly charge and commaund that every person and persons within this Citie which do lacke corne or grayne for ye fornyture of his or ther houses and be myndyd to bye the same in the markett shall upon the markett daye eyther himselefe or his wyfe buy suche corne and grayne as he doth laycke in the open markytt unles he the same person or persones have some lafull excuse to the contrary and therupon every of the same person or persones to name and appoynte one discryte man or woman and no more for one housoulde to buy such corne and grayne as thaye have nede of and to signyfye the name of the said byre to Mr. Mayre upon payne of forfyture of ther bodyes at his will and pleasure.

St. Nicholas Church was converted in 1545 into a Common Hall, the expense of altering being defrayed out of the profits of a common bargain in iron. A table of fees was drawn up, payable on the different wares, which included fells, checkers, hardware, Kendall cloth, Manchester goods, hosiery, leather, corn. The wool market, in the mayoralty of Foulk Dutton (1548) was kept in Northgate Street, but the wool was brought into the Common Hall to be weighed. (A.O. 25.)

R.O. 23b. 38 Henry VIII., 1545. And moreover the saide daye
 How & yere yt is concludid & agreyd by the said mayre [John
 Common Hall in Waller], aldermen & comen counsell of the same citie at ye
 St. Nicholas' said assemble that there shalbe a new comen haule erectyd,
 Chapel. buldyd & made within the Northgate strete of the saide citie,
 that is to wyt in *St. Nycolas Chapill*, nygh unto Sent Werburge of the

saide citie & towards the beldinge of the same at the said assemblee by the advyse of the said mayre, the said aldermen, and the comen counsell of the same cytie, & frelye gyfe and graunt their partie & porcon of a comon bargayne of lii tones of ierne lately discharged within the said citie by Senceo Dermiche hyspanyard & ye said mayre being hedd of the occupation of Ironmongers, gave thre tonne of Iron which amountythe to the somme of xxiii^{li} sterling frely to the belding of ye saide comen haule & emedyatly set workemen to frame & belde the same hall in ye yere above sayde.

A.D. 24.
Wares to be
exposed in
the
Common Hall.
—
Fees to be
paid.

77a.—Tempore Johannis Smythe draper. 1 Ed. VI. It is ordered by the said maire aldermen & comon counsell of the citie of CHESTER at an assimble houlden ye xxth day of September in the fyrest yere of the reigne of oure sovereigne Lorde Edward the sext by the grace of GOD king of England Fraunce and Ierland defender of the faythe, & in earth suprim hede of the Church of England & Ierland in the pentice of the said citie by whome it is ordred that no maner person inhabytyng within the said citie shall from hensforth by no maner of wares or merchandises that shall coum to this cytye to be soulede in grosse befor the same be brought & layde doune in the comon haule of this cytie upon payne of forfytue for every default xl^s.

Item that every merchaunt shall paye for every pak of felles checkers yorne or other merchaundices wayinge foure hundryth wight & above ii^d.

Item that every merchaunt shall pay for every fardill waying under foure hundryth wyght i^d.

Item that every merchaunt shall paye for every hundryth losse checkers and felles in the same haule ob.

Item for every hundryth dere feles that shall coum into the same haule i^d.

Item that every comon bargayne that shall come into this citie to be soulede shall be brought to ye comon haule & pay for every tonne except wyne trane saulte & oyle ii^d.

Item that every person bringing any nales or hardware to this citie to be soulede shall bring the same to the said comon haule & pay for every pak waying two hundryth wight & above i^d.

Item that every Kendall man comyng to this citie with eny clothe or other merchaundies shall bring the same to the said comen haule and pay for every pak i^d.

Item that all merchaunts of Manchester & ther abouts that bring any cottons to this citie to be soulede shall bringe the same to the said comen haule & pay for every ten peses of cottons i^d.

Item that every lynnyng draper that brengith eny lynnyng cloth to be soulede wythin this citie shall bring the same lynnyng clothe to the said comen haule & pay for every pak waying two hundryth wyght and above i^d.

Item that every man bringing any lether to be sould shall bring the same to the said comen haule and pay for every dicker that is soulede i^d.

Item that every man shall pay for every ten doussyn calfe skins that is soulede i^d.

Item that all woll that comes to this citie to be soulede shalbe brought to the said comon haule ther to be soulede & wayed at the comon beame & for the same shall paye for every stonne q^r.

Item that every person that bringith any corne to this citie to be sould in case they cannot sell ye same corne at ye yday in open markyt then the

owner thereof shall bring the said come into the said comen haull wher the same shall be safely kept unto the next markyt day folowing and for the same pay for every bagge or sak ob.

Item that no maner of person inhabiting within y^e said citie shall from hensforth receve eny goods or merchaundes into ther house or costodie that he brought to this citie to be soulede in grosse but suffer the same goods or merchaundes to be brought and lade doune in y^e sayde comen haule according to y^e order above mencioned upon payne of forfyture for every default xx^s. [A.O. 84, xl^s.]

Item that no maner of person inhabyting within y^e said citie shall from hensforth receve or take into y^r hands and costody no maner of come or grayne y^t shall fortune not to be soulede upon the markyt day in open markyt upon payne of forfyture for every default xx^s.

At an Assembly held 9 October, 1564, a similar order (A.O. 84.) was set forth, but in each case with doubled fees—the only additions being the statement that “six schore” are accounted “to the “hundrithe,” and that mention is made of “Merchants of Man-“chester, Bolton, and therabouts”.

Complaint is made 9 October, 1564, that traders did not bring their wares into the Common Market place, but sold them in places secret to strangers not free, “to the great hindrance of the City “revenues.” In 1567, 20 June, it was ordered that no inhabitant of the city should receive any goods into their houses, cellers, sollers, or lofts, to be sold in gross, nor let any part of their houses for such sale. (A.O. 83, 97, 100, 141.)

508.
All wares to be brought to the Common Hall according to the former orders.
29 Oct., 37 Eliz. And where complaint is now made that wares doe not come to the Comon Hall of this Citie accordinge to the former orders but licensed to be prively laied in men's howses within the said Citie to the greате decaie of the revenewes of this Citie & Contempte of those orders: It is nowe fully concluded upon by the saide Maior, &c., that the said former orders shall stande in force & be put in execution in every pointe upon the severall forfeitures therein contayned without remission or perdon.

An entry in the presentments of the Jury, 20 Richard II., throws some light upon the tricks of trade five centuries ago. William de Hergreve and others are declared to be common regrators and forestallers of fresh fish before one o'clock, both inside and outside the city. Their plan was to place the fish thus regrated in their shops and hide them away, putting one only at a time on their table for sale, with the object of getting a higher price.

20 Ric. II. Jur' dicunt quod Will's de Hergreve & Regrating and Forcelling. alii sunt communes regratores & forstallatores piscium rescentium cujuscunque generis sint ante horam primam tam infra civitatem Cestrie quam extra, communiter de die in diem in festo S. Michaelis anno R.R. Ricardi ii xx^{mo} usque festum Pur' beate Marie extunc

The fines for regrating in 23 Richard II. varied from 2/- to 3/4, and the offenders were of all trades and callings, fishmongers, taylor, smiths, butchers, huxters, *pro regratria facta contra libertatem*. 11 Henry IV., one person was fined as much as 26/8. 12 Henry IV., a number of butchers paid the following fines:—John Merecok, 25 February 10/-, 13 March 13/4, 26 May, 20/-: John de Huxley, 30 July 6/8: John Daa, 14 July 8/-, 31 July 8/-.

7 Henry IV., several persons are fined for buying geese for 5^d. a piece. John de Kendale, sadler, and — Challoner bought geese for 4½^d., and sold them for 5^d.¹

Such forestalling was not confined to the lower classes. In an Inquisition of 18 Henry VII. as to the encroachments by Abbot John Birchenshaw, it is alleged that when John Hogg and Richard Gerrard on market day at Chester, viz., Wednesday next after

pro' sequen' & illas pisces sic regratas & forstallatas ponent in shopis suis & secrete abscondent absque earum positione super tabulas suas de vendend' præter unam solomodo positam super quamlibet tabulam & non plures donec illas plenius vendent in prejudicium domini regis & nocuum totius com'itatis & contra ordinacionem majoris vic' &c.—*Tib. 9.*

Extracts from the Mayors' Books:

22 Ric. II. Henry del Watt, on Sunday before St. Barnabas day mercandizat et colorat several goods belonging to Thomas Hamelyn of Molahide, viz., 850 fish, value £13 6s. 8d.

6 Henry IV. Robert Wodelande bought, sold and traded in wool, woollen and linen cloth, and weighed several articles of merchandise for several days without paying toll or custom. John de Torporley colors the aforesaid Robert, contrary to his oath to the prejudice &c.

7 Hen. IV., — le Cestr' and Elizabeth his wife *adacquaverunt* ten quarters of corne to the enhancing of the market (*in caristiam mercati*) and the infringing of the Mayor's order. Four other cases are mentioned.

30 Henry VI. William Nycoll, of Chester, is proved on inquisition to have bought on a Saturday in Handbridge, "outside a certain market of the City," from Meredith ap Ithill, 79 cheeses for 1/9½, and so forestalled the said cheeses on their way to market contrary to the City byelaws. The same Inquisition states that John Brekevike of Chester, Butcher, on a Sunday sold at Chester flesh of cows which died of murrain, knowing the cause of death (*carnes vaccinas de morina morientes, sciente ipso quod morina habent*) to several men and persons within the City, deceiving the King's subjects and contrary to the proclamation, &c.

36 Henry VI. (1456), Alicia wife of Hoell of Holyhede, Ithell ap Yollyn and his wife, Eynon ap John and his wife, Yollyn ap Badde, Hugo Yollyn, Lli ap Hoell, forestall and regrate cheese, goatskins and sheepskins and other wares. They hold a common market in their own houses and allow foreigners to buy and sell there. Two other complaints.

2 Ed. IV. All the butchers buy beasts before the appointed hour.

¹ The price, according to order of 6 Hen. IV., was for a goose cum alico iiiid., a capon stuffed iiiid., a hen stuffed iiiid., a pullet ijid.

the Festival of St. Andrew, in the fourteenth year of Henry VII., came to the market with 12 codlings for sale, price 12^d., 100 plaice 2^s., 200 whitelings 8^d., 1,000 sparlings 4^s., John Castell, monk of Abbot John, bought the said fish outside the market, and so forestalled the market. The same John, on another market day, 15 November, 14 Henry VII., bought of Thomas Brumbrow and Peter Werington, as they came to market, 4 kurlews, price 16^d., 12 castrimargi 12^d., 6 ipope 4^d. Also John Lee, monk of Abbot John, bought 6 castrimargi 6^d., 1 anca 4^d., 4 upape 3^d., of Thomas Bettsonne, Richard Linacre and Henry Gill two dozen milwelles 8^d., 6 coddelings 12^d., 20 places 6^d., 2 salmon 2/8, 3 dozen milwelles 8^d., 6 milwelles 8^d., 6 gardii 2/6.¹

The fines this year, chiefly for trading contrary to regulations, were:—Eastgate Street, 46; Brugge, 27; Watergate, 18; Northgate, 18.

15 Ed. IV. All the foreign fishmongers who came to the city to sell fish did not bring them to the market and market place (*ad mercatum et forum*), but sold them in different houses privately (*clam*) to the great damage of the city.

16 Ed. IV. Oliver Dogge of Stockport, merchaunt, entered the liberty and franchise of the city, obtained three packs of woollen cloth value £40, and hired a ship called the Mary of Dublin secretly and fraudulently, and conveyed the same three packs to Ireland by ship under an altered mark, and not with his mark as merchant.

Robert White, pardoner (who is charged later with being a brothel-keeper), and fifty-five others, forestalled in salt, eggs, fowls, cheese, butter.

The fines paid, chiefly for irregular trading, were:—Eastgate Street, 2, 6/8; 4, 3/4; 6, 2/-; 2, 20^d.; 6, 16^d.; 12, 12^d.; 2, 10^d.; 7, 8^d.; 2, 6^d.; 3, 4^d=46. Brugge Strete, 1, 3/4; 1, 2/-; 1, 20^d.; 6, 12^d.; 5, 6^d=14. Watergate, 1, 6/8; 1, 4/-; 2, 3/4; 4, 2/-; 1, 20^d.; 1, 16^d.; 3, 12^d.; 1, 10^d.; 4, 8^d.; 1, 6^d.; 2, 4^d=21. Northgate, 1, 3/4; 1, 3/-; 1, 20^d.; 1, 16^d.; 2, 12^d.; 1, 8^d.; 2, 6^d; 1, 4^d=10.

12 Hen. VII. Thomas Hanley and six others are common forestallers of fuel and sea coal coming to the city.

12 Hen. VIII. Thirty-four persons from Newton, Barrow, Upton, Christleton, indicted for buying victuals as they are being brought to the market.

19 Hen. VIII. John Cowper, baker, is fined 3/4 for buying a bushell of corn in the market for 6/8, to the enhancing of the market (*in exaltatione fori*).

22 Hen. VIII. Thomas Barlowe, with nine others, fined 12^d for having bought linen cloth and sold it again to foreigners.

Roger Seston, and ten others, are fined 6/8 because being not free they bought linen cloth of foreigners and sold it again to foreigners.

William Ball, of Upton, fined 12^d for buying, of the neighbours, granomellum outside the Northgate which he sold to foreigners.

33 Hen. VIII. "The jury present that thys persones followyng doe hocupye and be not admyttyd to the liberties of the Citie of Chester"—they are fined in various sums, 6/8, 5/-, 8/-, 20^d, 4^d. Thirty-four for selling "bred and ale." They also present that "the fleshmongers hath ingrossed and forestalled the market."—Fined 3/4.

¹ Ministers' Accounts.

11 Henry IV., a person of Frodsham is stated to be a common forestaller of calves, goats, lambs, and beasts, to the detriment and enhancing (*caristiam*) of the market.

In this reign the women appear to have been especially forward in disobedience to the city regulation, going outside the City Walls into the suburbs to meet the country people as they brought their supplies into the city for sale. Thus, the wives of Thomas Dod, Richard de Caldecote, Richard Bucstones, Thomas Aleyn, Robert Synnesson, Thomas de Torporlowe, William de Bebington, &c., bought victuals in the suburbs, two of them giving 9^d for two geese. John Langley's wife also makes a market in the suburbs, and there must at times have been a brisk business at Handbridge and Boughton and the other approaches to the city. These forestallers were very troublesome, and, we may well imagine, abusive to the officers of the city, especially the female traders who were distinctly in the majority. In 1575, in the Handbridge Ward, William Monelye, is reported for "forstallinge of the quene's market. He would not be warned by the constables, but called "them knaves, and said he would bye in despite of there teth, and "that Mr. Maior had nothinge to do withe him, with other mis-"demeneres." It happened that he came under punishment in another matter, for "keping of a donge hill in the high strete to "the grete annoyance of his neighbours, and to the stopping of the "quene's high waies."

The Great Letter Book (No. 99) contains regulations issued in 1591 by the Maior, William Massey, dealing with the vexed subject of forestalling :—

"Mr. Maior of the Citie of Chester myndinge the Comen welthe of the "same Citie, And the due and severe execucon of all the statute lawes and "leafnll orders thereof, tending to the provicon of good and wholesome "victuall to be at reasonable prices uttered and sould by all thinhabitants "of this Citie and others that shall repayre to the same without for-"stallinge, regratinge, fraud, or deceipte, doth admonish and warne all "and all maner of victuallers of what estate or degree soever they bee, "butcher, baker, bruer, fishmonger, Aleseller, hedgebaker, bringers to "markett of pigge, goose, henne, capen, chicken, will foule of every sorte, "that in quiet manner in open market they sell the same, And doe observe "and keepe the severall peices and assises to be appoynted from tyme to "tyme uttering all the same of such kynde and sorte as shalbe holesome "for the body, And apte victuall for the people to be sustayned withall "upon the payne that is or shalbe lymited by eny lawe or order to the "offence."

In the Mayoralty of Richard Dutton [10 Elizabeth], reference is made to the unpleasant strife in the city arising from the intermeddling of members of one company with the trade of other

companies. An order is therefore made that no person of "any arte, mystery, syence, occupation, or crafte within the city shall use, practice, sell, exchange to sell by retayle, nor otherwyse intermeddle with any other arte or ocupacion, &c."

The comment on this order in Harl. 1989, is that "this was the first bringing of things to head and order, wher before every man sould what liked him best in all sorts of wares."

The order is renewed in A. O. 144.

Notwithstanding this order the occupation of Joiners and Carvers lay their complaint before the Assembly, 18 Elizabeth, 1576, against certain persons of other occupations intermeddling with their trade. They petition to be separated from the Wrights and Slaters, and formed into a company by themselves, with the monopoly of selling timber, offering the city for this privilege £8, and promising to serve the Citizens cheaply. [A. O. 272.]

103.
Intermeddling
with trades
and
occupations
forbidden.

116b.—Temp. Ric. Dutton Arm. At an assemble houlden in the comon Haule of the saide cytie the xvi^e. daie of January in A^o Regni domine Elizabeth decimo.

For as much as ther hathe byne and yet ys grete disorder strif debate and variaunce betwext person and person arte science ocupacion and occupacons touching the using occupying tradinge exercisinge practizinge buing exchanginge selling and uttering thon such wares goods merchandizes which appertenithe to other occupacons artes trades and syences not being for the same trade societied nor compeny wherby grete occasions of offences impoverishment and decay of other trades and occupacons hath groune by menes therof: for the avoiding of all such cauesis and menes of offences It is now at this assemble houlden the daye yere and place aforesaid orderid concluded and agreid upon by the saide maire the Aldermen Sheriffs and comon counsell of the said citie that from hensforth no maner of person or persons of any arte mystery syence occupation or crafte within the said citie shall use practice, excersyes, by, sell, exchange to sell by retayle nor other wyese intermedle with any other arte occupacons trades good cattells wares or merchandyes to sell by retayle then shalbe appoynted limityd and asseigned by the twelve persones whose names are subscribed and regestod of remembraunce in such booke or recorde as those twelve persons shall for that pourpose consent make and ordeyne under all ther severall hands and that no maner of person or persons being foreners shall from hensforth sel or utter by retale, by nor exchange any kynde or sorte of wares or merchandiez thinge or thinges within this said cytye of Chester to any other persone or persons but onely to suche as ar citiznes and fre of the said citie.

Henry Hardware, Alderman
Thomas Grene, Alderman
Thomas Bellin, Alderman
John Hanky, Alderman
Henry Leche, Draper
John Harvie, Glover

Thomas Lyniall, Hatter
Robert Croket, Girdler
Edward Hanmer, Draper
Rauff Barlow, Lynen draper
Roger Ley, Iermmonger
William Leche, Mercer

The Company complain, 21 Elizabeth, 3 July, that Robert Brerewood had forestalled a great quantity of timber, travelling into Wales and other places, and, getting into his hands the whole store, had thereby enhanced the price to double or more. The Assembly thereupon forbid any such intermeddling on pain of a fine of £5. [A. O. 310.] An earlier order of 1 February, 1557, directs that the occupation of Joiners are not to buy any timber but for their own occupying, and not to sell again.

Another order [A. O. 65] of the time of Sir Laurence Smithe, 1 Elizabeth, points out that the Joiners and Carvers were wont to sell all their work, frames, cupboards, chests, trestles, &c., to Ireland and other places beyond the sea at an unreasonable great and dear price, so that while the owners became greatly enriched the citizens were therein unserved. No Joiner or Carver resident within the liberties of the city is from henceforth to sell or send away any kind of joined work, wainscot, &c., without special licence.

The attitude of the Corporation to the City Companies may be further illustrated by their treatment of the Weavers' Company. This trade was one of the earliest to obtain formal recognition in England.

They appear to have been an unruly body, and, whenever any riot took place, a large proportion, we may be sure, of the rioters was supplied by the many branches of trade included in that craft or closely allied to it. Thus, on Corpus Christi Day (the Thursday after Trinity Sunday), 1358, a great holiday at Chester, when the various trades went in procession carrying lighted candles, the city was alarmed by a terrible affray (*horribilis affraia*) in front of St. Peter's Church. A large body of master weavers, shermen, challoners, and walkers, made an attack with poleaxes, baslards, and iron-pointed poles, upon their journeymen.

22 Richard II. Inquisicio capta apud Cestriam coram vicecomitibus Cestrie die Veneris in crastino Corporis Christi anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xxii., per sacramentum Ricardi de Draycote, Johannis le Glouer, Henrici le Corvyser, Willelmi Mody, Johannis Russell portour, Willelmi de Hulfeld couper, Johannis Chirche corvyser, Ricardi Short, shippemon', Andree le Fremon', Roberti de Thenwall skynner, Willelmi le Taylliour et Ricardi del Halgh. Jurator' dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Willelmus de Wyhnhure senior, Henricus de Felday webster, Thomas Bragot webster, Willelmus de Stretton walker, Thomas le Challoner de Estegatestrete, Thomas de Brymstache heuster, Ricardus de Werberton webster, Willelmus Cay challoner, Rogerus le challoner de Forgatestrete, Hugo de Thurstanton wever, Ricardus del Hope wever, Henry Huntbache, Willelmus Shagh webster, Ricardus Whyt walker, Willelmus Bull heuster

Ricardus Byrne webster, Johannes le Erle challoner, Ricardus Gardeyn walker, Willelmus Bryn walker, Willelmus Porter walker, Ricardus de Hale, Willelmus Thomassone heuster, Johannes Howell webster, Hugo Bargeyn, Hugo de Legh', Johannes de Ince senior, David Broun webster, Johannes Mair, Walker, Willelmus le Shermon, Nicholas le Shermon, Johannes le Shermon, Thomas Jakes sherman, Johannes de Shottum sherman, Johannes le Challoner de Seint Joneslone, Willelmus le Challoner, Ricardus Getegode webster, Willelmus Haslore webster, Thomas le Spencer walker, Henricus Denys webster, Johannes le Webster de Castellone, Symon le webster de Hawardyn, Johannes de Frodesham, Willelmus Capemaker, et plures alii magistri textores venerunt vi et armis cum poleaxes, baculis punctis, baslardis, et aliis diversis armaturis cogitacione premeditata die Jovis in festo Corporis Christi anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi xxii^{do}, ex opposito ecclesiam Beati Petri Cestrie pariter congregati insultum fecerunt Willelmo de Wybunbur' Juniori, Thomæ del Dame et allis complurimis servientibus suis vocatis journaymen in magnam affraiam tocius populi civitatis contra pacem domini Regis. Dicunt qd non sunt culpabiles. Et die Jovis prox' post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli tunc prox' sequi compertum fuit per inquisitionem captam q'd Thomas Bragot, Ric'us Whyte, Ric'us de Werberton, Will's le Chaloner, Joh'es le Chaloner, Joh'es Howett, Will's de Stretton, Hug' Bargayne, Joh'es le Smyth Webster, et Will's Cadewalleshened non sunt culp' de insultu predicto set dicunt q'd sunt culp' de affraia predicta. Ideo cons' est, &c. Item die' qd Will's de Wybunbur Junior, Henricus Penkyth Walker, Joh'es de Merton, Joh'es de Hull', Wever, Ric'us le Spencer Wever, Joh'es Thomasson Wever, Rob'tus de Derbyshyre Walker, Thomas del Dame Wever, Ric'us Stubbok Challoner, Joh'es Chestre Junior, Henricus Bragot, Joh'es de Sutton' Wever, Will' le Smyth Wever, Joh'es de Atton Wever, Reginaldus de Merford, Rogerus Pyme, Joh'es de Holand, Will's Wodewarde serviens Ric'i de Hale, Thomas Werforde, Joh'es Dernall Wever, Thomas del Mosse, Rogerus serviens Ric'i de Hale, Rob'tus serviens Will'i Porter, Edwardus Brounsworde, Bellyn serviens Will'i Shawe, Henricus Bragot, Hugo' Bragot, Nich'us Ric'us et David servientes Ric'i Whyt, Thomas de Barthomley, Joh'es de Hale Junior, David de Moldesdale, Joh'es de Chestre Senior, Will's et Robtus servientes Thome . . . servientum textorum et aliorum quamplurimorum hominum pro affraia facta die Corporis Christi.

The fines imposed on some of these rioters are entered in the Mayor's book of the time. Fines textorum et fullatorum indictatorum de transgressionem die Corporis Christi de horribili affraia.

Thoma Spencer, Walker	-	iii ^s . iiiid.	Thoma le Chaloner	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Joh'e Chestre, Walker	-	iii ^s . iiiid.	Thoma Bragot, Webster	-	x ^s .
Will ^o Cay, Chaloner	-	vi ^s . viiid.	Hugone Bargayne, Webster	-	x ^s .
Will ^o Schawe, Webster	-	ii ^s .			

Henrico Penkyth Walker indictato de transgressionem de fine - ii^s.
primo die Junii

Henr' Bragot, Webster	-	1 Jun'.	pplm Henr' Wyche, Chaloner	-	-	ii ^s
Joh'e de Acton', Webster	-	2 Jun'.	pplm Thome Acton	-		xiiid.
Ric'o le Spencer, Webster	-	3 Jun'.	pplm Ric'i de Strang- weys	-	-	iii ^s . iiiid.

Joh'e de Merton, Wever	-	5 Jun'.	pplm Rogeri de Dylton	ii ^s .	
Joh'e Chestre, junior	-	5 Jun'.	pplm Henr' Penkyth	- ii ^s .	
Thoma del Dame	-	5 Jun'.	pplm Ric'i Stalmyn	- iii ^s .	iiii ^d .
Joh'e de Sutton	-	7 Jun'.	pplm Joh'is Pyttes,		
			Wever	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Joh'e de Hale, jun'	-	7 Jun'.	pplm Ric'i de Hale	- iii ^s .	iiii ^d .
Edwardo Bronsworde	-	7 Jun'.	-	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Rob'to de Derbyshire	-	8 Jun'.	pplm J. de Kyngeley	- iii ^s .	iiii ^d .
Ric'o Serviente Rici Whyte	-	8 Jun'.	pplm dicti Rici	- iii ^s .	iiii ^d .
Ric'o Stubbok, Chaloner	-	9 Jun'.	pplm J. de Hawardyn	- iii ^s .	iiii ^d .
Joh'e Bernak, Wever	-	9 Jun'.	pplm Robti Chaumber-		
			len	-	xx ^d .
Joh'e Skele, Wever	-	9 Jun'.	pplm David Broun,		
			Webster	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Rogero Pym'e	-	9 Jun'.	pplm Will'i Shagh-	- ii ^s .	
Ric'o de Morton, Webster	-	10 Jun'.	-	-	xx ^d .
Thoma del Mosse, Wever	-	12 Jun'.	pplm Ric'i Byron'	- ii ^s .	
Henr' Huutebache commto de transg' per patriam de affraia					
predicta 13 Jun'.			pplm Rici de Werberton' Webster	-	vis. viiid.
Thoma de Byrchomley pro transgress 3 July			pplm Ric'i Crane	-	xii ^d .
Will'o del Holme serviente Thome Bruynstath 4 Julii			pplm dicti		
Thome	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
Joh'e Hilles, Webster, 1 Aug.			pplm vic'	-	ii ^s .
Fines textorum et fullatorum indictatorum de transg. die Corporis					
Christi de horribili affraia.			pro transg.		
Thoma Spenc', Walker	-	-	- 12 Jun.	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Joh'e Chestre, Walker	-	-	- 12 Jun.	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
				sol. [paid]	iii ^s . iiiid.
Will'o Cay, Chaloner	-	-	- 26 Jun.	-	vis. viiid.
Will'o Schawe, Webuster	-	-	- 26 Jun.	-	ii ^s .
				sol.	xvi ^d .
Thoma le Chaloner	-	-	- 27 Jun.	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Thoma Bragot, Webster	-	-	- 4 Julii	-	x ^s .
Hugone Bargayne, Webster	-	-	- 4 Julii	-	x ^s .
Joh'e de Ins, Webster	-	-	- 4 Julii	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Joh'e le Smyth, Webster	-	-	- 4 Julii	-	vis. viiid.
Will'o Cadewalleshened, Webster	-	-	- 4 Julii	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Joh'e le Chaloner de Saint Jones lone	-	-	- 4 Julii	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Will'o le Chaloner de Saint Jones lon'	-	-	- 5 Julii	-	vis. viiid.
Joh'e Howell, Webust'	-	-	- 5 Julii	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Will'o le Capper	-	-	- 30 Jun.	-	iii ^s . iiiid.
Thoma de Werfort	-	-	- 5 Julii	-	ii ^s .
Ric'o de Werburton, Webster	-	-	- 6 Julii	sol. iii ^s . iiiid.	vis. viiid.
Will'o de Stretton, Webster	-	-	- 6 Julii	-	vis. viiid.
Ric'o Fflynggant	-	-	- 8 Julii	-	} iii ^s . iiiid.
			pplm Henr' de ffelday, Webster	sol. xii ^d .	
Will'o Asullore, Webster	-	-	- 10 Jul.	-	ii ^s .
Fines Pistorum.					
5 persons pro defectu ponderis panis	-	1 Oct.	finis 6 ^s , 5 ^s , 2 ^s .		
3 " " " "	-	2 Oct.			
John de Lincolne Baxter	„	2 Oct.			

Will's de Wybenbur' Jun. indictat' de transg' condonat ^{ur} ad supplicaconem Hugonis de Holes Ch'r.	- - - - -	n ^l .
Joh'es de Londesdale indict' de premissis Jur' quod non fuit cum illis, ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .
Will's le Smyth indict' de premissis condonatur ad supplic'	Joh'is de Capenhurst	n ^l .
Thomas Shellenacre, Chaloner, jur'. ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .
David de Moldesdale, jur' qd fuit ex ^a , ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .
Joh'es Gredeyn jur' ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .
Nichus serviens Ric'i Whyte jur' ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .
David serviens Henr' Penkyth jur' ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .
Will's Kyde jur' qd fuit ex ^a , ideo eat quietus	- - - - -	n ^l .

The Weavers' Company was protected in the exercise of their trade against non-freemen; but when it was seen to be for the benefit of the city that a new branch of trade might be set up, the mayor and corporation did not scruple to make the necessary arrangements. Thus money had been left by one Ralph Worseley to assist in carrying out the Statute 18 Elizabeth, providing work for the poor. Henry Hardware, the mayor, has a conference with the shermen and Shrewsbury men about introducing into the city the manufacture of Shrewsbury cloth (A.O. 260, 269), "Cottons, "friezes, russets, baies, &c.," and procures certain persons skilful in the work from Shrewsbury. The Weavers' Company adopt such a threatening attitude that these strangers leave the city; but the corporation will not allow this interference, and give formal permission to the foreign weavers to work in the city, on condition that they confine themselves to one kind of cloth (A.O. 271), and make it in their own dwelling-houses or shops, and not elsewhere.

The new House of Correction for making woollen cloth is set up in the quarry outside the Northgate, and several orders relate to the leasing of this work to different persons. (A.O. 280, 292, 509, 523, 524). James Bauester and Arthur Croxon undertake to give 20 marks for the use of the "stock," and to find forty poor people in continual work of cloth-making, to make one hundred whole pieces of cloth, and to receive all vagabonds committed to the house. Nicholas Massye receives permission to exercise the kind of manufacture as is carried on in Shrewsbury, Oswestry, Denbigh, and Chirk.¹ Permission is given to George Sherington, of Preston in Lancashire, to introduce the making of Kentish cloth, which would employ twenty persons. (A.O. 261). The making of Jersey Hose was also introduced in 1576 by a man who undertook for his freedom to teach others the trade. (A.O. 290.)

¹ 18 Eliz. Nich. Massye shall use exercise and practice the same kinde, order, sorte and manner of cottenynge, frisinge, and clothinge, within the said citie as are comonly made in the Towne of Salope, Oswestry, Denbigh, and Chirke, and in the counties adjoyninge, and which of late in this citie is begon.—*Ind.* 29.

In the same year, 24 Sept., 1576, the rate, price, and weight of spinning, carding, weaving, &c., were fixed by the Assembly.¹

288.
Rates of
Spinning, &c.,
Wool. **170b.**—And alsoe it was then and there ordered by the said Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Comen Counsaile, that the rate price and weighte of spyninge, cardinge, wevinge, walkinge, fullinge and dyinge of woll hereafter followinge shalbe from hensfurthe observed and kept, viz., that no manner of person or persons within this citie shall take or receyve for spyninge and hande cardinge of one waight of woll above sixe pens, nor for stockcardinge of every stonne of woll four waights to every stonne admitted under scale above sixpence, nor for weveinge any peece of wollen cloth now agreed to be made contayninge xxii yards in length, above twelve pens, nor for walkinge any suche peeces cloth above eight pens, nor the sherman for dressinge of any suche peece of cloth above tenne pens, nor for the dyinge of any stonne of woll above sixetene pence.

The Weavers also were fined 40/-, 27 Elizabeth, for admitting a man to their company who was not free of the city, and their charter was withdrawn until the fine was paid.

487.
Admission of a
freeman
though born
before his
father was
made free.
—
Weavers'
Company fined. 8 Jan., 27 Eliz. Allsoe one Henry Harries, weyver, a freeman's sonne & serving as apprentice with his Father, before his father was free, allso yet borne before his father's freedome Exhibiteth his supplication to be free, the rather for he hath alreadie agried with the Company of weyvers to be of their Compeny & is of their company admytted by them contrary to a former order in that behalff, wherby that company hath forfeited xl^s. to this Cittie. It is therefore nowe ordered by the saide Maior, &c., That the said Henrie Harries shalbe admytted & sworne into the franchises & liberties of the saide Cittie, payinge as an apprentice, & that the saide company of weyvers shalbe called & their charter taken into the hands of Mr. Maior & deteyned from them, untill the saide forfeiture of xl^s. be fullie payde.

They also became involved later in a dispute with the Imbroiderers about keeping a silk weaver who, the former affirmed, belonged to them, working with reed and shuttle. The Imbroiderers on this occasion petitioned for a new charter which was granted afterwards. [A.O. 665, 666].

18 April, 31 Elizabeth. And at the same Assemblie the embroiderers exhibited the supplicacioon againste the weavers whiche is red; & for a newe graunte . . . And also the said wevers exhibited the supplicacioon againste the saide imbroiderers for that they kepe a silke weaver, whiche the weavers affirme belonge to them, workinge with reed & shuttle. It is ordered that the same shalbe further considered of.

19 October, 35 Elizabeth. And moreover at this Assemblie the Barbor surgeons have exhibited their bill againste forren surgeons, prayinge that they may be excluded or ells to enter into bandes not to trade their occupacions within the saide cittie hereafter: It is nowe at this Assemblie fully ordered that all such offendours shall be called before Mr. Maior & constrained to shewe their lycens of admittance or ells be restrayned.

¹ No one was to take for spinning or hand-carding of one weight of wool more than 6d., &c.

A memorandum in the Mayor's Book, 17 March, 1567, illustrates the manner in which the companies arranged matters with outsiders, with the knowledge and the approbation of the Mayor:—

"Thomas Shevington of the Citie of Chester, belman and wever, personally appeared before the Mayor and submitted him self to the said Maior and to the whole compeny and occupacion of wevers within the citie, and promised then and there from yere to yere, every quarter of the yere so long as he shall occupy the said occupacon of wevers, to pay unto the said occupacon vi^d. of lefull English money, and also that he at any time hereafter shall not retaine any apprentice for thoccupacon of the said occupacon or craft but only his owne sonne. In consideracon whereof the said company of wevers are contented that the said Shevinton from hensforth shalbe fre of their company and of their felowship, and enjoy all liberties as they do or ought or may doe."

The same day, John Rice, wever, agreed to pay for admission viii^s. iii^d. at the Feast of St. John Baptist and at the Birth of Christ, by even porcons; also William Pendleton agreed for 5/- yearly; John Harrison for 20/-; Thomas Miles for 16/8.

Of the twenty-five companies or occupations which existed in Chester in the sixteenth century, the Baker's "occupation," it may be presumed, was the oldest. Their first charter does not bear an earlier date than 11 Henry VII. 1495, but, though not formally incorporated, they would necessarily be, at a very early period, an important body of citizens, trading under the control of the City authorities. A list of fines, some of considerable amount, imposed in 25 Edward I. for not keeping the "Assize of Bread," shews them to be a large and recognised portion of the community, for sixteen are "amerced" in the first term, ten in the second, and the same number at the Feast of St. Barnabas, four of these being women.

The Beer-brewers were in like manner supervised by the authorities, but, though an "occupation," and as numerous probably as the bakers, they did not obtain a charter of incorporation until 13 Charles I., 1634. Thirteen members of this body were fined, 34 Edward III., 1360, in sums ranging from 5/- to 6^d. for "short measure."

The Tanners occur as early as 35-6 Edward III., March 31, 1362, petitioning for a charter forbidding the Cordwainers to meddle with their trade, and offering for this privilege a fine of twenty marks and a yearly payment of 6/8. Though the Black Prince, as Earl of Chester, was favourable to the petition, and

granted them a charter on these terms, eight years later, 6 May, 44 Edward III., he revoked it on the ground that the separation of the trades was not to the interest of the City, and he granted to the Skinners, Shoemakers, and Tanners, a charter for the joint exercise of the three crafts, excusing the Tanners the yearly payment of 6/8 which they had promised. They were made subject to the supervision of officers appointed for the purpose by the Mayor and Commonalty. The Tanners appear later to have succeeded in separating themselves from their partners in this charter, the Skinners and Shoemakers, as the latter have a new charter from Henry IV., 1410, confirming them in their ancient monopoly as "*alutarii et sutores*."

In the list of companies taking part in the "Mystery Plays," the Tanners are joined with the Barkers in the production of the first play in the cycle, the Corvesers and Shoemakers play on the second day, and the Skinners are grouped with the Hatmakers, Girdlers, &c.¹

The Weavers (the first in England to receive a formal charter) are mentioned as a numerous body 22 Richard II., under the names of "Wevers, Websters, Walkers, and Chaloners," but did not receive formal recognition, though claiming to be one of the ancient companies of Chester and to have certain "ancient privileges" as a brotherhood company, until 10 June, 1538, when a charter was granted them in the mayoralty of William Styles. The Charter of the Innholders, Victuallers, and Cooks, who also claimed ancient privileges, bears the same date, and was further confirmed and enrolled before Henry, Earl of Derby, Chamberlain, 20 Jan., 34 Elizabeth.

The following year, 1583, the Wrights and Carpenters obtain a Charter from the Mayor, Robert Brerewood.²

In 1587 the Water-leaders and Drawers of the Dee petition for a Charter.

The Saddlers, in March 8, 1471, received a Charter "to endure for forty years," giving them the monopoly of the trade in Chester.³

¹ 1367, March 31. Warrant of Edward, P. of Wales, to John de Delves, vice justice, and John de Brunham, Chamberlain of County of Chester, that whereas the said Tanners had offered a fine of twenty marks, and a yearly payment of 6/8 to have a charter forbidding cordwainers to meddle with their trade, in like manner as it was granted to tanners in the cities and boroughs of England, directing them to make inquest at the next county touching the matter, and if it shall be found reasonable and to the profit of the people of Chester that it should be as the tanners desired, to make out a charter to them accordingly.

² Harl. MSS. 2054, 56.

³ Welsh Recog. Rolls.

The Tailors obtain, 6 Henry VII., 1491, a renewal of a charter to which the King refers as "privileges granted *ab antiquo* by our "ancestors in return for a certain annual payment." There is no record of any charter to the Butchers or the Fishmongers, but the whole body of Butchers, with the Fishmongers, Huxters, and the Bakers, are presented by a jury, 28 Henry VI., for breaking the "Assize." In the Mayor's Year Books the number and names of the Butchers, with their Aldermen and Stewards, are given after the corresponding list of Bakers, no other trades being thus recorded.

The Bakers of the city were required to sell their bread for prices fixed at an Assize made from time to time under the supervision of the Mayor, with certain assessors, in accordance with the price of corn in the market. The form is as follows: The Assize of Bread was held before John Whytmore, Mayor, and the

6 Henry VII., 13 June, 1491. Temp. Rogeri Hurlton. Henricus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, Majori et vicecomitibus civitatis Cestrie, qui nunc sunt et qui pro tempore fuerint salutem. Quia ex consuetudine in Civitate nostra predicta usitata libertates per progenitores nostros cissoribus ejusdem Civitatis ab antiquo pro quodam annuali redditu nobis ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie per ipsos Cissores annuatim solvendo concess' q'd nullus de arte eorundem Cissorum infra eandem civitatem se intromitteret nec eandem artem introiret in Civitate illa quovismodo faceret seu exerceret nisi ab ipsis cissoribus prius licenciatus et in fraternitatem suam receptus fuerit. Ac jam ex gravi querela sua accepimus q'd quidam tam extranei quam intrinseci libertatem et consuetudinem predictas en'nare [enervare] presumentes artem predictam ipsis cissoribus invitis exercent et de die in diem exercere et facere presumunt absque eorum voluntate et licencia in dampnum ipsorum cissorum non modicum et gravamen, ac contra libertates et consuetudinem supra dictas super quo nobis supplicarunt sibi de remedio in hac parte providere. Nos considerantes libertates predictas pro redditu predicto eis ut predictum est concess' supplicationi sue predictae in hac parte annuentes et volentes unicuique fieri quod est justum ut tenemur vobis et unicuique vestrum, precipimus firmiter injungentes q'd si vobis quendam . . . aliquos hujusmodi extraneos seu intrinsecos sive intrinsecum artem eorundem Cissorum infra Civitatem predictam aut in suburbiis vel libertate ejusdem Civitatis, facere vel ea aliququaliter uti absque licencia et voluntate Cissorum ipsorum tunc ipsos vel ipsum viis et modis quibus melius expedire videritis et prout in Civitate predicta in casu consimili facere cons——in tantum coactetis distringatis et castigari fac' ne artem illam contra voluntatem et licenciam ipsorum Cissorum infra Civitatem predictam aut in suburbiis vel libertate ejusdem nullatenus faciant vel exercent taliter nos habentes in hac parte ne ob defectum nostrum clamor ad nos inde perveniat intratus sub pena — decem librarum nobis ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie solvendarum Domino Johanne Duce Bedford Custode Anglie Apud Cestriam xiii die Junii Anno regni nostri sexto.

quarter of wheat was priced by Richard ———, Richard Thomworth, and John Whyte, bakers, at $\text{iii}^{\text{s.}} \text{vi}^{\text{d.}}$

They were fined for not observing this assize, the penalties ranging in 25 Edward I. from 4/- to 6^{d.} Of the sixteen persons fined in one term, one was fined 4/-, one 3/4, three 2/-, two 18^{d.}, seven 12^{d.}, two 6^{d.} Thomas Swetemilc was fined for two defaults, and Harry Swetemilc owned to three defaults, Ralph of Derby to five defaults.

Though the Statute of 51 Henry III. lays down rules for the different kinds of bread—wastel, cokett, simnel, trait—no distinction is made in the lists, temp. Edward I. or Edward III., between the different kinds of bread. But by 16 Richard II. we have the "*ferlyng cokett, wastell, parombred*"; in 6 and 7 Henry IV. there are in addition the names or "*panis denariatus*" (penny loaf), "*panis obolatus*" (half-penny loaf), and a cake called "*payn de mayne*."

The fine kinds of white bread were called simnel or "*pain de maigne*," wastel, and cokett.

16 Ric. II. Assize of Bread held on Saturday after All Saints' Day before Gilbert Trussell, Mayor, Robert Launcelyn and John de Preston, Sheriffs, W^{m.} de Kyrkeby, Thomas de Fulshagh, W^{m.} Goldyng, Baker, and Thomas Soule, Baker, being sworn on the sale of wheat in the market, who say that a bushel of wheat stands at $\text{xii}^{\text{d.}}$ and a quarter at 4^{s.}

Thomas Soule, Baker, iii cokett, each of them deficient in weight, vs. The same Thomas, ii loaves of parombred deficient in weight, $\text{xx}^{\text{s.}}$ The same Thomas i loaf parombred deficient $\text{xxvi}^{\text{s.}} \text{viii}^{\text{d.}}$ Felicia Bylly, Baker, v cokett, each deficient in weight, $\text{vi}^{\text{s.}} \text{viii}^{\text{d.}}$ The same Felicia, ii cokett, each deficient, vs. *prout patet, &c.*

6 Hen. IV., at an Assize held before John de Preston, Mayor, and the Sheriffs, when the quarter was priced at $\text{vi}^{\text{s.}} \text{vi}^{\text{d.}}$ The same Thomas Sole was found deficient in the weight of 8 coketts, $\text{xx}^{\text{d.}}$ each; and 7 Wasteles.

11 Hen. IV., at an Assize held on Saturday before St. Martin's day, when the quarter was priced at $\text{viii}^{\text{s.}}$ the following bakers were reported in default: Joh'es de Lyncolne ii cakes, both deficient, Joh'es Whyte, ii cakes, i in defectu xis. alter in def. $\text{x}^{\text{s.}}$ Ric'us de Tomeworth i Wastell in def. $\text{x}^{\text{d.}}$ Item i cake. Nich'us le Baker i cake in def. $\text{x}^{\text{s.}} \text{x}^{\text{d.}}$ Item i panis denariatus. Thomas de Blaken i wastell in defectu ponderis $\text{iii}^{\text{s.}} \text{iii}^{\text{d.}}$ Matilda Bassechirche i cokett in defectu ponderis $\text{x}^{\text{s.}}$

12 Hen. IV. the quarter was "appreciated" at $\text{ix}^{\text{s.}} \text{vi}^{\text{d.}}$ and amongst those presented were Thomas Sole for 4 loaves of parombred and two other loaves, each deficient, Richard Tameworth, John of Lyncolne, John Wruxham, Richard le Gardyner, Baker, &c., &c.

14 Hen. IV. the price was $\text{iii}^{\text{s.}} \text{vi}^{\text{d.}}$

11 Oct., 1595. *Assisa panis*—The price of the meane or seconde sort of wheate beinge at 13^{s.} ob. bus., which contayneth 29 gallons and an halfe then was geven to the bakers for assise that the cokett half peny whit loffe of the finest bolter shulde way $\text{vi}^{\text{oz.}}$

17 Oct., 1595. The price of the buz. wheate geven this week to the bakers half penny white loaf waies vi unc' at $\text{xii}^{\text{s.}} \text{viii}^{\text{d.}}$ the buz.

"*Pain de maigne*" has been variously explained as morning bread or roll (*pain de matin*); as a kind peculiar to the province of Maine; as sacramental bread, "*panis dominicus*." It is quite possible "*de maigne*" may be connected with "*dominicus*," and this bread may have been so called as the bread for the lord's table, to distinguish it from that supplied to the dependants.

"*Coket*" may be called from the mark of the seal which each baker was required to impress on certain loaves.

In 15 Edward IV. occurs for the first time the mention of horse bread, which was made of beans and pease, without any other admixture, and 2 Henry VII. an order is made about "Chester Cakes" and "Craknells."

The number of Bakers fined at each assize for deficient weight is comparatively large, eleven to fifteen often being fined, and the same offender comes up again and again—the names of John de Lyncolne, Richard Bassechirche, and John Whyte occur unpleasantly often, the first of these being presented continually for twelve years, and this notwithstanding heavy fines. But the fraudulent baker did not always get off with a fine; he would pay for his delinquency in person, and as Chester usages followed closely those of London, it may be presumed that the pillory at Chester was often the destination of men like John of Lincoln, and that like his knavish brethren of the metropolis he would be conveyed through the streets in shameful guise, perhaps in the cart of disgrace, or tied down on a hurdle barefooted, with the deficient loaf hanging round his neck.

As for the price, an order was made in 1406, John de Preston, Mayor, and renewed in 1421, in the mayoralty of John Hope, that every baker who bakes bread should sell within the city two loaves for a penny, whether of "*coket*" or of "*wastell*" (2nd best), and in the same manner of all kinds of bread made.

The records preserved in the Chester Muniment Room and at the Record Office bear ample testimony to the efforts made to keep this important trade under proper control.

32 Henry VI. the Innkeepers were fined "because their house—"bread was not of good paste."

1463, June 21. The mayor and sheriffs of Chester are directed to enforce the ordinance which had prevailed time out of mind in the said city, that no one but such as had joined the craft of bakers of the city, and deposited their mark in wax, that their bread might be known, should make or sell bread in the city, and that bread baked out of the city should not be sold in the city excepting on market days, and that all bakers of the city should grind their corn at the mills of the Dee.—*H.R.R.*

15 Edward IV. [1475—6], Elena, wife of Thomas Bunbury, Elena Gill, Margery Wolly, and Margery, wife of Randle Sparro, are presented for baking horse bread (*panem equinum*) and selling it to the great damage and hurt of the bakers of the city.

2 Richard III., Thomas Henresone, Baker, is indicted for baking horse bread deficient in weight and quality, and for putting bran (*furfur*) in his bread.

30 Henry VIII., twenty-two Bakers are fined 22/- each for not baking good bread which is wholesome for the human body.

2 Henry VII. the Bakers are ordered to make their loaves of the same weight in accordance with the Statute of Winchester.

An ordinance of 21 Henry VII. requires all who bake to observe the assize given by the mayor, and to give in their mark at the Pentice. For further security, they are enjoined to belong to the brotherhood of the Bakers in the City. None but regular Bakers are to make cracknell to sell, but if the Bakers refuse to supply the city with them, then everyone is to be at liberty to bake cracknells at pleasure. Bakers and Innkeepers are not to interfere with one another's trade, the latter being allowed to provide only for their household and guests at table.

In the Harleian MSS., 2025, 41, is preserved a copy of some

10b. Bakers.	[69a].—Thomas Thornton, Mayor [1505]. Item it is ordred by the said mayre and his brethren of the same cite that no maner person ne persons of what condition or degre so ever they be shall from hensforth bake or sell any maner whyte brede or wheten brede or horsbrede without assyse geven them by the said mayre for the tyme being and ther marke geven into the pentice ther according as of ould tyme hath byn used and that thay bere and draw all maner costes with the baykers of the said cite and be of the brother houde of ther craft and occupacion and that upon payne of every person doing contrary to this ordinaunce for every default provid to forfyt xls. and that xls. to be delyveryd by the sheriffs of the said cite for the tyme being and it to be apployed according to such grants as be mayde to the saide Baykers by
10c. Cracknells to be made only by Bakers.	the Kings noble progenitors and that no man shall bake no cracknell cake to sell but onely the said Baykers if the will use to bake them good and suffycient to serve the Citie withall and if they will not then everie man to bake cracknells at his libertie. Allso it is ordred that no maner Bayker within the said cite keeping any Ine or Loggyng shall sell any
10d. Horscbread.	mo loves of horsbrede to any of ther gestes being at Ine with eny of them nor yet none by color to any of ther gestes but as the comen Ine kepers use to sell and that upon payne as aforesaid for every default. Allso in lyke wyse it is ordred that no comon Ine Keper within the said cite shall p'p'ly bake any brede to sell within his house at any tyme so onely to serve housould menye and his tablers and not to retele [retail] to ther gests estrangres upon payne aforesaid.

of the Bakers' marks, which were of the simplest possible form. The date is 1589, when the company consisted of 35 members.¹

The oath on admission, in 1575, was no doubt that which had been administered in early times.

In November, 1557, the Mayor, John Webster, had an unpleasant dispute with the Company, who refused to accept his

Mem.—It is ordrede the xviii day of December in the yere abovesaid by the said maire by the advice of theire counsell: That no maner baker within the said citie using to bake white brede or wheten brede shall from the vi day of Janary next comynge bake any Rye bredd to sell apon payn for every defaulte that shall be provede contrary to this ordinance xls. ; it to be levied by the maire of the said citie for the tyme beyng and to be employed to the comyn boxe to the use of the said citee.

Orde of
Bakers,
1575.

All suche kinde and sorte of bread as hereafter you shall bake or cause to be baken, uttered and solde, shalbe altogether sufficient and holsome bread and paste for man's substenauce, and doe at all tyme and tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme perform and kepe such assise of bread as shall be geven you by the maior of the Citie of Chester as Clerk of the market within the same Citie and doe not wilfully disceiptfully or by any other male yngyne [evil device] breake the same assise, And also have sufficient provision of such good and seasonable bread and paste to serve this Cyty with all from time to time and after such assise as is aforesaid, And therunto do serve the quenes majesties subjects at all tymes requiring the same without deniall. Soe helpe you God and holydom and by this book.

¹ 1589. Thirty-five members of Bakers' Company, with their marks:—

Hugh Crump



George Ithell



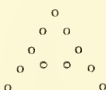
Wm Richardson



John Welchman



Peter Cowper



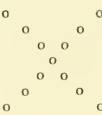
Thomas Prenton



Richard Danet



Thurstan Helde



assize, and declined to supply any bread. The citizens suffered in consequence a great dearth, and permission was given to all persons, as well of the city as the country, to bake bread for general use. Their charter was taken from the bakers, upon which they complained to the Council of the Marches. The mayor was ordered to give back the charter, and in the rest of the case dismissed out of court. The bakers still refusing to comply with the mayor's regulations were disfranchised, and it was not until August in the following year that the dispute was ended by the submission of the Company.

52.
Assize of
Bread.

88b.—Memorandum that on Saturday the xiiiith daye of November A^o 1557, John Webster, then maire of the Citie of Chester, did caule before hym in the pentice of the said citey Richard Danold and Edward Smith, then stewards of the

occupacions of bayckers of the said citie and consarning which tyme of ye pryse of whete soulden in ye markyt of the said citie the same daye which was for xlvi^s. the quarter of Chester meesure the derist and ther upon appoynted unto them for the assize the weke folowing to baycke the half penyse whyte loufe vi ounces and haulefe, and so of all kynds of bred ratable after the same assize which the said steward then refused and dysierid ryspyt unto the Monday next folowing to speeke with ther hole occupacion. Upon which Mondaye the said stewards gave an answer unto

Bakers refuse
the Assize.

the said mayre in the name of the hole occupacion y^t they would not consent to baycke after that assize but utterly refused the same, wherupon the teweday next insuing, videlicet the xvith of November, at an assemble in the comon haule of the

said citie the said assize was examenyd reasouned and debatyd consarning the measure of the brason houpe of the said citie with the measure and assize appoyntyd by the statute of this realm and allso with the mesure and assyese then used in London and the pryces of corne accordinglye yt was therby the said mayre aldermen sheriffs and comon counsell of the same cyte fully agreid and concludyd that the same assize afore appoyntyd by the said mayre was lafull nessesary and suffycient for the Bayker to lyve upon and that from thensfourth the said bayckers should observe and kepe the said rite of assises accordinge to the pryces of corne as the markyt shall faule or ryse upon the payne before tyme appoyntyd by the statutes of this realme.

And then the same mayor eftsones sent for the said stewards and diverse other of ther company and occupacion and shewed them the mynde and hole determynacion of the hole counsell of this citie and requiered them to baycke thereafter according to ther dutye that ther should be no want of brede within this said citey, but the in no wyse would therto

Want of
Bread.

consent by resone wherof ther was grete wante of brede within this saide citie, wherupon the mayre by the advyse of his brethern aldermen shiriffs and other of the comon counsell

the xxith daie of the saide November made open proclamac'on as folowith: For as much as the comon bayckers of this citie being manye tymes by Mr Mayre admonyshed and comandyd to baycke brede after the assize by hym reasonably geven according to his office presentlie do refuse to backe

brede for the sustenance of the inhabytants of the same citie and others therto resorting be reasone wherof the saide citizins be lycke to be at grete hynderaunce for lacke of brede for spedye remedye therin to be had Mr. Mayre by virtue of his office and by thadvise of his worshipfull bretherne the aldermen of the same citye do requier all loving citizens to make necessary provicion for this presente tyme for suche brede as theye shall occupye, and that yt shalbe lawfull to all persones as well of the cytye as the cuntrye to baycke good and holsome brede for the sustenance of the said citiznes after a resonable sorte and to bringe the same from tyme to tyme into the markyt wher they shall not have onely redye monye for ther brede with hartye thanks, but also be discharged from all sute procurid by the comon bayckers of this citie or any other person or persones in ther names and to thentent the premysses may be well accomplyshed Mr Mayre do the moste hartly dysier all the said loving citiznes to be good and loving neighbors in doing and setting forward of the same as they tender the comon welthe and state presentlie of this citie.

53
Complaint of
Bakers

89a.—Md [Mem.] That Richard Dennold and John Whitehed as attorneys for the hole occupacone of bayckers compleyned upon John Webster maire of the citie of Chester to the Kinge and Quene's Majesties counsell in the Marches of Wales and obtenyd letters to William Gerrard Esquier, one of the said counsell and recorder of the said citie of Chester, which leters he shewid to the said mayre upon thoursday the daye of Januarie and deliverid unto hym ther byll of complaynt for the same mayre to answer unto upon his othe to be sertified to the said counsell the fyrest daye of February nexte insuing *prefixing* hym the said mayre to apere the said daye by himself or his attorney suffyciently enstructyd. The which byll of compleynt and thanswer unto the same was openly shewid and red at an assemble in the comon haule the day of January and then and ther the former assise of brede to the bayckers was appoyntyd wherof the toucke occasyon to compleyne was newly examenyd with delygent serche and toiall [toil] and being found lefull and resonable was eftsones at that presente tyme ratyfied and conformyd at the same assemble that the costes and charges in the same sute sustenyd should be borne and payed of the comon box or tresurers of the same cytye and that John Hankey one of the Shiriffs and John Newhall one of the Leve lookers should apere before the said Counsell as Attorneys for the saide mayre for the defence of the saide mater in the name of the hole cytye.

54
Bakers'
Charter and
Complaint.

89b.—Apud Ludlow 4^o die Feb. annis regnorum Phillippi et Marie Dei gratia Regis et Reginae Angliæ Hispaniarum Ffrancie Utriusque Cicillie Jerusalem et Hibernie &c. iii^o and iv^o. At which daye Richard Dannold and John Whythede for themselves and other plainteffs of the citie of Chester Backers, and William Poygnell and Richard Jones gent, for John Webster, Maire of the same citie of Chester, defendant, apered before the Kinge and quenes majesties counsell in the marchis of Wyles (*sic*) and upon examynacon of the matter for asmuch as the said mayre hath by his answer confessed the having and withehouldinge from the playntyfs of the charter and other evidences touching the liberties grauntyd to the mystery of bayckers forsaid in the cytye of Chester making no suffycient title for the delivering therof, therefore yt ys orderyd by the saide counsell that the saide mayre shall fourthwith delyver the saide playntyfe the said charter and other evidence

without further delaye and as touching the rest of the mater the saide defendant by the plaintiffs assent ys dismyssed oute of this courte for the same. And according to the saide order the mayre delivered the said baker the wrytings by them demaunded and comaundid them upon ther othes to do ther dutye accordinglye which the still refused to do, wherefore yt was orderid at an assemble houlden in the pentice the viiith day of Februarie, yt those baykers which had not consentyd to the saide complaynte and untruelye sclanderid the saide mayre and still refuse to do ther duties, being commandid upon ther othes as fre men of the citie, and would by no gentyllnes be conformable and consedering the grete derthe and ther sclander provision for the same and by ther douings manifestlye declaring them selves rather the occasion of derthe then plentye agenest the comon welthe of this citye, yt was thought that the wer no good citzines nor worthy to enioye that libertie: wherfor yt was orderid and concludyd by the said assemble that the said bakers should be disfraunchesid and from thensfourth not to be tayken as free men of this citie.

And at an other Assemble houlden in the Comon Haule the xxith daye of Maye that forasmuche as soume persones denyed the same baykers to be fully disfraunchessed yt was ther further examyned and ther knowledged and agreid that the said baykers wer worthelye disfranchesed at the former assemble and the said former order for ther disfranches was eftsones then and ther ratyfyed and confermyd.

The names of the said bakers hereafter folowing that ys to witt

William Ffletcher	John Scounce	John Blaunchere
John Fairclif	Nicholas Wederby	William Sale
Richard Danold	John Whitehed	Robert Mylner
Edward Smithe	John Griffethe	William King
William Whithed	James Tailor	John White
William Walton	John Garret	Robert Whitehed
Thomas Govet	Edward Goodicarie	Thomas Hancock
Thomas Ffletcher	Richard Modesley	Henry Drafford
Henry Heylin	John Carterr	Henry Ottie

M^d at an Assemble houlden in the comon haule . . . of

56.
Bakers'
submission.

August certen of the baykers of this citie whose names are subscribid maid the humble submyssion as hereafter folowith :

To the right worshipful John Webster mayre of the Citie of Chester and the aldermen his bretherne: Humblye showing your master worshipsps your poore oratours the persones whoes names ar subscribid latelye being of the late companye and felouship of baykers of the said citie that wher hertofore the said company and feloushipp for that they obstynatelye contrarye to ther deuty es the aunceynt customes of this citie and the statutes of this realme refused to baycke brede at suche assise as by your worshipsps was to them resonable appoyntyed for the beter provision of the citzens of the said citie and other the Kinge and quenes majesties subjects thether reparing were by publique order and decree had and made at an assemble lately houlden within the said citie, sethen which tyme your saide oratours have nether used the crafte of bakinge or yet such other libertie as apertenet to a freman of the same citie, wherupon lycke as your said orators do presentlye confese and acknowledge unto your worshipsps ther follye and wyllfullnes in not

receiving your said resonable assese according to ther duties and for that ther so manyfest desobedience and misdemaours to have bene worthelye by you restrained from bakinge and disfraunchesed of ther former liberties geven by these presents they do humbly submyt themselves to your will and pleasure, beseching the same that upon this ther humble submission they may be admyttyd to backe brede within this citie at such assese as wekely shalbe yeven [geven] by the maire for the tyme being and to be restorid ageyne into the liberties of fremen. And for the beter observacion of the saide assese of brede to be kept by your orators ar contented to entre reasonable bonds by recognisaunce to be tayken before Mr Mayor or to do and obaye any other resonable thinge for the same purpose as to your worshippes shall seme good. And therupon that your worshippes would restrayne and inhibyte all persons as well inhabitants as all foreners being not restored and admyttyd with your orators to backe and sell brede within this citie or liberties therof except on Wednesdaies or Saturdaies and thus miche may it please you to graunt for Goddes love, and your orators as moste bounden shall dulye praye unto God for your worshippes long health with increase of worshipp.

John Ffaircliff alderman
Thomas Govett
Robert Lece
John Carter

Robert Couper
Richard Modesley
Henry Ottie
William Sale
Margareth Hancock

Upon consideracion of the same submission yt was agreid and orderid at the same assemble that the said bakers whiche so submyttyd them selves should be admyttyd and received agayne into the ffraunches of this citie and from thensfourth taken as fremen of the same upon condition that thay should paye suche resonable fyne as Mr Maire is brethern th' aldermen and comon counsell should award and also be bonde to serve the said citie according to thassese before appoyntyd by Mr Maire and upon the performaunce therof to be admyttyd and taken for the occupacon of comon bayckers within this citie.

66. **94a.**—Temp. Hen. Hardware, I. Eliz. At an assemble
Assize of houlden in the comon haule of the said cytye before Henry
Bread. Hardware then Mayre of the same cytye with the aldermen
sheriffs and comen counsell of the same, the nynth daye of November in
the yere above specified, yt was then and ther concludyd and agried by
the said Mayre Aldermen Sheriffs and Comen Counsell that from thens-
fourth the baykers of the said cytye shall have ther assize of bred geven
them by the Mayre for the tyme beinge after the rate of thre Chester
bushells unto and for the comon quarter, and shall bake and make brede
after the same assece and after none other which is large as much and
more then by the Statute of Wynchester ys lymytyd unto them to bake
after.

In 1563 and 1567 the whole body is presented and fined 2/- each for not making good and wholesome bread, and not observing the assize given them. The same trouble arose again 29 Elizabeth, 24 Nov., when complaint was made of the insufficient supply of bread, and its deficiency in weight and quality.¹ "Foreign" bakers were

¹ In 38 Hen. VIII., Wm. Fletcher and 20 others were fined xii^d each for bad paste.

therefore allowed to come in to the city and sell their bread on Wednesday and Saturday, weekly, under the new Shambles, from eight o'clock to three o'clock p.m.

564.
Bakers
refusal to
bake
sufficient
bread.

—
Foreign
Bakers to
come in.

207a.—24 November, 29 Elizabeth. And where alsoe the Compeny of Bakers within this Citie of Chester beinge bounden to serve the same Citie withe sufficient provicon of bred Accordinge to suche Assise as shalbe given them by the Maior of the same Citie As clerke of the market therof And yet have divers tymes refused soe to doe Contrary to there othe and charters in that behalfe and thereby her majesties subiectes of this Citie and others repayringe to the same have bene in greate distres and wante of bred and greatlie oppressed

and deceived them As well in provicon as in weight and goodnes to the displeasure of Allmightie God And to the greate sclander of this Cittie And wherealsoe the said Maior heretofore Comaunded Will^m Kinge thelder and John Jones for the said Compeny to bake and make sufficient provicon of white bred to serve this Citie withall thereupon the same Compeny have taken order that noe halfe peny white bred shalbe made which in this open Assembly by the said Will^m Kinge is Confessed, which maner of dealinge hath deserved greate punishment And to thintent that better provicon of bred may be had to serve this Citie withall And the same to be at gretter Assise and weight And upon consideracon of the greate dearthe and scarsetie of corne At this present ; It is nowe ordred and fully concluded and agreed upon by the said Maiore the Aldermen sherifes and Comen Counsell of the said Citie that licens and free libertie shalbe given to all and every person and persons inhabitantes of this Citie and foriners dwelling in other places of what degree or callinge soever they are of to repayre to this Citie of Chester and in the same Citie that they and every of them shall and maye in quiet maner upon every wednesdaye and saterdaye weekelie from hensforth under the howse Called the newe shambles beginninge At the howers of viii of the Clocke in the aforenoone and endinge At the hower of three of the Clocke in thafter noone of every of the said weekelie daies utter and sell All kindes and sortes of browne bred bulied bred white bredd and cakes of good and holesome bred and paste and of the Assises and Rates Accordinge to the statute Lawes of this Realme And as shall be given weekelie from tyme to tyme by the said Maior without the let sute staie or disturbance of the said compeny of bakers or eny of them And that the said Maior upon saterdaye nexte comeinge shall make open proclamacon hereof in places Convenient And that the said howers shalbe made knowne dulye *by Clocke or diall* in suche sorte as ye said Maiore shall appoint.

The bakers complained the previous year of the innkeepers, that they sold to the persons who came to lodge at their inns bread of their own making, and not bakers' bread. The dinner and supper are described as fourpenny, sixpenny, and eightpenny meals.

525.
Dispute of
Innholders
and Bakers
about supply
of bread.

202a.—Temp. Ed. Gamull, 8 April, 28 Elizab. Whereas variance, controversie & debate hath risen & yet is dependinge betwene the Compeny of bakers within this Citie upon thion partie, & Wm. Cotgreve of the same Citie Inholder upon thother partie, in that the said Wm. Cotgreve in this his howse at dinner & supper served his gests & all persons as doe come

or lodge at his howse with suche white bred as he usually bakethe within his owne howse of his owne provision & not with the bakers bred: where-with the said Compney of Bakers have & doe fynde themselves agreved by reason wherof the orders heretofore had & made within this Citie in that behalfe have bin at this Assembly openly red & considered upon (amongst which) one order was made in the xxth yere of kinge Henry the VII.th in the time of the maioraltie of Thomas Thornton wherebye it was then ordred that noe Comen Inholder within this Citie should properlie bake any bred to sell within his howse at any time soe only to serve howshold Meyney & his tablers withall & not to retaile to there gests estrangers upon paine of xl^s. Foasmuche as the same variance & question have risen & growen upon the said words containyd in the said recited order whether the Inholders of this Citie might by the said order serve all suchie gests as should resorte & come to there howses & there dyne or snpper & paie ordenary iiiid., vi^d., or viiid a meale or more or lesse in grosse with suche white bred as they should bake within there owne howses of themselves or whether the said Inholders should be served for that purpose by the Compenie of Bakers within this Citie. Wherenpon yt was thought meete that the Controversie & question should be examined by the Maior, &c., & that the intent & meaninge of the said order soe heretofore made should be explained at lyke Assembly as the same was made: Wherefore upon good consideracon of the said matter at this Assembly the daie & yere abovesaid It is fully concluded upon by the said whole Assembly & that thought right that the true intent and meaninge of the makinge of the said former order was that all the Inholders within the said Citie at there pleasure maie bake within there howses good holsome & seasonable white bred onlie to serve therewith suche gest & gests as shall from tyme to tyme resorte & come to there ordinarie tables onlie to dinner or supper when & as often as the same Inholders & there successors doe or shall onlie take ordenary for those meales foure pence, sixe pence, eight pence, or more or lesse: And soe as the same Inholders doe not in any wise at suche meales or at any other time or times or unto any other person or persons sell or put or offer to sale there saide bred by retaile.

The Country Bakers' Row is stated in Harl. MSS. 2054, 107, to have been in Eastgate Street. The same record preserves some interesting particulars about the number of journeymen and servants employed by individual masters. "The names of the "companie of bakers (33) with theare servaunts and houshold "people." Hugh Crumpe, his household people are x; Richard Wryght, his people xiiii; Roger Kynge, senior, xiiii; Roger Kynge, junior, xiii; John Ashton, xvii. Other master bakers employed respectively, 8, 8, 10, 9, 7, 2, 6, 6, 4, 8, 4, 4, 7, 8, 8, 6, 4, 5, 8, 6, 3, 8, 5, 7, 4, 5, 3, 3, making a total of 235 persons engaged in this trade.

The number of master bakers varies from seventeen in 12 Henry VIII., to twenty-two 1534; twenty-six in 1536, 1578, 1582; thirty-one in 6 Edward VI.; twenty-nine in 1587, 1594, and 1597.

The Company was very vigilant in defence of their monopoly, and carried on for a long time a fierce dispute with the non-free-traders who resorted to Gloverstone, as being outside the city liberties, and sold without payment of toll. So grievously did the Company find this affect their trade that they petitioned Sir Gilbert Ireland, the owner of Gloverstone, against it. They had a similar dispute with the bakers of Boughton and Handbridge. John Danolde, Alderman of the Bakers' Company, in 1589 brought an action against G. Norwood, L. Rawlinson, William Sconce, and Richard Foxeley, for infringement of the bakers' rights. To this the defendants pleaded that "as they were residents "in the Queen's Manor of Handbridge, they had liberty to make "and bake bread to sell on two markett days weekly, and this in "consideracon of divers Rents, Customes, and Services. This "claim they inforce by reason of many grants from the Crown to "the Nuns of Chester, part of whose premises Handbridge was, and "that the ancient privileges still remain, though the Nunnery is "dissolved."¹

In 1531 the aldermen and stewards of the Company, though not so often prosecutors as the Tailors and other Companies, obtain a fine of £5 from four persons for occupying their art or mistery. In Queen Mary's reign the same officers obtain a fine of 53/4 from Margeria Hughson and Alicia Evans. In 1571, the fines have risen to £8 in three cases, and one other transgressor gets off for 53/4. 10 March, 9 Elizabeth, Roger Tailer was bound in £5, not himself or any other for him, in his house or out of his house, at any time hereafter, to bake to sell nor yet sell any sort of bread except "bulted" bread, and all such bread every lof to containe vi unces over and above the assise of bread geven to the comon bakers of the said citie, and none such bread to sell but upon ii market daies in open market and in none other place nor sort.

Fish was an important article of diet in the Middle Ages, and the fishmongers were kept, like the bakers and butchers, under strict control. The fines inflicted on them for regrating and other offences against the common weal amounted each year to a considerable sum; in 4 Edward IV. the fines ranged from 13/4 to 8d, the majority being 3/4 and 2/6.

Regulations were made in 1555 as to the hours for purchasing fish, the citizens having the first choice up to nine o'clock in the morning; from nine to ten the caterers for "gentellmen of the countre" were allowed to buy for their master's house. The "fishmongers and freefishers" were admitted at ten. All fish

¹ Harl. MSS., 1989, 436.

brought in boats to the city was not to be sold until it had been seen by the mayor or his deputy, and no fishmonger was permitted to sell any fresh fish by retail unless of his own taking or fetching.¹ This regulation apparently forbade the selling of salmon except as a whole fish, for eight persons are fined $3\frac{1}{4}$ each, 1569, for buying salmon and selling them again in pieces (*per peccias*), dividing the profits of the same amongst the fishermen.

The beer-brewers and taverners were from early times subject to strict supervision. It has been already mentioned that in Domesday the brewer of bad ale was to be placed in the cuck-stool (*cathedra stercoris*), or obliged to pay a fine of 4/- to the bailiffs.

The trade of brewing and selling ale or beer was chiefly in the hands of females, both at Chester and elsewhere, until the middle of the 16th century. Thus, in a list of thirty persons admitted to sell beer with "sealed measures," temp. Henry IV., only one man is included, the remaining twenty-nine are the wives or female servants of inhabitants. The Latin name commonly used for a brewer has the feminine termination (*brasiatrix*), and as such appears frequently in the orders time of Richard II. and Henry IV. But it will be seen from an order of 3 Henry VII., directing the constables to summon the brewers in their ward to bring their measures to be sealed, that a change has taken place in the trade.

Of the brewers outside the Northgate five are men; only one a woman. Of the retail sellers, four are men, two are women. Inside the Northgate, eleven men and one woman are licenced to brew: five men and seven women sell by retail. Brewers outside Bridge Street are twelve males and two females. Brewers inside Bridge Street are twelve males and five females. Retail sellers, seven men and four women.

3 Hen. VII. Mem^m qd vi^{to} die Novembris preceptum fuit constabulariis tam infra le Northgate quam extra ex parte Majoris q'd presentarent super sacramentum suum omnes et tales brasiatores qui brasiant servicium in Wardam suam et q'd summonant omnes brasiatores dicte Warde q'd habeant mensuras suas sigillandas coram majore die Martis prox. futur'.

Nomina Brasiatorum extra le Northgate—Will^s. Croxton, Ric^{us} Wright, Joh^{es} Butler, Agnes Spencer, Thomas Armond, cum mensuris sigilland' ante diem Jovis.

Nomina eorum qui vendunt cervisiam in retallio—Joh^{es} Bruyne miller, Agnes Story, Will^s. Waltone, Johanna Sheparde, Rob^{tus} Wright, Rob^{tus} Knowesley.

Nomina eorum Brasiat. infra le Northgate—Joh^{es} Barowe jun., Joh^{es} Davidstone, Joh^{es} ap Ithell, Thomas Ffenton, Will^{us} Snede, Margareta

¹ 1563. All the fishmongers fined 2/- each—quia inchoch' omnes pisces fluviatiles and eos intrudunt in una shoppa et revendunt per les retayle.

An ale-wife is a prominent character in the Chester Mystery Plays, and her remarks (see ante page 314) go to show that her partners in trade bore an evil reputation for honesty and morality. The scandal was so great "to the marvill of strangers resorting" to Chester that the reforming Mayor, Henry Gee, 32 Henry VIII., to "eschew provocation of wantonny and braules, frays and other "inconvenyents as doth and may ensu amongst youth and light disposed persons," ordered that no taverns or ale-house should be kept within the city by any woman between fourteen and forty years of age.

Barbour, Rob^{us} Blakburne, Hugo Smythe, Will^s Pantre, Rob^{us} Walley, Edwardus Hoghton, Ric^{us} Sharpe.

Nomina eorum qui vendunt servisiam infra le Northgate—Elizabeth nuper uxor Rob. Smythe, Joh'es Masey, Will^s. Goldsmyth, Hamo Blakburne, Elena uxor Thome Pecocke, Agnet' Rediche, Margareta Erdley, E. Wyrvill, uxor Thome Baroe, uxor Joh'is Tildesley.

Consimiliter preceptum fuit dictis constabul' de Brugestrete et Honbrugge.

Nomina Brasiat' extra le Brugge strete: Null'. Hoell ap Res qui non sunt de libertate Civ. Cestrie David Chalnor, Mathew Johnstone, Hoell ap Res, Agnes Nores, Res ap Ili Wright, Res ap Robyn, Joh'es Hesharne, Katerina Dicone, David Chalnor, David ap John Taillour, Joh'es Croune, Elis ap Tudor, Jankyn Smyth, Joh'es Barker, uxor Rogeri Adame.

Nomina eorum qui sunt Brasiat' infra Brugge strete—Will^s. Donalde, Jacobus Norres, Rob^{us} Mynour, Will^s. Fraunces, Rogerus Burges, Joh'es Clarke, Rob^{us} Barowe, Margeria Wall, uxor Ric'i Huxley, Jemina Miller, Henricus Ffraunces, Rogerus Hurlton, Ric^{us} Birkenhede, Hugo Hurlton, Ric^{us} Smyth Mercer, Johanna Brynforde, Alicia Spencer.

Nomina qui vendunt in retallio—Margarita Acton, Will^{us} Crewe, Elena Huxter, Rogerus Cloes, Johanna Greth, ux. Thome Chaterton, Rob^{us} Barker, Petrus Halton, Donalde Baxter, Joh'es Huskonde, Ric^{us} Holyhed.

12. **70a.**—II. Gee, xii May—32 Henry VIII. Wher as all the
 Women not taverns and alehouses of this citie have and be used to be
 to keep kept by yong women otherwyse then is used in any other
 Alehouses places of this relme whereof all strangers resorting hether
 between greatly marvill and thinke it an unconvenyent use wherby
 14 and 40 not only grete slaunders and dishonest report of this citie
 years of age. hath and doth rune abroad in avoyding wherof and allso to exchew as well
 such grete occasions and provocation of wantonny and braules frays and
 other inconvenyents as therby doth and may ensu darye amongst youth
 and light disposid persons as allso damage unto ther masters and owners
 of the taverns and alehouses It is ordred by the said Mayre and his
 Brethren with the common counsell of the saide citie in the Assemble
 houlden the daye and yere above said that after the xth day of this next
 month of June next coming there shall no taverns nor alehouses be kept
 within the said citie by eny woman being betwene xiiii and xl yeres of
 age under payne of xl^s. to be forfyted by every man or woman that takyth
 or kepyth any servaunts contrary.

"10 March, 9-10 Elizabeth, Adam Goodman, alderman, is "bound in 40/- to kepe no kind of woman (after 20 March) except "his wife or daughter, to retaile any sort of wyne, ale, or bere in "the tavarne under his new dwelling house." Fifteen others are bound in the same terms, one of them being Foulk Aldersay, in whose case it is added "that Elizabeth Aldersay shall not sell in "the future. 15 December, 1567, Raulf Thornton, the younger, "merchaunt, was appointed by the maior to change his Tavarner "by the 20th daie of Christmas next, and to take into the same "ether a young man or ells an olde woman at that tyme and from "thensforth."

In the Mayor's books of 6 Henry IV. and 9 Henry V., is an order that "each breweress should sell the flagon (lagena) of better "beer when new at 1d., and the same when old at $\frac{1}{2}$ d." An order of 3 Aug., 32 Henry VIII., Henry Gee, Mayor, contains fuller particulars of the prices allowed. A croke of the best ale, containing four gallons, was to be sold for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., under *shaksciv*.¹ A gallon of best ale, being stale, was to be sold for ii $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; of second ale for 1d.; and of third ale at four gallons a penny. Those who refused to abide by this assize were to be fined 6/8. The gallon was declared to contain five wine quarts. (A.O. 17.) A later order (A.O. 42) fixes the price for the wholesale dealer at "4/- the barill of the best "sort, the caske to be of 36 gallons the barrel." The retailer was required (A.O. 47) to sell beer at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the quart, and ale not above 1d. the quart, with full measure, upon pain of imprisonment and fine. At the same time taverners were forbidden to sell wine, beer, or ale, or any other victuals on Sunday during divine service, or at any time after nine o'clock in the evening. (A.O. 50.)

The taverners, who might be of any trade (tanner, smith,

¹ This term "shakesive" may be explained by an order of 3 Hen. VII. (1486), that no breweress should brew beer under the sieve (*sub colo*) for one penny, in retail for 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. "*quod nulla brasiatatrix dicte civitatis brasiat servisiā sub colo pro uno denario, in retull'* 1d. qn." But it was an offence before this as, 2 Ric. 3, Thomas Wynstanley vendidit lagenam melioris servisie sub colo pro ii $\frac{1}{2}$ d. et ii $\frac{1}{2}$ d. ob.—fined 3 $\frac{1}{4}$. 6 more in Northgate Street, and 6 in Bridge Street. In the claim set forth by St. John's Hospital, 15 Hen. VII., Tolcestr' is explained "*hoc est esse quiet' de reddendo unu' costrum servisie qd continet in se sexdecim lagenas de nova servisia mensurata de subtus le shaksyf, pro licencia brasianti servisiā per totum annum.*"—*Harl.* 2115, 175.

Eliz. Hasilwell is fined 3/4, 1526, for selling *sub shakschippe* a lagena of beer for 2d. Nicholas Johnson the same year is fined xii $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for selling 1 croke of beer for 9d. against the Mayor's assize. No less than seventy-eight persons were fined 12d. each and 3/4 each this year for breaking the assize. 19 Hen. VIII. The wife of Peter Hole broke the assize by selling 1 croke for 8d.; forty others for selling a quart for 1d. four more for selling a cup (*ciphus*) for $\frac{3}{4}$ d. They are each fined 20d. and Roger Hore 2/-, for selling 3 gallons (lagenas) of myddell for 1d. 24 Hen. VIII. Johanna Dutton and six others for selling a quart del bere for 1d. contrary to the ordinance.

baker, tailor, cordwainer, goldsmith, &c.), entered into recognisances not to allow any unlawful games, or receive any suspect or disordered person or stolen goods; to maintain good order and rule.¹ This is but the enlarging of an order passed 19 Henry VII., but constantly infringed. 19 Henry VII. "Temp. Ric'i Godeman, "it is ordered by Maister Mayre and his brethern that no man "shall supporte no carders in his house betwix the day of making "hereof and the nativity of our Lorde next comyng, nother for "money, wyne nor ale, upon payne to ychon [each one] of the "xxviii^{or}. iii^s. iii^d., and to ychon of the citisins ii^s. and the players "to prisone at the Mayrs pleasure as ofte it may be provede. "Also, that every wyne taverne and ale solar and ale bower shall "be shutt in at ix of the Clocke."

The Mayors' books contain frequent entries of the disregard of this and like orders:—

38 Henry VIII., the Jury find that Richard Barker, Pewterer, and Elena, his wife, are of "evil rule," disturbing their neighbours; they receive servants and apprentices, and also have broken the assize of beer, *i.e.*, selling a pynte of ale and a pynte of beer for a halfpenny. They also have made breakfasts and dinners (*jantacta et prandia*) on Sundays before mass (*ante missam.*) Christiana Colhough is fined xii^d. for keeping servants and apprentices in her house. Margareta Dodeste for receiving goods of Thomas Monksfeld and others, stolen by their servants. 4 Edward IV., six persons fined xx^d. as common dysers and hazardours, and frequenting taverns beyond the hour and times limited within the city.²

¹ 5 Ed. VI. Rich. Wright, Tanner, *cognovit se debere domino Regi x libras*. The condition that yt Richard Wright, Tanner, so longe as the said Richard sell ale or bere in his house shall not use any unleafull games in any wyse prohibited by the Kynges lawes and statutes of this realme, But from tyme to tyme shall see, use, and mayntaine good order and rule to be hadd and used within his said house and shall not recepte any suspecte or mysordered person or persons in the same his house nor take any stollen goodes or other thinges in pledge or otherwyse which shalbe in any wyse unleafully come to to his knowledge. And also shall sell his ale and beare for a halfpenny the quarte and not above. And also his doores shall shutt in at boures leafull and not to kepe the same open after an undue boure. Then this recognisance be voyde and of no effect or else stande it in full strenghe, force and vertue.

The same for Laurence Jaslyn, Smythe; Thomas Yokyn, Inkeper; W^m. Cotgreave, Inkeper; William Sale, Baker; Rob^t. Johnson, Smyth; John Anyon, Tanner; Thomas Jackson, Tailiour; Peter Nicholas, Thomas Ratclyff, Will^m. Childe, Robert Hancocke, smythe; Thomas Burges, Tayliour; Thomas Johnson, lynnens draper; Margaret Richardson, Richard Cowldake, Cordwayner; Peter Conway, Goldsmith; Richard Rastley, Tayliour; Richard Boydel, Richard Croughton, Sherman; John Twysse, sherman; Will^m. Davy, Fyshemonger; Thomas Gobet, Baker; Will^m. Huntynghton, Smyth, Elizabeth Grymsdiche, widow; Rob^t. Yorke.

² 1592, Robert Passivall, card-maker, and Thomas Morgan, cook, fined 6/8 for receiving into their houses men's servants and others to play at "shoffull boorde."

Card playing (*cartæ lusoriæ*, *cartæ pictæ*) and playing at tables (*tabulæ lusoriæ*) is a frequent offence, heavily punished, and the moral character of the inns and taverns was distinctly low, notwithstanding the efforts of the authorities to prevent the harbouring of loose persons.

Sometimes the official mark on casks was forged, as in 1583, Thomas Aldersey, merchant, is presented because fifteen days or so before Christmas, he counterfeited the queen's guage mark on a cask of wine, which he sold to Sir Richard Bulkeley. [*Quia xv dies aut id circa ante festum Nativ' conterfecit le gauge mark domine Regine super unum le Hodge vini venditi ad usum Ric'. Bulkeley militis*]. 25 Henry VIII., two persons are presented for having counterfeited the mayor's seal made for sealing measures, and four others are fined for keeping false measures and selling with them various victuals.

In 1573 all beersellers were again reminded to give full measure, the quartpot to be filled full up to the top, to be seen full by the purchaser, and the pot always to remain without a lid.¹ When the ale was cleansed and a night and a day old the sign of a wooden hand was to be hung out at the window at the end of a wand, as a notice that beer was on sale, but after it was taken in no persons were allowed to remain drinking.²

The regulation about selling beer during Divine Service or Sermon on any Sunday or holiday was renewed in the mayoralty

¹ 1583. Two persons are fined 3/4 and 12^d. respectively for selling beer "in le black potts."

² 1573, Roger Lea, Mayor, it is commaunded that from hensforth non' shall sell any ale, within this Citie, above a halfpenny a quart, and the same quart wherein they sell it, to be filled full up to the topp, and to be seen full of such as shall have it, and the pott allwaies to remaine without a lidd, and when thale is clensted and of a nyght and a daie old, every of theyme sellenge the same ale shall put out the signe of a hand made of woode, hangynge at the end of a wand, out at some windor in the house, openly to be seen, there to remayne still, and not to be taken in, so longe as any ale in the said house is to be sold, and duringe the same tyme, non to be said naye to have a quart of ale for ob, neyther within nor without, requyring the same as aforesaid, upon payne to forfeit for every tyme beinge contrary vi^s. viii^d.

And upon the like payne non to have any persons drinkinge within their houses after the said hand is taken in, And all such as sell bere by retaile, shall sell in like case iii pintes of bere for ob, under like payne, condicon and penalte. Fyrst the shalbe of good order and shall use no unfeull games in ther howses, ner to logge any suspect person. Item the shall sell a quarte of ther best ale for a halfpenny and shall fyll the quarte and set yt upon the borde and shall not fyll eny into the pot them selfs but the byers to do that themselves onely. Item the shall sell of ther best ale to all men that wyll send for yt a halfpennye every quarte and shall denye no man when he requyre yt. Item the shall not deny to serve eny man under the shakesyff by the crokes owt off ther howses and shall receive off no man above viii^d. the croke for ther bere. And off ther setulde [settled] ale the shall denye no person, except before excepted, to serve them by the croke and not take above the rate of ob the quarte.

of Henry Hardware, 1575, and it was part of the duty of Churchwardens to visit alehouses during the service to ascertain whether this regulation was observed. [A.O. 247.]

There are not many references to drunkenness or persons indicted for intoxication.¹ But 31 October, 1577, the Mayor, Thomas Bellin, "calling to remembrance that the moste disorders "happening within the citie arise through common dronkards and "other frequenters of alehouses and wine taverns," directs all brewers and alesellers to enter into bonds "for the preservation of "good rule, and to avoid all unlawfull games, &c." He also forbids any one not franchised to sell beer or to "keep any common "house of victualling," with the view of controlling such places, and he orders the doors of all taverns and victualling houses to be kept shut until divine service and sermon be fully ended.²

The very large number of persons engaged in the sale of beer may be gathered from the report of this year, that 310 fines were inflicted for selling their beer at 1^d. the quart contrary to the order, and fifty-two others for selling beer, not being free. The punishment of these last was a "fine of 20/- with three daies of "imprisonment and bonde to sell no more." The other fines varied from 3/4 to 13/4. Several of these fines would be inflicted

¹In 1575, Robert Hall and another are presented as drunken and idle persons, and passing their time in such manner. Richard Gunner is a drunken person, a blasphemor, and dishonourer of God and a disturber of his neighbors.

²31 Eliz.—Galfrid Cook, Fyshmonger, sedebere xls. Condition that if the above (allowed to brue to sell ale) doe from tyme to tyme hereafter (so long as he shalbe admitted so to doe) observe and keep good rule and order in his house and in all other parts of his and at no time, in this meane while, do permitt and suffer therein, any Bawdry, suspect person nor persons, stollen goods, disorder nor eny other unleafull game or games prohibited by eny Statute Lawe of this Realme otherwise then is permitted and sufferable by the same estatute lawes, and also if the said Jeffrey Cook by himself nor by any other for him, doe not (any time of this his admittaunce) utter or sell any Ale or Beere or suffer eny person to remaine drinke in his howse, cellar or eny other place of his, duringe the tyme of Divine Service or sermon upon eny Sondaie or holy daie, nor doe permitt eny person to remaine in his howse, cellar, or any other place of his drinke eny night: nor any his doores open, after the hower of ixth of the clock, except for his homes gests and for lefull and reasonable cause: nor suffer eny person to lodge therin, but *such for whom he will answer* [a survival of the system of View of Frankpledge.] And also if the said Jeffrey Cook by him self or by any other for him at any time or tymes hereafter so longe as he shalbe admitted to brue to sell or sell ale doe not brue to sell nether yet sell eny kinde or sorte of ale or beere but suche as shalbe altogether good and holsome, and have sufficient and resonable provicion of such good and holsome ale according to his havinge at all tymes hereafter. And during all the same time doe utter and sell of his best ale good and holsome for a penny the quart and not above—and alsoe during the same time do utter and sell of his second sorte of ale of the said measure and goodness after the rate of one halfpenny the quart and not above, and of the smallest sorte of his ale after the rate of two gallons the penny, and observe all lawfull orders, &c., and hange out his lanterns accordingly, &c.

on the same person more than once, but when allowance is made for this, it appears that 121 persons were fined at one and the same session. In 1589, at the different sessions during the year, 94, 124, 20, 130, 93 (Alderman Rogerson amongst them) were fined 2/6 or 6/8 each for breaking the assize. The income from this trade was then very considerable.

Numbers of non-free persons were fined for selling bread and beer in 1 Edward VI., 53; 2 Edward VI., 52; and it is noteworthy that the persons engaged in such sale belonged to various trades, occupations, and rank of life, including the clericus and capellanus, the goldsmith, the weaver, the sadler, the tailor, as well as the baker. 2 Philip and Mary, seventy-eight were presented for selling beer in illicit measures. 1569, forty-three are fined 3/4 each for selling beer when not free; eighty-eight are fined 20^d. for not keeping the assize of the clerk of the market; two for not filling the pots of beer; ten are fined for selling beer in vessels not sufficiently gnauged (*non sufficienter gagiāt*) fifty cados, eighty cados, ten cados. The same complaint is made of a glover and a weaver. Laurence Smith, goldsmith, is fined 5/- for selling beer for a penny the quart, not being licensed. William Ball is presented 11 Elizabeth, 1569, the year after his tenure of the mayoralty was over, and fined 20/- because when mayor he had sold and exposed for sale in his house and cellar beer and other victuals on Sunday during divine service, and kept and frequented in his house and cellar cards, 'tables,' and other unlawful games. Two years before, 1567, though an alderman, he had been fined for carrying his beer about on holy days ("*servisias suas vocat*" *Bere super les dradgē diebus festis.*") John Cook, clericus, is fined 12^d. for selling beer when not free.

In 1560 complaint is made that beer-brewers instead of supplying barrels of thirty-six gallons (A.O. 42) sold small barrels "scarcely twenty-four galons the pece." An order was passed enforcing the former rule, and directing the Coopers' Company to provide barrels of the authorised size. The rate to the brewers was to be 3/8 the barrel, 1/10 the half-barrel, the firkin of nine gallons 11^d., "the crouke" 6^d., fyrkyne 8^d. (A.O. 73.) The brewers, however, refused to fetch the new barrels, and were indicted and fined (A.O. 74.)

The Assize of Ale in 1561 was fixed to be "a London quarte id. "[London Can, A.O. 321]; a croke under shaksyve xii^d.; a croke "setteliid xiii^d.; iii gallons small id. Bere only—i wyne quart ob'; "i bz of best vs.; i bz small ii^v. vi^d.; i crooke viii^d.; iii gallons "small id." 26 Elizabeth, the assize was directed to be "by the

"great garth Can of the best of bothe sortes for ob', the garth Can "and not above." (A.O. 484.) 28 Elizabeth, "Best ale id. the quart; "beere ob' the quart, good and holsome." (A.O. 548.) In 1567 (A.O. 94) the brewers were forbidden to sell henceforward by retail, on pain of 6/8 for every cup, pot, quart, or pint sold, and disfranchisement. In 1595, a certain number of beer and ale brewers were admitted to sell "in grosse," and another body allowed to be "retailers," but not to brew themselves.

A statute of Henry VIII. forbade hops to be used. 25 Hen.VIII. Elizabeth Coke and Johanna Dudson are fined each 6^d. for putting "*les hopen in servisia*" contrary to the statute. 1595, another person is fined 20/- for selling "*servisiam lupulatam*." Rogers (*History of Agriculture*) distinguishes Ale from Beer, as "fermented wort, to "which nothing was added which should flavour or preserve it. "Beer was ale to which hops had been added"; Boorde, *Dyetary*, 1542, observes, "Bere is made of malte, of hoppes, and water: it is "a naturall drynke for a Dutche man. And nowe of late dayes it is "moche used in Englande to the detryment of many Englysshe "men."

Though there are so many regulations about beer and ale in the Chester records, and though wine was imported in considerable

Session of 14 Nov., 37-8 Eliz. Yt was considerably deliberated upon by the said Maior and Justices of peax, what course and order might be best taken, both for the well victualing of thinhabitants of this Citie and others repayinge to the same, with Ale and Beere for this yeare to come as also for the reasonable gaine of the bruers and retaylors thereof and good governement of this Citie, and the dearth of Malt, servants, wages, fuell and other circumstance well considered of; whereupon yt is now at this sessions fullie concluded and agreed upon that a certaine number of Beere and Ale Bruers shalbe admitted and allowed to be retaylors of ale and beere and that all suche as shalbe admitted to brue to sell shall sell by whole sale in grosse and not by retaile, And all those that shalbe admitted to sell by retaile ale or beere shall not at any tyme this yere brue to sell neither ale nor beere but only take in of the bruers both ale and beere in grosse and all the same and none other utter and sell by retaile by such casks Rate and Assize as shalbe geven and assigned by the said Maior Clerk of the Market within the Citie from time to time and upon such banes as are warrantred and appoynted by statute lawe in that behalf.

755. 3 Nov., 32 Eliz. And further it is at this Assembly fully
Brewers agreed upon by the said Maior the Aldermen the sheriffes and
and Comen Councell of the said Citie that every Alderman or his
Bakers to be deputy of every warde within the said Citie and Constables
surveyed, therof shall hensforth every moneth survey and vewe all
maner brewers bakers and Malte makers within this Citie there howses
ovens and kilnes whether meet to contynue suche there bruinge bakeinge
and Malte makeinge in those severall places and therof to certefy Mr Maior
at every monethes end upon paine that every of them makeinge therof
defalte shall forfecte v^s tociens quotiens.

quantities, the references to the sale of it by retail are comparatively infrequent. An assize was taken 17 Richard II., in the Common Hall, when a gallon of red Gascony wine was priced at 6^{d.} and a gallon of white rupelle at 4^{d.}, order being made accordingly; and it was directed that no wine was to be sold except in sealed measures. In Elizabeth's reign, 1569, one vintner is fined 3/4 for selling Gascoyne wine for 4^{d.} the quart [*quamlibet ollam vocat' quart*],¹ and two others for charging 8^{d.} a quart for seck.

Wine was evidently consumed in draught, as no allusion can be found to bottles or flasks. Beer, however, was the favourite liquor in Chester, and the names of vintners occur but seldom. They were required, like the beer sellers, to hang out at their wine taverns a lantern with candle. (A.O. 1555). In London the signpoles were not to project more than three feet, which apparently gives the breadth of the footpath. It is very probable that the same regulation was enforced in Chester.

The Earl's Prisage or Custom consisted of two casks of every cargo of wine brought into Port. Thus in the Ministers' Accounts of 13-14 Edward II. (771,9), two casks were taken as prisage from the Holirode Cogge, a ship belonging to William de Doncastre, putting in to Chester in July, valued at £8; two casks from a ship of John Gabriel, a citizen of Winchester, in August, which were sold, one to Robert de Hulton for 64/8, the other, containing wine unusually weak, to John de Maclesfield for 53/4. In a Computus of 31 Edward III., John de Bramham, Chamberlain of Chester, accounts for such prisage received from a ship of Chepstow belonging to Richard le Ward, unloaded at the Red Bank.²

Assisa vini tenta die Lune prox' post festum Annunc.
 Beate Marie anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi xviii^{mo} in com-
 muni aula civitatis Cestrie per sacramentum Roberti Danyell,
 17 Ric. II. Johannis de Bebyngton, Thome Hurell, Johannis le Barbour,
 Will'i Blakhood, Roberti Coly, Johannis de Arkle, Will'i de Prestebury,
 Johannis de Thumhull, Will'i de Whytemore, Will'i Kempyn et Johannis
 Wygan Juratorum. Qui dic' super sacramentum suum quod lag' vini
 Vascoign rub' valet vi^{d.} et lag' vini de rupella alba valet iii^{d.} super quo
 eodem die proclamatum fuit assisa predicta et quod nullus vendat vinum
 nisi cum mensura sigillata.

¹ 21 Ric. II. Isabella, late servant of Robert Lancelyn, not of the franchise, is presented for selling Gascoyne wine to the value of 20 marcs with measures not sealed, from St. Michael's Day to the feast of the Ascension. She was a common regrator and forestaller of fruit and poultry. 1570, Edmund Hanmer, Will. Godeman, Will. Aldersey, are fined each 40/- for buying a certain contract or bargain of wine from a certain foreigner. 1570, 16 persons fined 20/- for selling wine contrary to regulations.

² Hist. 2082, 86.

In 16 Edward IV. the prisage in kind is commuted for a money payment of 2/- a cask.¹

The Assembly book contains an order for the appointment of certain officials to "taste" the wines. (A.O. 359).

The care which was taken in providing for the supply of good and sound wares is shown by the regulations about the supply of torches, the yarn for which had first to be submitted to the stewards of the barbers and wax-chandlers.²

In Edward the 6th's reign, 1550, a large quantity of tallow having been brought into the city, it was ordered that candles were to be sold for ii^d. the pound. The price was raised in 1571 to iii^d. a pound, for "Robert Annion is ordered not to sell any tallow "above the price of iii^s. the stoun, and not to any but to citizens.

360. Prisage and Butlership of Gascoyne Wines.	Rich. Bavande, maior, vith April, 24 Eliz., motion is made of a graunte from Sir Richarde Bulkeley Knighte to this citie of prisage and butlership for xii yerres for the rente of two tons Gascoyne wyne of the best and choise wyne or in defalte that no wyne soe to be choise to paye xxiiii^{li} soe many of the same yerres, as noe such choise wyne shalbe had. And it is now at this Assembly by the said Maior, Aldermen, Sherifs and Comen Councell upon due deliberacon and consideracon thereof had ordered and agreed upon that the Citie shall accepte of the same graunte for that it is thoughte beneficiall.
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35. Sale of Candles	Item yt ys at an assemble houlden ye said daye and yere [1550] by ye said maire Recorder aldermen sheriffs & common counsell of this citie that do mayke or hereafter shall mayke any tallow candyles to sell do in any wyse by exchange or other wyse sell ye same candles above ii^d. ye pound upon payne of forfyture for every pound of candles sould above ii^d. the pound 6^s. 8^d.
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49.	1556. Ordered that all and every the inhabytants of this Citie which shall and nede to buy any candels to be spent in their houses shall every tuesday weekly resorte unto William Smeythes shopp in the Watergate Strete, Barber, wher every of the same inhabitants shalbe servid for ther owne houses for iii^d. a pound upon payne of Impresment of their bodies and making fyne accordingley.
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¹ De xlviij^o. rec' de Rolando Alienigen' de Britan' Magistro cujusdam navis le Katerina de St. Malow de Britan' pro custum' xxiiii^{or} dol. de quadam nave applicante apud Neston infra portum Civitatis Cestrie mense maii unde Dominus Princeps ut Comes Cestrie habebit de custuma cujusdam dolii ii^s. ab antiquo usitat' et pris' vini aliquarum navium indigen' unde dictus dominus princeps habebit de qualibet navi applicante infra portum ibidem duo dol. vini ab antiquo usitato hoc anno.

² 25 Hen VIII. Temp. W. Godeman, 9 June. It is ordred by the said Maire, Recorder, Sheriffs Aldermen and common counsaile &c. for the common welth thereof, and true maykng of torches, that no person ne persons of the occupacon of barbours and waxchaundelours within the citie drenche eny yorne or other stuff whatsoever it be, to make torches thereof unto suche tyme as he or they have shewed the same yorne and stuff to the stiwards of the said occupacion for the tyme beyng, and opteyn licens of the said stiwards to dreache the same, opon payn of every tyme that he or they do the contrary to forfeitt iii^s. iiiij^d., to be levied by the Sheriffs for that tyme beyng, and payd to the said occupacon without eny pardon therof.

"Henry Mouchy not to sell above iii^d the pounce of candell, and "every pounce of full weight." This price, however, was so low that citizens purchased for their friends in the country, exhausting the supply. The chandlers were therefore allowed in 1576 to charge $3\frac{1}{2}^d$, on condition of keeping a sufficient stock, without denial to any citizens.

18 Nov., 18 Eliz. H. Hardware, Mayor. And where alsoe
 254. Tallow complaints hath bene made to this assembly that albeit the
 Chandlers to said maier have hadd before him tallowchaundlers of this City
 sell for towelinge the sellinge of their candelles & provision to serve
 und. the pounce. the city with all. And albeit every of them have entred
 bounden severallie to sell their candells for iii^d . the pounce & not above &
 to have sufficient provision thereof to serve the city & others the quenes
 subjects repaireing to the same, the whole company of tallow chandlers
 (William Grene excepted) have neither hadd sufficient provision of candells
 to serve accordinglie neither have observed the saide rate and pryce
 thereof; And wher allsoe the saide company of tallowchaundlers have
 exhibited to this assembly their peticon or supplicacon declaringe the
 wante of tallowe to be partlie thoeacon thereof. And allsoe for that they
 beinge tyed & bounden by their saide bands to serve all personnes at the
 pryce of iii^d . the pounce, under color thereof the citizens of this city doe
 buy provide and take upp of them at the saide pryce all their candells as
 shortlie as are made as well to serve their frends & others in the countrey
 as themselves, & thierby gathereth such resorte of buyers that they have
 not neither can provide sufficient to the Citie withall & thereby requested
 that they mighte be licensed & admytted to sell their candells for iii^d . ob.
 the pounce which, if it mighte be obteyned, they wolde assure to serve the
 Citie & all others the better & kepe that pryce accordinglie whose peticon
 & requeste beinge deliberatlie heard wayed & considered, It is nowe
 ordered in consideracon of the wante of tallowe & other the premisses that
 the saide tallowchaundlers shall from hencefurth untill the feast of Easter
 nexte cominge without frawde gru or deceipte utter & sell all suche
 candells as they shall make or cause to be made for iii^d . ob. the pounce
 without denial thereof to any person or persons & not above.

And that every of the saide tallowchaundlers from tyme
 255. Chandlers to kepp sufficient stock. to tyme in that meanwhile have sufficient stock & provision of
 good & substanciall candells to serve the quenes majesties
 subjects therewith. And alsoe it is further ordered that
 ordenary proees shalbe awarded against every the saide
 tallowchaundlers (the saide Willm. Grene excepted) upon the forfeitures
 of their Recognizance in that behalf & recoveryes thereupon hadd &
 therupon exeecuon & every of them (the said Willm. Grene excepted) after
 recoveryes thereof had in exeecuon & thereinto remayne untill they therof
 were discharged by open assembly. And it is further ordered that after
 the saide former Recognizance answered in forme above remembered that
 every of the saide talowchaundlers shall enter bounden in like Recogni-
 zance for the utteringe & sellinge of their candells for iii^d . ob. the
 pounce & not above & for the better provision in servinge the City &
 Contrey therewith as shalbe thought conveniente & nedeful to the saide
 maier.

In 1581 the price was again reduced, and Thomas Bilden and three others are bound in sureties "to make and have sufficient provision of Tallow Candells to serve the Citie of Chester, and "not to sell Candells above ⁱⁱⁱd. the pound, and to serve all people "willingly therewith at that price, and not above."

The Cappers were the subject of several orders designed to protect their trade against undue interference, the company appearing in Henry VIII's reign to be decayed and damaged by the action of the Mercers, notwithstanding that successive Mayors, Henry Porte, (2 Henry VII), Edward Middleton (16 Henry VIII.), Henry Gee (26 Henry VIII.), issued orders in their favour.

Cappers I. 2 Hen. VII., Temp. Henrici Porte. It is ordeignede by the said mayre and xxiiiiⁱ and xlviⁱⁱ, opon Monday next before all Halowday, that there shall no felt capps by ne make to be bought nor Englishe Wolle to make hatts of, ne to sett no maner of women to drawe no hatts but worche oute that stuff w^t in theym be custymed day next coming in payn of forfeiting of xl^s. the on half to the shireffs and other half to the comyn box. Also there shall no man ne woman sett no bonetts out of their house to knytte but such as ar down lying and uprissing at mete and wage and, if thei do the contrarie, to forfeit xl^s. on half to the shireff, and thother half to the comyn box. Also that no maner persone ne persones shall weshe no clothes from Dee brugge unto the hyngyng stones in payn of forfeitng ⁱⁱⁱⁱd. to the Shireffs as ofte, &c.

Cappers II. 16 Hen. VIII., Temp. Ed. Middleton. It is ordred by the forsaide maire and his brether that for asmoch as the mercers of this [Citie of Chester] . . . tyme have used to bye and sell by retayle all maner of [caps] as well London ware as of the making of other Townes [and places] in this Realme of Englounde, whiche is thought to be prejudiciall [and moche hurtfull] to the companye and feliship of the mysterie and feliship of Cappers [in the] same citie And by reason therof the same Companye and Craftismen of Cappers of the said citie be in grete dekaye, and for Reformacyon therof at the humbly peticion of the said Cappers and felishippe; It is ordret by Ed. Myddelton, maire of the seide by the assent and counsell of the Aldermen and Common Counsell of the same Citie^r [that] from hensforthe non of the said feliship or Crafte of Mercers of the said citie shall nether bye nor sell eny Cappes to be bo'ght or sold for or after the value and rate only of xii^s. the dosen or under. And if eny person of the seid mercers do to the contrarye that then thouse that so shall do for every tyme so offendyng shall forfeite fourty shillings, the oon halfe therof to be payd to the Stuards of the seid Cappers for the tyme beynge, and the other halfe therof to the Tresorers of the seid citie. Providet always that it shall be leifull to eny of the said mercers to utter and sell all suche bonetts as they nowe have bo'ght under xii^s. the dosen, so that they nor non of theym from hensforthe do bye, ne sell eny cappes under the seid prise, but only suche as they nowe have. And further it is ordret by the seid Maire and Counsell that non other personne of what degree or misterie so ever he be other then eny of the seid feliship of Mercers and Cappers shall sell any cappes of what value

so ever they shall be within the seid citie other then suche as they nowe have upon like payne and someof money to be forfeite and payd in lyke maner and forme as is above rehersed.

This same order of 16 Henry VIII. is recited in full in an order of 26 Henry VIII. by Henry Gee, Mayor, with the following addition: Therefore it is eftsones ordred by the consent of Henry Gee, Maire of the said Citie, his brethren aldermen, &c., at Assemblie holden in the said Pentice the xiith day of October in the xxvith yeare of the reign of King Henry VIII. that the said former order and article therein conteyned shalbe and stand in his full strength . . . eny maner suche forther busynes, vexacon, collucion, or covyn hereafter be used among the said occupacion of mersers afore this tyme hath ben used among the same occupacion of mersers as is aforesaid.

The Tailors complain, 16 Elizabeth, of the Drapers intermeddling, by cutting and sowing garments, whereupon the mayor and sheriffs send for the stewards of the Drapers and forbid them, under a penalty of £40, from intermeddling.¹ In like manner Richard Bartla of Wein, a pedler, is bound in £5 not to deal in ironmongery, except at fair time. The Assembly Book contains similar entries relating to the supervision of the Barber-Surgeons, Wrights and Slaters, Sadlers, and Coal Merchants.

772. 12 March, 33 Elizabeth. And at the same Assemblie it was
Measures ordered concluded and agreed upon by the said maior the
of Coal. aldermen sheriffes and Comen Councell that the great Cole
barrell and a like half barrell shalbe hensfurth made and used with in this
Citie at all tymes for the measuringe of all the Coles cominge into this
Ryver to be sould upon payne of fyve shillinges to be forfected and payde
by every owner of such Coles refusinge to measure therewith.

777. 30 July, 33 Eliz. And at the same Assemblie Mr. Maior
Company of delivered the corporacon of the wrightes and sclaters lettinge
Wrightis to understand of their great exacons of the Citizens and
and servants wherby they deserved to be disfraunchised and
Slaters. their Corporacon dissolved. Whereupon it is thought most meete that
Mr. Maior doe call before him the Aldermen and Stewerdes thereof and take
them in bonde for redresse and remedy of all such wronges oppressions
and injuries by them and their Company formerly comitted and that the
like hereafter be not comitted and in the meane tyme their Corporacon to
be retayned and alsoe receive and geve from time to time such wages as
shalbe appointed by the Maior for ye time beinge.

¹ 22 Feb., 16 Eliz. Mem. that the Aldermen and Stewards of the Tailors delivered unto the said Maior and Sheriffs the Quenes Majesties wryt of monition to suppress and put downe all those drapers which use and trade their occupacon. Whereupon the said maior sent for Adam Jonson and Edward Trever, Stewards of the Drapers, and enjoyned them and all others of their occupacon upon paine of xliⁱⁱ that nether they nor eny other of thoooccupacon of drapers aforesaid at any tyme hereafter doe not exercise use nor occupy in cutting nor sowinge of any garment or other thing which merly doth or ought to belonge or appertaigne to the occupacon of tailors aforesaid, untill the said drapers have duly and orderly proved that it is and shalbe lefull for them so to doe.

802. Charge of receiving Northern Wares. 28 Jan., 34 Eliz. Alsoe where Richard Ince sadler was bounden to appere heere for receavinge into his howse of Northern wares belonginge to the occupacon of a sadler and to answer the fyne supposinge it againste the orders in that behalfe hath appeared and upon relacon and examinacon of this cause and upon the allegacon of the same Ince that his Customer served him all the yeere with such like comodities and as accustomed soe sent he to him the same wares; he was by this Assemblie discharged payinge the hallage and Levelokers Custome.

849. Barbor Surgeons' Prayer. 19 Oct., 35 Eliz. And moreover at this Assembly the Barbor Surgeons have exhibited their bill againste forren surgeons prayinge that they may be excluded or ells to enter into bandes not to trade their occupacons within the saide Citie hereafter It is now at this Assembly fully ordered that all such offenders shall be called before Mr. Maior and Constrayned to shewe their lycens of admittance or ells be restrayned.

The Mayors' Books record cases where craftsmen are charged with producing bad work. Thus, 8 Henry VI. (1429), a shoemaker is indicted for selling shoes of his own workmanship insufficiently made, to the prejudice of the Company of Shoemakers—the penalty being £10.

The most frequent instances of the exercise of this right of supervision are those relating to the Butchers, the Bakers, and the Brewers. The Butchers are frequently presented for selling bad meat, breaking the mayor's assize, and refusing to supply the citizens at a moderate price. Sometimes the whole body of the Butchers are indicted, as in 27 Henry VIII., the usual fine being xii^d.

27 Henry VIII. Et quod omnes supra nominati carnifices dictis die anno et loco et diversis aliis pluribus diebus et temporibus antea et postea per servientes suos separatim plurima intralia bestiarum necatarum in fossat' et aliis locis infra, circa et prope civitatem predictam et muros ejusdem posuere et jacuere vi et armis et contra pacem dicti domini regis. Et quod predicti carnifices diversis vicibus et temporibus recusaverunt vendere carnes suas pro precio secundum formam statuti inde edit' in magnum nocumentum, &c. Et quod idem carnifices vendiderunt carnes corruptas et fregerunt assisam carnis contra formam statuti inde editi, &c.

An order is set forth in the Pentice Chartulary "how Bochers "shall sell fleshe," which exhibits much forethought for the health of the community. It contains an early reference to the "Butcher's Quarter."

Pentice Chartulary, 82a. *How bochers shall sell fleshe.* The head mynysters by thassent of the commynaltie ought to chuse every yeare foure leafull & faithfull men of every warde within the said cittie or towne which shall be sworne afore the sayde mynisters to oversee the buyinge & sellinge of fleshe in his warde during the yeare in forme followinge: imprimis every bocher shall sweare to presente to the saide supervysors every beaste by him boughte sone after the buyinge, afore he be killed of what kynde soever he be & shall certefy to them the true pryce

of the same beaste & therefore to alowe to him as hereafter followeth, *i.e.*, of every callfe boughte for ii^s. vi^d. or within, the bocher shall have of profett for his labor the hedde, the skyn & the inwardes of the callfe & no more : & in the same manner he shall have of all shepe clipped, &c., & allsoe of eny beaste bought for eny price betwene the some of ii^s. vi^d. & tenne shillinges the same bocher shall for himselfe of lucre of every shillinge a penny & the inward & the hedde & the feete of the beaste for his servauntes labour, the hyde & the tallowe excepte, &c. Allsoe of every beaste for a derer price above the saide some of tenne shillinges the bocher shall have to him allowed of every shillinge twoe pennce, & for his servauntes the intraille & the feete of the beaste & no more (the hyde & the talowe & the head excepte), & to be sould in forme aforesaid, &c. And allsoe the saide mynysters & the supervisors every weeke twice, *i.e.*, Monday at nighte & the Fryday in the morninge, the howses & shoppes of the saide bochers to serche & knowe of fleshe ther remayninge unsolde, & that then suche fleshe oughte to be salted & powdered with salte & pro smoi [?] carn' vendere debere & non pro carnibus restent.' And all these in this fleshe not to be kepte unsalted above twoe days in the somer tyme. And who-soever doeth contrary to this ordinaunce he shallbe grevouslye punished by the said hed mynysters by the presentmente of the saide supervisors, &c.

Twenty-two of the Company, 2 Edward VI., are fined $\frac{3}{4}$ each for "selling their victuals over dere," and three more are subjected to the penalty of xii^d. for not selling according to the statute. The mayor, William Jewet, 20 Elizabeth, had to deal with an obstinate confederacy of the whole body of Butchers. On Saturday, one of the market days, 30 May, he found that none of them had slaughtered any beasts or had any meat ready for the citizens' use. He sent for the officers of the company, who alleged that the oxen in the country had been bought out of their hands. This, however, was an excuse, the real reason being their displeasure at his having introduced "foreign," *i.e.*, non-free butchers into the city, for whom new shambles were provided. He therefore committed the whole company to the Northgate Gaol. Here they remained for several days until they made their submission, and in consideration of the heat of the weather, the straightness of room in the gaol, the lamentable wailing of the wives and children, and the promise to serve the city faithfully henceforward they were liberated.

304.
Confederacy
of
Butchers.
—
The whole
Company
Committed to
Northgate
Gaol for not
providing
flesh to serve
the City.

175a.—William Jewet, maior. Whereas William Jewet, maior of the citie of Chester and clerke of the market within the same city this present xxxth day of May anno regine Elizabeth, &c., vicesimo, being Saterday the markett day within the city aforesaide, overseeing the Company of the comon Butchers within this City whether every of them had then sufficient provision of all kynds & sortes of good & holsome victualls to serve thinhabitants of the citie aforesaid & others repayinge to the same city accordinge to there faculty & habilities, founde that the said Company nor any of them had then any kinde or sort of beist slaughtered killed or made redy for that day nether anie provision thereof at all to the

great slander of the maiestrate & officer & to the noe litle want of thinhabitants & other repayinge to the same. Whereupon the said maior called before him maintainant [immediately] as well the aldermen & stewardest of the said compeny as allsoe the reste thereof in examynac'on of the said default, & being charged therewith colored there such abuses & offens alledginge by reason that the Oxen in the cuntreys adjoyninge were bought out of there haunds & that they cold not have any. Whereupon for that the same suche abuse & offens was thought to have ben a confederacy among the said Compeny premeditated before in contempt of the quenes majestie's lawes & to the disworship of the maiestrate & dispite of thinhabitants & for displeasure for that he the said maior being clerk of the market as before is said upon former abuses of the said compeny & for the better provision of fleshe to serve this city & at more reasonable price hath admitted forren butchers to repaire to this citie to sell & utter fleshe here upon the market daies for certaine howers. Therefore the said maior comitted to the Gaole of the Northgate within the said citie the said compeny of butchers, whiche compeny upon the next morow after beinge upon the Sonday exhibited there supplicacon unto the said maior & his brethren to be sett at libertie coloringe there saide defalte as before & withall further thereby opened such matter as suche there doinge was made knowen to be for dispite of the repayinge to this citie of the foren Butchers. And upon the Monday then next followinge Roger Bryne one of the Aldermen of the said Compeny, Thomas Jamson, alias Wright, & Thomas Holbruck stewardest thereof, Robert Annion, Thomas Fissler, Rauf Tomlinson, John Birth the yonger & John Thomas cam with there under keper before the said maior and sondry of his brethren being sent for by the said maior & beinge demaunded to lay there hands upon the booke to answere to such matters towchinge the said offens upon their othes as the maior shuld demande them, the said Robert Annion, Thomas Fissler, Rauf Tomlinson, John Thomas, & John Birth refused soe to doe, whereupon they the same Robert Annion, Thomas Fissler, Rauf Tomlinson, John Birth, & John Thomas were remaunded to the said Gaole, & the said Roger Bryne, Thomas Jamson alias Wright, & Thomas Holbruck receyved there othes & beinge demaunded by the said maior where was there laste meetinge and whether they had concluded before hande at that meetinge or anie other tyme that they should not have any provision of beist the said Saturday the said Thomas Wright answered that they had there laste metinge this day sevenight & that at that same meetinge they concluded & agreed amonge them selves that all such beist whiche they had shuld be preserved & kept for Whitson even & Trenitie even next comeinge & that they shuld not kill anie beist for the said Saturday the said XXXth. of May & the said Roger Bryne & Thomas Holbruk deposed severally the like in effect & thereupon were remaunded to the said gaole whose deposicions & sayings were put in writinge. Upon whose sayings & depositions the saide maior after consideracon & conferans with Mr. Recorder, And other his brethren there the Justices of peace, & perceyvinge suche confederacy to be within the compasse of the statute in that case provided determynd to call & did call a prevey Sessions the next morrow the second of June beinge upon Tuesday & then caused an indictment thereof to be made accordingly, which indictment by the inquest then taken was founde againste the said now Butchers. Whereupon allsoe the said maior had further con-

sideracon with his said brethren towching the said compeny, who the thirde of this June exhibited unto the said maior & his brethren submission acknowledging there falts & promisinge to stande to what order & direction it wold please Mr. Maior and his brethren to take in that behalff. The tennor of which submisson followeth in the words. To the right worshipfull Will'm Jewet, maior of the citie of Chester & others of his worshipfull brethren. In moste humble wise beseechen your worships, your Orators the Aldermen & Stewards of the Societie and Compeny of Butchers within the citie of Chester & all others of the same compeny now prisoners in the Gaole of the Northgate within the said city. That whereas your orators beinge free citezens within the said city and of one compeny & fellowship of victulers within the city aforesaid called the butchers occupacon are as well by the lawes of this Realme as allsoe by your worships orders & lefull constituc'ons bounde soe to provide & have in store sufficient victualls of all sorts as the said citie & others the quenes majestie's subjects & leige people repayinge to the same may be provided & sufficiently served therewith. But soe it is, right worshipfull, that your orators upon there owen self wills without any due consideracon had, either of the lawes of this Realme or of there duties to your worships, upon Saterdag laste paste did faile of & had not sufficient fleshe called beist nor yet non at all within the said city slaughtered nor ready to serve the said city therewith nor any others repayinge to the same, whereby the want thereof greatly appeared to the noe little disworship of the majestates, in your orators defalte: for which misdemaenor your orators were moste justly comitted to the gaole of the northgate within the said Citie, & there remayne. And like as your orators doe hereby confesse & acknowledge there said defalte, & that they for the same have right well deserved this their ponishmente & muche more, soe your orators moste humblie beseechen your worships for gods sake & in respecte they have noe other trade or meane to gett their lyveinge withall but by the saide occupae'on whereby to mayntayne there wives & sundry small children beinge manie in number, to dispence with your orators for the said defalte & offence & y^t it wold please your worships to take such direction and order in the premisses as to your worships shalbe thought convenient & thereupon to set your orators at libertie, which direction & order your orators shall most willingly stand unto & obey, & soe indeavour themselves to have suche sufficient provisyon hereafter of all kynds and sort of fleshe & at reasonable prices to the uttermost of your orators habilities & power to suffice thinhabitants of this city & all others repayinge to the same as your worships shall have noe cause to mislike of your orators as knoweth the lord who preserve your worships in health with muche encrease of worship longe to contynue. Which being well waied & considered, & consideringe allsoe the lamentable waylinge & humble submission of the said compeny, there great charge of wives & children, their imbesilitie & wekeness, & danger of the tyme beinge verey fervent hottwether, the compeny many in number, & the straightnes of Rome in the saide gaole & at the erneste request of sundry of his brethren, the saide maior the saide third of this June have not onely respected & differred thexecue'on of the saide inditement & the fines & penalties that thereupon ought to ensue untill he shall have further tryall & prof of the amendement of the saide compeny & of there honeste & sufficient victualinge of the citie hereafter & then upon there next default in wantinge at anie tyme sufficient

307.
Butchers'
submission.

fleshe of all kynds & sorts or upon anie there next suche like conclusion confederacie or other practice against the lawes of this Realme or comon waile of this Citie or the leafull orders therof but allsoe in the meanwhile hath sett at libertie the saide Company owt of the said Gaole.

12 March, 35 Eliz. And furthermore where John Bryne
773.
Butchers. butcher complayned upon for killinge of fleshe and beinge sent for by the serjant of the peace and commaunded upon payne of his othe to come before Mr Maior came not: motion is made what is to be done towching this his Contempte; whereupon it is considered by this whole Assembly that tyme shalbe geven him betwene this and monday nexte to come before Mr Maior and submitt him selfe or ells havinge warninge thereof or warninge lefte at his howse to be disfranchized.

The order for the admission of "foreign" butchers to sell every market day (*i.e.*, twice a week) was renewed 3 July, 21 Elizabeth, and it was agreed, to prevent undue influence being exercised on the mayor, that this order should only be rescinded by the voice of the whole assembly.

308.
An order confirming a former order that foreign butchers shall repair to this city and sell, not to be altered by the mayor only.
3 July, 21 Eliz. And whereas heretofore upon the great want and dearth of victuals & abuses of the Company of Butchers within this Citie provision was made by the maior of the saide citie for the tyme beinge as clerke of the market therof for the better supply of the same & for to reduce the sale of victualls to a lesser price & better chepe that the foren butchers shuld repair with there victualls to this citie upon every market daie, & there for certaine howers to utter and sell all suche there victualls which should be good & holsome without let or trouble of the said Company of Butchers whiche hetherunto beinge used hath grown to the little comen welth of this citie. And where alsoe leste that soe comodious an enterprise & purpose shuld cease, be taken awaie, or altered consideringe the contynuaunce or alterans thereof resteth onelie in the maior of the said citie for the tyme beinge is clerke of the market within the same Therefore it is now with thassent of the said maior fully ordered concluded & agreed upon by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs & comon counsaile with one whole & entier voice that the repayinge, concourse, utteringe & sellinge of all holsome victualls within this citie of the said foren butchers that now are or shalbe shall not be put downe, restrayned, nor altered by the maior of the said citie for the tyme beinge at anie tyme or tymes hereafter in anie other order, manner, or sort then by comon consent & assent of open & whole assemblie upon paine of 500 marks to be forfeited to the said citie by every person or persons doinge to the contrary or offendinge herein.

The hours for selling are fixed by a later order [A.O. 565, 29 Elizabeth] to be between eight and three o'clock, as for the "foreign" bakers. The Company of Butchers endeavoured subsequently to have the hours for their rivals shortened, but "it was not determined."

The oath taken by each butcher is as follows:—

22 Eliz., 1579. All suche kinde and sorte of victualls as hereafter you shall slaughter and kill or cause to be slaughtered, uttered and solde

shalbe good and holsome, and you shall make sufficient provision of such victualls according to your facultie to serve the citie with all and all such your victuall that you doe utter and sell to poore and riche at reasonable price. And y^t you doe not follow, use nor make nor consent to be made any order or orders or other ordynauces from hensfurth amongst your selves concerning ye sellinge of your victuall, againste the comon weale of this citie Soe helpe you God and holy dome and by that booke.

565.
Foreign
Butchers.

24 Nov., 29 Eliz. Alsoe at the same Assembly upon consideration had of the howers given by former orders to the former butchers repayringe to the said shambles wither victualls the said weeklie two market daies It is nowe ordred by the said Maior, the Aldermen sherifes and Comen Counsell of the said Citie that the same forren butchers shall have from henseforth the selfe same tymes and howers of viii and three of the Clocke for sellinge there said victualles in the said shambles as is given to the said forren bakers the said two weekelie market daies and the like notice of the howers to them to be given.

The several companies had disputes not only with those non-freemen who traded at Gloverstone, but also with those who availed themselves of the privilege claimed by the authorities of St. Werburgh's Abbey and St. John's Hospital. Thus, in 1563, 11 May, the Tailors' Company had a dispute (which was settled in their favour) with Cornelius Tayliour for working upon "the free ground without the Northgate." The following month, 11 June, they followed up their advantage and obtained an injunction against Randall Morgan for the same offence, "pretending a fayned libertie belonging to Little St. John's." At the same time they secured the disallowance of the privilege claimed by the Dean and Chapter, except as regards work done for any one inhabiting the precincts of the Cathedral.¹ At the same court, an interesting claim was made by John Dutton, Esquire, as Master of the Chester Minstrels.

An order taken xi May, 1563, betwene the Aldermen and Stewards of the Tailers upon the one partie and Cornylus Tayliour upon the other partie. *Item* it is ordered that where the said Cornylius have wrought upon fre ground without the North Gate and now acknowledges to have done wrong to the said occupacon submitted himself to Mr. Mayor for what order yt ples hym to make, by whou it is ordered that the said Cornelis shall forthwith avoyd the seid ground and upon any fre ground hereafter not to work by any means but under some other of the occupacons at his plesure if he will or els avoyd the City.

An order taken 11 June, 6 Eliz., before Mr. Maior, settling variance between the occupacion and mistery of Taylors and Randall Morgan concerning the occupancy and cutting and sowing of apparell and using the art of a Tayler not being a freeman nor of the company, pretending a fayned libertie belonging to Little St. John's. The said libertie is not

¹ See also A.O. 725, where the privilege of freedom from distress is claimed by the brethren and sisters of St. John's without the Northgate.

good nor ought to be permitted nor suffered in this citty. Randall Morgan submits, and is permitted to work at the sufferans and lycence of the Company.

Dispute between Aldermen and Stewards of Taylors and Edward Bland, Tayler, who pleaded special licence given him by dean and chapter to work within the precincts of the minster, which power they claim of old tyme. This claim disallowed, except so far as it permits work to be done for those inhabiting within the said precincts and such as be officiating mynisters, stipendiaries or servants within or belonging unto the said Cathedral.

Dispute between Tailors and Thomas Alleyn, no freman nor of the company, claiming privilege granted by the master of the Hospital of St. John's.

James Hill came before the Mayor and entered into a recognisance for 40/- to John Dutton, Esquire. The condition is suche that if the above James be and personally appere before John Dutton, Esquire, master and conductor of all and singler the minstrels within the county and cytie of Chester or his lefull deputie or deputs upon the fest of St. John Baptist next, after the date of these presents at Chester, within the countie of the cittie of Chester, at the court then and ther holden before the said John or his lefull deput or deputy to answer to all such fynes as then shall be layd against him, that then, &c., or els, &c.

The only regulation in the Assembly Book bearing upon the system of apprentices is that of 1557 (A.O. 145), when it was ordered that no one should be admitted into the franchise unless he had served an apprenticeship of seven years in the city. Masters are forbidden to take apprentices for a shorter term, and required to enroll the indentures within six months after commencing apprenticeship. This rule was adopted by the Goldsmiths' Company and entered into their book of orders, the payment made by an apprentice then being $\frac{3}{4}$, and on his entry as a brother $\frac{26}{8}$. A list of the payments made (15 Edward IV.) for the entry of the apprentices and strangers or "foreigners" in other trades is given below, which shows that the fee was generally $\frac{6}{8}$ for a prentice, and $\frac{13}{4}$ for a stranger. The Goldsmiths further required that no prentice should be accepted as a master until three years after his apprenticeship had expired.

15 Ed. IV. (1475-6). Payments on entrance. The Mercers are agreit that the Income of a Prentice shall be att vis. viii^d. and of a stranger at xiii^s. iiiij^d. The Drapers ar agreit in the same forme: The Sherman, vis. viii^d. and x^s.: The Bochours vis. viii^d. and xiii^s. iiiij^d.: Hewsters, iij^s. iiiij^d. and vis. viii^d.: Drawers of Dee, as ye maire and his brethern will vis. viii^d. and xiii^s. iiiij^d. Goldsmiths, Cowpers, Bowers and Fletchers, vis. viii^d. and xiii^s. iiiij^d. Skynners, as the Maire and his brether will. Bakers vis. viii^d. and xiii^s. iiiij^d. Ireumongers vis. viii^d. and x^s. Fishmongers, Barkers and Barburs vis. viii^d. and xiii^s. iiiij^d. Glovers, as the Maire and his brether will. Smyths, vis. viii^d. and x^s. Cokes, vis. viii^d. and xiii^s. iiiij^d. Wevers and Walkers, as the Maire and his breder will.

The earliest record of the admission of freemen at Chester is dated 17 Richard II., when three were admitted, two on payment of two marks each (26/8), and one for 33/4. In the following reign the number of admissions ranged from four (11 Henry IV.) to twenty (3 Henry IV.) In 6 Henry V. there were eighteen entries. Few records have been preserved of the admissions in Henry the Sixth's long and troublous reign, the highest number reached being fourteen in 33 Henry VI., while in the previous year there were only three. In the fourteenth year of Edward IV. there were as many as forty-six admitted to the freedom, of whom three were bakers, three weavers, two bowers, two corvisers, three drapers, and the rest distributed amongst the various companies. In 2 Henry VII. the number was 25, and 3 Henry VII. 24; but during the rest of this reign there was a considerable variation, the admissions being 8, 29, 11, 15, 19, 9, 21, 4, 8, 11, 12, 12, 20.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the average maintained was higher (in 3 Henry VIII. 37, and 23 Henry VIII. 28), and the admissions included several merchants and other persons of rank, amongst them Peter Dutton of Halton, Richard and William Sneyde, Esq., Henry Gee, the energetic mayor, several of the families of Goodman and Aldersey, and no less than five goldsmiths. The highest numbers were reached in the reign of Elizabeth, and while the usual fees remained the same as in previous reigns, *i.e.*, 26/8 for an ordinary citizen, and 10½d. with wine and fees for a freeman's son, a considerable number paid larger sums, ranging from 40/- to £5, £10, £20, and even £40. The number of admissions was for the several years 16, 31, 30, 13, 28, 31, 29, 32, 29, 25, 27, 35, 37, 31, 22, 25, 35, 33, 12, 37, 54, 44, 40, 39. Amongst those enfranchised were William Stanley of Hoton, Esq. (6 Edward IV.), the nine sons of Sir John Savage, Knight and Richard Oldome, Abbot of St. Werburgh (2 Richard III.), Peter Warburton (26 Elizabeth), "Ran. Hulme apprentice of Thomas Chalner paynter, and Rad. Hulme, son of Thomas Hulme smith "both sons of freemen, 1597," Lord Strange, who was made free and elected alderman (28 Elizabeth), and Richard Vaughan, Bishop of Chester, "in regarde of his great good will and favor."

From 32 Elizabeth, and for the rest of the reign, against each name is entered "Hed piece and bill," with which each citizen was required to provide himself. The terms of admission were frequently before the mayor and his brethren in council. The scale of fees (26/8 and 10½d.), which was accepted in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI., was deemed insufficient in 1557, and everyone but apprentices and sons of freemen was

required to pay "ten pounds at the leste," unless he be "a vytler or other wyse profytable to the publycke welthe of the citie," when some rebate was to be allowed [A.O. 50.] This rebate was withdrawn by A.O. 72, and yet in 10 Elizabeth, when the heavy fee of £40 was exacted from Richard Knee, merchant, and William Knight (who was afterwards clerk of the pentice), a rebate of £35 was allowed to each. In 1574 the amount of fee to be exacted was left to the decision of the mayor. Amongst the assembly orders given below several will be found which show what interest was made by the Earls of Leicester and Derby, Sir Francis Walsingham, and other persons of importance, to secure favourable terms of admission for their clients.

32 Henry VI. Tempore Willelmi Stanmere. Hit is ordred by Wm. Stanmere Mayor of the Citie of Chester and the xxiiii aldermen and all the counsell of the said Citie at the Portmote holden there afore the said maior the Monday next after the feast of St. Dionyse That no maner person in tyme to come be admitted into the liberties and franchises of the said citie but that afore that admission it be agreed in pleyn [full] Portmote by the mayre and committee of the said citie that such person shall enjoy the saide liberties and franchises, and that every such person so admitted pay unto the tresorers of the same citie for the tyme being xxvis. viii^d. with fyne and other fees of old tyme accustomed in hand or sufficient suertie therfore to pay it at such daies as can be agreid by thadvice of the maire and tresorers without eny pardon thereof or eny parcell therof. And that every such person so admittid be resiant and of household within the said citie. And if eny such person contrarie to these formes afore rehersed be admitted that such admission be void and stand in no strenght, sayng to the children of fraunchised men to be admitted to the said liberties at the voluntre of the major and comonaltie for the tyme beyng for the wyne and other fees of old tyme due and of custome.

1 Feb., 1557, John Webster, Mayor. Morover yt ys agreid
 58. and orderid at the same assemble that no maner of person
 Apprentices only to be
 franchised. or persones shall from hensforth be admyttyd into the
 franchises of this citie unles he or thaye have servid as
 prentice within the same citie for the time of seven yeres at
 leaste and that from hensfourth any person or persones being free in this
 citie shall taycke any prentice or prentisses under the tearme of seven
 yeares and for the due proufe thereof every person that taykyth any
 prentice shall cause the same to be inrouled within sex moneythes after his
 fyrest entre into his prentiship and if the master of any prentice decease
 and dye before the determinacon of his prentishipp then the said prentice
 to serve onto the full tearme of seven years with the wyfe of his said
 maister or such other person as his master of the said science that he was
 bounde prentice unto and that any forryner shall not hensfourth be
 admyttyed into the fraunchis of this citie but by consent of a hole assemble
 and every person being a forener so admyttyd to pay for his
 59. fredome the some of ten pounds sterlinge at the leste unles
 Forcigners. yt may apere at such assemble the person so requiring to be
 franchised be a vytler or other wyese profytable to the publycke welthe

of this citie and ther upon by consent of the same assemble to geve ageyn and rebayte of the said some of x^{li} such parcell of the same as shalbe thought good by the agrement of the same assemble and that every forrener so mayde free shall never the less agree with the syence which he entendyth to occupy withall, never the less yt ys agreid and allso provided that certen glasires and joyners which have of longe tyme inhabytyd within this citie shall be admyttyd and taken into the fraunches of this citie paying as before tyme hath byne accoustomyd.

64. 9 Nov., 1 Eliz., Henry Hardware. It was allso at the said
 Fees for assemble concluded and agreed by the said mayre aldermen
 Enfranchis- sheriffs and comon counsell that from thensfourth all such as
 ment. shalbe enfranchessed and made fre within the said citie in
 place of a drynking which every such person so enfranchessed was
 accoustomyd to make unto the mayre and his brethern in the pence shall
 in consideracon thereof paye thre shillings iiid. towards the haven unto
 such person as then shalbe apoynted tresurrer of the same wourke at every
 tyme of such enfranchement, or for defaulte of such tresurers unto such
 persons as shall then be apoynted to tacked charge of the said wourke and
 the same wourke ones fynyshe the same some of iiis. iiid. to be employed
 to use of the comon tresory of the said cytye of Chester, and from thens-
 fourth no such drynking to be used for ye lycke pourpose as heretofore yt
 hath byne accoustomyd.

72. 97a.—Temp. W. Aldersey, 1560. Where at an assemble
 Fees for holden the fyrest daye of February, anno 1557, in ye tyme of
 Admission John Webster Mayre, citie of Chester, for divers and good con-
 into sideracons ye said mayre, aldermen, sheriffs and comon
 Franchisc. counsell of ye same then moving for ye comon welthe of ye
 hole citizens, yt was orderid condusentyd and agreid that from hensforth
 no person nor persons should be admyttyd into ye liberties and fraunches
 of ye citie of Chester being a foriner or stranger, but shall pay for his
 admytting x^{li}. ster. unles yt yt may apere at such symble that ye persone so
 requiering to be franchesed be a vitteler or other wyse profytable to ye
 comon welthe of ye said citie and ther upon by consent of ye same assemble
 to geve agayne and rebayte of ye said somme of x^{li}. such parte or parcell
 of the same as shalbe thought good by ye agrement of ye same assemble and
 sence which tyme by coloure of these words, "of geve agayne or rebaying
 of such parte or parcell of ye some of x^{li}. as shalbe thought good by ye
 agrement of the assemble," diverse and many persone and persons being
 strangers by favor and fryndship haythe bene and be dalye recevid and
 admyttyd into ye liberties and fraunches of ye said citie for smaule some
 and somes of monye or none at all, contrary to the entent and mening of
 the said order and the maykers therof to the grete hurte and damage of
 the comon welthe of the said citie and the distruction of the inhabitants
 of ye same: for remedye whereof yt ys ordered and agreid at this present
 assemble by William Aldersey of the city of Chester mayre, aldermen,
 sheriffs and comon counsell of the said cytye by the hole assent and consent
 of the same assemble that these words to geve agayne and rebayte such
 parte and parcell of the same x^{li}. as shalbe thought good by the agrement
 of anye assemble shalbe frustrate and voyde from hensfourth for ever,
 anything to the contrary thereof notwithstanding, and that none to be
 admyttyd hereafter for no consederacions without painge of the said hole
 sume of ten pounds to the hands of the tresurars of the said citie without

pardoning or remytting of any penye therof by no maner of menes or persuacion by that the mayre and tresurars of the said citie for y^e tyme being to be answerable and chargable evermore for y^e same upon ther accountys and for non pain' or answeringe of the said ten pounds yt may be lafull to every other mayre, the successors of such mayre, to comyt such mayre or tresurars to ward ther to remayne untill such tyme as they shall justlye and trewlye make payment of the same.

112.
Admission
of
freemen.
119b.—Temp. Ric. Dutton, Arm. xxx Aug., Eliz. x. At which assemblie yt was debated whether Richard Birkenhed, John Norbury, William Knight, and Richard Knee, be meete men to enter into the fredom of this citie and be freemen, or not having had their errande said before and by the hole assembly ordered and agreed that William Knight and Richard Knee shalbe admytted to the fredom. And yt is further agreed that Richard Birkenhead and John Norbury be not meete men to be received into the fredom and fraunchese, and forasmuche as it is well knowen to all thassembly that the said William Knight hath ben a paynfull servitor as under clerke in the pentice and honestly behaved himself and not like to do harme to any occupacon and that also it is likewise ap'tely knowen to the same assembly that the said Richard Kne having married a freman's daughter, hath honestly behaven hymself for these six yeres past and is not of great substaunce soe as if he should paye the fine of xl^{li}. his stock wold be consumed. Therefore it is at this assemblie considered that of the xl^{li}. presently offered by the said Richard Kne and Wm. Knight and either of them, that they and either of them shall have againe as rebated xxxv^{li}. to either of them, and so upon the present payment of fyve pounds a peece to be sworne who paid ye same, and were sworne accordingly. [In margin of the above]: Ordered the viiith of Marche, anno Regine Elizab., &c., xviii^{mo} by assembly that as much of this order as concerneth Mr. Birkenhed and Mr. Norbury shalbe from hensfurthe voide and of none effect in all respects.

(Signed) JOHN SAVAGE, Mayor.

113.
None but
freemen's
sons and
apprentices
to be
franchised.
And further it is ordered and fully agreed upon at the said assembly by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsaile of the said citie, that no maner of person or persons not being the sonne of a freeman nether have served as apprentice within the said citie by the space of seven yeres at the lest, from hensforth shalbe admitted into the franchises of the said citie as a freman for any somme of money or other consideration. And also it was then and ther fully concluded and agreed upon that whosoever hath hereunto agreed and subscribed his or their name to this order, do at any time hereafter during his or their life or lives, geve their consents to the contrary of this order, then every such person or persons offending herein shall forfeit the somme of tenne pounds of lefull money of England to be imploied to the use of the said citie and levied by the treasurer of the said citie for the time being, and such treasurer upon their accompts therwith to be chargeable to the said citie. [In margin]: This order is made void by another made after.—fol. 121.

115.
Admission to
the freedom
Order of
30 Aug., 1568,
rescinded.
121a.—Temp. William Ball, xxvii^o die Junii, 1569. Wheare-as at an assembly holden in the common hall of the said citie before Richard Dutton Esquier, then maior of the citie afore-said the xxxth daie of August last past, it was ordered and agreed upon that no man except the sonne of a freeman or that had served as an apprentice by the space of seven yeares

shuld be admyttd to the fredome of this citie and that all persons whose names were subscribed to that order shuld consent at an assembly to the admittance of any ffreman to the contrary shuld forfeit tenne pounds for every tyme offending therein as by the order more playnly doth and may appeare. It is now at this assembly holden in the inner pentice within the said citie the xxviith day of June in the eleventh yere of the raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth, &c., considered and thought the said order to be unresonable and meete to be reformed and therfore it is now by the said William Ball maior of the said citie thaldermen sheriffs and comon counsaile of the citie aforesaid otherwise agreed and ordered that the said former order from hensfourth shalbe adnihilated frustrate and voide to all extents and no person to be from hensforth subject tyed or bounden by the same or by or under any paine penaltie or forfeiture therin contained.

And nevertheless it is at the same assemblie further
 116. ordered for the better mayntenaunce of the poore artificers
 Admission of and men of occupacion within this citie that if any person
 Apprentices, hereafter be admyttd to the ffreedom of this citie who hath
 &c. not served as an apprentice by the space of seven yeres at
 the least or be the sonne of a freman shall when he taketh his oth of
 freedom take one other corporall oth before the maior at the same tyme
 that he shall not occupy nor use the trade or merchandize or the trade or
 occupacon of any arte or occupacon within this citie, except the maior
 aldermen and comen counsaile of the said citie shall by order first admitt
 him therunto and that alsoe he have the assent and good wills of the
 company of such trade or occupacon which he shall desier to use and
 exercise.

20 Oct., 15 Eliz. And wherealsoe all and singular the
 150. saide orders have bene nowe waied pondered perused and
 The former dulle considered of and the same and everie of theime founde
 Orders to hold good. to be reasonable profitable and for the comon welthe and good
 governement of the said cittie. Therefore it is nowe the saide xxth die of
 October anno Regine Eliz., &c., xv^{to} in the saide comon hall ordered and
 fullie concluded and agried upon by the saide Richard Dutton maior of
 the cittie aforesaid the aldermen sheriffs and comon counsell of the saide
 cittie that all and singular the said orders before remembred and everie
 clause article pointe and sentence therein and in everie of theime so
 contayned shall from hensfurth be and remayne establisshed confirmed
 allowed and in their and everie of their full force power and vertue and the
 same and everie of theime shall from hensfurth be trulie and dulle put in
 execucon and observed accordinge to the tenors preports and effects
 thereof upon the severall paines fynes and ponishments in everie of the
 said severall orders comprised conteyned specified lymitted and appointed
 savinge the saide order concerninge the receyvinge of anie man into the
 franchises.

It is nowe fullie agried by the saide nowe maior aldermen
 151. sheriffs and comon counsell of the saide cittie that at anie
 None to be tyme hereafter no manner of person or personnes be receyved
 admitted to Franchise into the franchises of the saide cittie admitted or sworne free
 but with thereof without the consent and goodwill of eight aldermen
 consent of 8 Aldermen. of the saide citie for the tyme beinge whereof foure of them
 to be justice of peace of the saide cittie.

171.
Freeman's
Oath to be
same as that
used in
London.

[Revoked,
cf post 145.]

136a.—22nd Dec., 1573. And also it was then and ther fully concluded and agreed upon by the said maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and comon counsaile that the comon oth which every franchesed person entreing into the fredom of this cite have heretofore receyved shalbe from hensfurth frustrate and of none effect and these also fully agreed that such new oth partely after the maner of the oth used for freemen of London now devised shall from hensfurth for evermore be the same oth that every free man of this cite at his first entry into the liberties shall receyve and take.

172.
Freemen
not to pay
toll on grain.

And further it was at the said assembly ordered by the said maior aldermen sheriffs and comon counsaile with one entire voice that every free man of the said cite shall from hensfurth for ever be quit and discharged from paying any towle for any their cornes and graines within the said cite and that no towle thereof shalbe at any tyme hereafter within the said cite receyved or taken.

173.
Richard Marks
franchised.

Moreover at the said assembly it was fully concluded and agreed that Richard Marks Cowper for and upon the payment of tenne pounds to the use of the said cite shalbe receyved as franchised into the same.

204.
Richard Brooke
and others
admitted to the
franchise.

146a.—30 April, 1574. And alsoe it was then and ther in question whether Robert Poole, gentleman, upon the sight of certaine letters unto the maior aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsaile sent in his favour, Richard Brooke and Hugh David al Baugh were meete persons to be receyved into the liberties and fraunches of this cite as freemen, and then and ther it was fully ordered and concluded by the said maior aldermen sheriffs and comen counsaile that the said Robert Poole, Richard Broke and George Davy al Baugh for such somes of money and upon such consideracon as shalbe assessed lymyted and appointed by the said maior and eight aldermen and Justices of the Peace of this cite shalbe receyved, provided that the aldermen and stewards of such occupacon as they shall trade or use be firste spoken with all. And further it is ordered that the said maior and vi aldermen and Justices of Peace shall receive such and as many other persons into the franchise of this cite as they shall thinke most convenient and for such resonable some and somes of money and for such other consideracon as by the said maior and vi aldermen and Justices shalbe lymyted appointed and thought likeste.

309.
Tailor,
Phillips, and
Woodward
made free.

3 July, 21 Eliz. And whereas motion was made that one Tailer servaunte to William Brereton of the Nuns esquier, A Cowper workinge noe other kinde of worke but sett worke shulde be free of this cite for reasonable consideracons & for the good will and friendship of his master, & in respect of his

necessary trade & the comoditie which may ensue to this cite shuld be a freeman And the like motion was made that one Humfrey Phillips tailor, servaunte to William Gerrerd esquier, Lord Chauncellor of Ireland, at the requeste of his said master & in respecte he hath alredy agreed with the companie of tailers within this cite might for reasonble consideracons be likewise free of this cite & the like question & suit was made by Sir John Savage knight & the ladie his wief that for there sake one Wodward might be free of this cite who hath married the late wief of Thomas Ellam,

singinge man, a freeman's wief, havinge great charge of fatherlesse children. Therfore in consideracon of the premisses & of the great good wills, favours, & pleasures of the said worshipfulls, it is the saide day yere & place ordered concluded & fully agreed upon.

329. **180a.**—William Bird, 20 March, 23 Eliz. At whiche
Mr. Edmund Assembly it was fully concluded that Edmund Gamull gent.
Gamul in consideracon that he is to marie with Mrs. Elizabeth
left to himself in Goodman wief of William Goodman late of the said citie ald.
for his fee decessed a maiors peer's wief shall be enfranchised & upon
of being made what consideracon he shall please to bestowe upon the cytie
free. which is supposed wilbe far better then to lymit the same by this assembly.

334. **180b.**—20 March, 23 Eliz. And at the same assembly
Alex. Cotes Alexander Cotes gentleman was made free without any pay-
free. mente onely in respecte he shalbe a good citizen & give to the
maior his beste advise & counsell towchinge the weale of the same citie
from tyme to tyme to the best of his knowledge.

335. William Bird, 25 August, 23 Eliz. Ordered that John
John Banister Banester gent. in consideracon that he shall lend to the
free. citie vii. for the redeming of the Rood de shalbe free.

328. 3 May, 23 Eliz. At the same assembly Richard Arrowsmith
Divers made & Richarde Evanson wevers the sonne in Lawe of William
Free. Ffletcher wever upon payment of three pounds sixe shillings
eighte pence & Thomas Ryvinton at Mr. Massies of Puddington requeste
& upon payment of fyve pounds & Hugh Lloyd servante to Sir William
Gerrarde knyghte at his lordships request frely shalbe enfranchised and
made free.

356. **183b.**—Ric. Bavand maior, 3rd Nov., 23 Eliz. [At which
Robert Dod assembly] a letter sent from therle of Leicester to this citie, to
made free at have his servante Robert Dod to be free of this citie and
request of swordherer of this cytie (the place thereof but now voyde) was
Earl of redd and fullie considered of, and thereupon it was at this
Leicester. assembly fully concluded and agreed upon by the said maior, the aldermen,
sheriffs and comon counsell of this citie that at his honors suite and in
respecte of his contynual countenance and goodness towards this citie,
that his said servant Robert Dod shalbe made free of this citie and admitted
to the said office frelie without respecte of any payment.

370. **185b.**—6 July, 24 Eliz. And at the said assembly, Anthonie
Freemen Enowes for iiii^{li}. fyne, John Saice for vi^{li}. fyne, Edward Kelshe
made. for iii^{li}. fyne, William Thickins for x^{li}. fyne, Richard Kellsall
servante to Mr. Alderman Pulleston of London for xx^{li}. shalbe free of this
citie and members thereof. And the said Anthonie Enowes, John Saice
and Edward Kelshe upon paymente of there severall fynes were admitted
and sworne accordinglie.

26 June, 26 Eliz., Robert Brerewood, Mayor. Upon the
H.O. 466. sight of the Erle of Leycester his honors letter to this
Earl of Assemblie read, beinge an erneste requeste to have Mr. John
petition for Edwards of London admytted into the fraunches & liberties
John Edwards of the said Cittie The convenyence & inconvenyence therof
rejected. was dulle considered of & albeit the wholle incorporacion
moste desyrous to accomplishe his ho: such requeste, yet consideringe
what hurte & hinderaunce he the saide Edwardes might doe the occupiers

of every occupacon in this cittie, being a man of greate substaunce, & by that substaunce would take all the wholle trade unto his owne haundes, & thereby undoe the reste of the sayde occupacions; It is nowe by the said maior, &c., fullie determyned that the said John Edwardes is no fytt person to be receyved into the franchises of this cittie. And to that ende a letter unto his honors lordship signefying the same & moste humblie beseching his Ho: pacience in that behallf.

496.
Richard
Frances
admitted at
request of
Sir J.
Walsingham.

27 Sept. 27 Eliz. At the same Assembly a letter was received from Sir Frauncis Walsingham Knight, Her Majesties principall Secretary, and read on the favor of one Richard Fraunces shomaker, servinge Apprentice for vii yeres to have his freedom of this citie given, Consideracon was had therof & Allowans was given to John Fraunces his brother, servante to William Meo in respecte of his honors requeste.

497.
Petition for
freedom
rejected.

Richard Crofoote exhibited his peticon in respecte of his kepinge the wheele of the Cundicte to be free of this Citie & to have Consideracon for his paynes heretofore for kepinge the said wheele, but not obtained.

498.
Earl Derby's
request for
Mr. Peycocke
rejected.

Alsoe Richard Peycocke Marchant exhibited a letter from the Right Ho: therle of Derby in his favour to be free of this Citie Whereupon the most parte of this Assembly every mans voyce had, It is thought that he is noe fit person to be receyved into the franchises or liberties of the said Citie.

512.
Thomas
Burgess
admitted at
request of
Lord Strange.
Dyets Com=
pany opposc.

14 Jan. 28 Eliz. Thomas Burgess servante to Richard Howell dier exhibiteth his bill to be free of this Citie & hath also procured a letter from the ho: the lord Fernando Strange in his favor in that behalf, & wheralso the Compenny of Diers have exhibited their supplicacon against the said Burgess in staie of his said sute: It is nowe at this Assembly fully ordered and considered of by the said Maior &c. & fully agreed upon after ye solempne hearinge readinge & consideringe of the said supplicacon & letter that the said Thomas Burgess in respecte of the honorable request of the said l: Strange shalbe free & enfranchised payinge therefore to this City viii^{li} xiii^s. iiiij^d. & agree with the said occupacon before his othe to be taken (if the said Compenny will reasonably deale with him) if not in performinge suche order as Mr. Maior shall sett downe betwene them in that behalf.

513.
Randull Dod
admitted.

Randull Dod an oulde aged man brought up in the County of Chester & returned into this Citie & inhabitinge the same hath exhibited his supplicacon to this Assembly to be enfranchised & to sell Ale and not to be hurtful to eny occupacon It is nowe ordred that the same Randull Dod shalbe received into the franchises &c. payinge therefore to the hands of the Tresurers therof before his othe taken iiii^{li} vi^s. viij^d.

539.
Freedom
granted.

xvi June xxix Elizabeth, Wm. Walle Mayor. At whiche Assembly motion is made whether Convenient that Mr Robert Offley of London his sonne and Mr Hughe Offley his sonne in consideracon of there greate and beneficiall giftes unto this Citie and hereafter to be given to this Citie shalbe free or not and howe, upon consideracon wherof It is now ordred that the said two gents shalbe gratis free and enfranchised into the liberties of the said Citie.

Sir Thomas Egerton made free

679.
Freedom.

11 July 31 Eliz. Alsoe at the same Assembly George Woode exhibited his supplicacon to be free and offered to give lii^s. ivd. whereby it is now ordered by this whole Assembly that he shalbe received into the fraunchises and liberties of this Citie payinge before his enteringe therin to the use of this incorporacon sixe pounes thirtene shillings foure pence.

717.
Randull
Stockton of
London made
free.

At wch Assemblie motion is made whether meete that Randull Stockton Citizin of London shalbe free of this Citie or not and what shalbe his fine, wch beinge deliberatly waide and considered It is now thought meete and soe ordered by this whole Assembly that the said Randull Stockton shalbe free of this Citie painge therfore and to the use of this incorporacon twentie pounes, and thereupon Mr Maior moveth that this xx^{li} and thother xx markes with vi^{li} xiii^s. ivd. more to make it up xli^{li} might be by the same Mr Stockton imploied in providinge of gonpowder as parcell of the proporcon appointed.

R.O. 1060.

15 Feb., 41 Eliz. And alsoe at the same Assembly is geven to understand that Sir Thomas Egerton knight sonne and heire of the right ho: the Lo: keeper of the greate Seale of England is desirous to be free of this citie whereuppon it ys by the generall consent of this whole Assembly (in regarde of the good will which both he and his saied ffather have and doe beare unto this citie), ordered that the said Sir Thomas Egerton shalbe received into the liberties of this citie gratis.

931.
Building of
Cottages
prohibited.

246a.—8 Oct., 38 Eliz. And whereas by daylie experience greate inconveniences and Charges to this Citie have arrisen and more lyke to arryse in that divers and sondry Coveteous persons for their own private comoditie have used to erect and build within this Citie cottages and therein have placed Labourers whoe in verie fewe yeares having bene replenished with wief and children, mayntened only by their daylie Labor when it hath pleased god to visite those Labourers with any kynde of sicknes not able to gett their Livinge by travaile or that they have decessed and dyed this Citie hath bene charged both with their wief and Children as comen beggars and for the avoydinge of the Lyke hereafter Motion is nowe made by Mr. Maior whether meete that any such Cottages shall hensforth be built within this Citie or not Whereupon nowe it is ordered by Mr. Maior and this whole Assembly that noe Citizen nor other inhabitant within this Citie shall hensforth upon payne of tenne pounes to be forfeited to this incorporacon erecte or builde or Cause to be built any such Cottage in any parte or place within this Citie or the liberties or franchises thereof.

R.O. 404 S.
Sadlers and
Shoemakers.

189a.—19 March, 25 Eliz., William Stiles, Mayor Whereas the Aldermen & Stewards of the occupacon of Shomakers within the Citie of Chester as well for them selves as for there whole compeny have exhibited there peticon againste the compeny of Sadlers within the same for that the said sadlors have of late usurped & presumed boeth to offer upon the Rood dee there gleaves & presentments yerely as to goe before them upon Shroftes Twesday at Gootide Twesday contrary to an order therof made in the tyme of the maioralty of Henry Gee, the 10th day of January anno regni Henrici VIII., nuper regis Anglie xxxii^o, the same order is now throwly & deliberatly considered of & allsoe the

usage thereupon remembered: And forasmoch as it thereby plainly appereth that the said compeny of Sadlors of late have wronged the said Shomakers therin to the breach of the said former order & great unquietnes of the same compeny of Shomakers & aswell example of others like offenders: Therefore it is nowe ordered concludet & fully agreed upon at this assembly the said xix day Marche in the said xxv yere of her Majestie, &c., as well that the said former order, &c., shalbe ratified confirmed & allowed & is hereby ratified confirmed & allowed in all & every article pointe & sentence therein menconed accordinge to the true meaning therof, as allsoe that it is nowe explained & so ordered by this whole assembly that by the true meaning of the said order the said compeny of Shomakers ought boeth & shall hensforth offer firste upon the said Rood dee there glevs as alsoe goe orderly before the seid compeny of Sadlors boeth to the said Rood dee as thense & to the comon halle of the said cytie that Twesday & two daies after to recreate them selves (attendinge upon the maior for the tyme beinge & soe to retorne in quiet & orderly manner & sorte as behoveth) witheout interruption let or disturbance of the said compeny of Sadlors or any one of them or any one of there successors upon the severall paines and punishments menconed in the said former order: Provided allwayes that where by the said order there is menconed that all glevies gifts offerings & presents made upon the said Rood dee the said Tewesday shall be ordered by the drapers & maior, & soe the maior last named. It is nowe ordered for dutie & decent order that all suche gifts glevies & presentments shalbe ordered by the maior of the said citie for the tyme beinge & drapers accordinge to the true meaninge of the said former order, & that the maior shalbe & ought of right & dutie to be the firste named & recited in respect of his auctoritie & government, (any thinge in the said former order contayned to the contrary therof in any wise notwithstanding).

A.O. 426.
Customs to be
paid

14 Jan., 26 Eliz. Whereas complaint is made that by reason of a former rate of Custome entered in the exchequer of the Pentice of Chester of lewes [loose] fells, or of flox, woole, linen clothe checkers & all other wares which come in mailed cords, by the C yards or stoune, the merchaunts withdraw them selves from this cittie to the greate decay of thoccupacon of glovers within the same citie & losse to this city divers other waies; It is now with good consideracon taken herin fully concludet & agreed upon by the said maior, &c. That from hensfurth all maner of wares & merchandizes in packs, fardelles, or out of packs or fardells cominge out of Ireland or elsewhere as fells, woolle, flox, lynen cloth & checkers and all other wares which shall be brought to this city by way of merchaundize in mailed cords shalbe entred by the packs & fardells & customes for the same accordingly viz. for every fardell to the sheriffs 1^d for every fardell to the muringers 11^d. ob. & like custome to the levelookers (if yt be sold within this cittie) & for every pack duble the same to muringers & levelookers (any order or rate heretofore made notwithstandinge.)

A.O. 428.
Wrights
incorporated.

It is now in accomplyshement of a former order appointed & soe agreed upon that the wrights sawiers & slaters shall be incorporated under the seale of this Cittie (& an incorporacon) freely in respect of their former service at the new howse of shambles (painge for the Seale thereof.) [See ante, page 411].

25 Ed. I. Amerciamenta pistorum de primo termino

De Nich'o Colboc pro assisa panis non servata	-	-	-	-	-	iiii ^s .
— Thom. Guel pro eodem	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
— Andr. Hachils pro eodem	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Will ^o Hechil	-	-	-	-	-	xviii ^d .
— Alic' Arkel	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Hug' le Forn' [Foriner]	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Almaric pistor'	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
— Rogero le Milwe	-	-	-	-	-	dimid. marc
— Hernico pistore	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Marie Arkel	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Matilda Cacer	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
— Will ^o de Braidishale	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
— Will ^o fil. Joh'	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Rad. de Derby	-	-	-	-	-	xij ^d .
— Galfrido pistore	-	-	-	-	-	xviii ^d .
— uxore Rob ^{ti} de Derby	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .

Amerciamenta pistorum de ii termino

De Will ^o de Coventre	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
— Thomas de Swetemile pro ii defaltis	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ric' de lebi pro i defalt'	-	-	-	-	-	-
Will' de Braidishale	-	-	-	-	-	-
Will' de Coventre pro i defalt	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rad' de Derby pro v defalt'	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
Henr' Swetemile pro iii defalt'	-	-	-	-	-	xii ^d .
Matilda Bale pro i defalt	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
'll de Derby pro i defalt'	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .

Amerciamenta pistorum taxat' die Sⁱ Barnab. Ap'li—

Alex' Bussel pro unica defalt'	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
Hug' le foriner	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
Ric de	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
Petronilla de Derby pro ii defalt	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
De Rob. Quorndon	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
— Matilda Balle	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
— Rad. de Derby	-	-	-	-	-	xii ^d .
— Rob. de Stafford	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
— Marie Arkel	-	-	-	-	-	vi ^d .
ux. Rogeri le Milwe	-	-	-	-	-	xii ^d .

34 Ed. iii. Amerciamenta Pistorum pro defectu panis ipsorum fur' contra assisam &c. captis et mensur'. In festo Pentecost'.

(Koket panis de ob.) Ric' del cohorinhul pro defectu mesure panis

ipsius di' marc' in m'ia [misericordia]	-	-	-	-	-	ii ^s .
Will. Will ^s pro tribus defaltis cuilibet	-	-	-	xxx ^d .	m'ia	xld.
Item de quodam alio pane ejusdem defect'	-	-	-	ix ^s .		
Item de quodam alio pane ejusdem defect	-	-	-	xx ^d .		
Ad. Rossel pro defectu unius panis	-	-	-	xld.	In m'ia	xld.
It. pro defectu alt' panis	-	-	-	xx ^d .		
It. pro defectu cujusdam alt' panis	-	-	-	iiii ^s .		
It. pro defectu alt' panis	-	-	-	xx ^d .		
It. pro defectu alt' panis	-	-	-	v ^s .		
It. pro defectu cujusdam alt' panis	-	-	-	xxx ^d .	In m'ia	xld.
Will ^s del Fleint pro defect unius sui' panis	-	-	-	xx ^d .		
Item pro defectu cujusdam alterius panis	-	-	-	xx ^d .		
Item pro defectu alt' sui panis	-	-	-	xld.		
Item pro defectu cujusdam alt' panis	-	-	-	iiii ^s .	vi ^d .	

fec' Joh'es Whyte Baxt' iii cocket viz. i in defectu ponderis vs. i in iii^s. iiiid^d. i in xx^d.
 fec' Joh'es Soule Baxt' iii ferlyng' cokett quilibet in defectu ponderis ii^s. vi^d.
 fec' Will's Had Baxt' ii cokec uno in defectu ponderis iii^s. iiiid^d. altero xx^d.
 fec' Uxor Ric'i le Baxt' iii wastell quilibet eorum in defectu ponderis vi^s. viiid^d.
 fec' Eadem uxor i cockett' in defectu ponderis iii^s. iiiid^d. i ferlyng' cocet in vi^s.
 fec' Ric'us de Bassechirche ii pan' de parombred in defectu ponderis vi^s. viiid^d.
 fec' Ric'us Broun Baxt' iiiid cocket quilibet eorum in defectu ponderis vs. Idem Ric'us iii
 pan' de parombred quilibet eorum in defectu ponderis xvi^s. viiid^d.
 fec' Idem Ric'us i wastell in defectu ponderis xiii^s. iii wastell in defectu cujuslibet xiii^s.
 fec' Joh'es Whyte Baxt' vii wastell quilibet eorum in defectu pond' xiiiid^d.

Fines Pistorum super defalt'

Thoma Soule Baxt' de fine suo in defectu ponderis pan' 5^o die Nov. facto coram
 prefato majore p'pl'm [per pleguim] - - - - - xiii^s. iiiid^d.
 Joh'e Whyte Baxt' [as above] p'pl'm Henr' del Hull Balli de Wat' - - - vi^s. viiid^d.
 Ric^o Broun Baxt' . . . p'pl'm Joh'is le Walsh - - - xiii^s. iiiid^d.
 Joh'e Soule Baxt' per uxorem ejus coram, &c, pplm I. de Kyngsley - - - iii^s. iiiid^d.
 Margareta que fuit uxor Rici le Baxt' pplm . . . - - [none ent.]
 Ffelicia Bylly Baxt'—pplm Robti Launcelyn et Joh'is de Preston vic' - - - iii^s. iiiid^d.
 Will'o Hadde Baxt'—pplm C' [custodis] Gaole de North- - - - vi^s. viiid^d.
 Ric'o Baschirche Baxt' vi die Nov. pplm et coram majore pplm - - - vi^s. viiid^d.

xvi Ric. II. Assisa panis tenta die Mercurii prox' post festum S. Andree Apostoli
 coram Majore et vic' per sac'm Joh'is Syme, Thome del fiere, Joh'is Whyte Baxt' et Ric'i
 Broun Baxt' jur' super vendicione fri [frumenti] in mercato Qui dicunt q'd i buss fri exstitit
 ad x^d. ob. viz. i quarter fri ad iii^s. vi^d. de melioribus duobus ult' diebus mercatis videlicet :

fec' Wills Goldyng Baxt' i wastell in defectu ponderis xx^s. i wastell xviii^s.
 Idem Wills vi ferlyng cokett quilibet eorum in def. pond. - - - vi^s. viiid^d.
 Ric'us Basschirche i wastell in def. pond. - - - - - xv^s.
 Thomas Elyot Baxt' i wastell - - - - - xv^s.
 Joh'es de Lyncoln Baxt' i wastell - - - - - xx^s.
 Margareta Wysemon Baxt' ii wastell - - - - - xi^s. viiid^d.
 Joh'es Whyte Baxter i wastell - - - - - xv^s.
 Joh'es Angull Baxter i wastell - - - - - xv^s. iiiiferlyng
 Cokett quilibet ipsorum in def. pond. - - - - - vi^s. iiiid^d.
 Idem Joh'es ii pan' de parombred i in def. pond, xxxvi^s. i in defectu - - - xxvi^s. viiid^d.

Fines super defalt'

Thoma Elyot Baxt. de fine suo in def. pond. viii Wastell vi die Dec' Sol' ad
 festum Natalis Domini et Annunc' Beate Marie prox' futur' equis porcionibus ppl'm Ric'i
 Broun Baxter' vi^s. viiid^d.

Will'o Golding Baxter . . . ii Wastell vi ferlyng' cockett' vi die Dec. facto xiii^s. iiiid^d.
 Margareta que fuit uxor Will'i Wysemon Baxt' ii Wastell 6 Dec. facto ppl'm
 Rob'ti le Marchall - - - - - vi^s. viiid^d.

Adbuc de finibus pistorum super defalt :

Joh'e Angull Baxt' . . . i Wastell iiiid cockett' ferlyng ii pan' de parombred
 6 die Dec' facto p'pl'm Will'i Goldyng Baxt' - - - xiii^s. iiiid^d.
 Joh'e de Lyncoln Baxt' . . . viii Wastell 7 die Dec. facto ppl'm - - - vi^s. viiid^d.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Port of Chester, and the Meere Merchants



EARLY in her history Chester was of considerable importance as one of the principal ports on the West Coast. The Romans could not have failed to have found the Estuary of the Dee of great service to them in their campaigns. But we must pass on to later times to find in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* a definite record of Chester as a port.¹ The legend which tells how Edgar, the Peacegiver, in his imperial progress round Britain, sailed from the Estuary of the Severn to

Chester on the Dee, to receive there the homage of the tributary kings, bears testimony which we can safely accept to the esteem in which Chester was held as a seaport. It was at Chester, too, that Edgar's son, Ethelred, assembled his fleet in 1000. Still earlier than this the Danes, who had in 894 found within the walls of Chester a welcome refuge when hotly pursued by the Saxons, formed a settlement in Chester similar to those at various points in the Wirral Peninsula, and doubtless, with their sailor instincts and vigorous enterprise, contributed not a little to open out a trading communication between Chester and the Danish towns in Ireland. The name of the Church of St. Olave still

¹ "A. 972. The King led all his ship-forces ["cum ingenti classe"—*Florence of Worcester*] to Chester; and there came to meet him six kings, and they all plighted their troth to him, that they would be his fellow-workers by sea and by land." "A. 980. That same year was Legecestershire [Cheshire] ravaged by a northern ship-force." [*Civitas Legionum cum provincia a Norwegenensibus piratis devastatur.*—*Florence of Worcester.*] "A. 1000. In this year the King went into Cumberland, and ravaged it well nigh all. And his ships went out about Chester, and should have come to meet him, but they were not able: then ravaged they Anglesea." "A. 1055. Then they inlawed Alfgar the eorl [son of Leofric of Mercia] and gave him all that before had been taken from him, and the fleet went to Chester, and there awaited their pay which Alfgar had promised them."

recalls the memory of this Danish settlement, and the fact that Dublin and Bristol share with Chester the name of St. Werburgh as the patroness of one of their churches may be cited as indirect evidence of the old intercourse between these three cities. At this time the market-place of Chester "offered one of the wildest and "most picturesque scenes of the new commercial life of England. "Among the piles of cheese which then, as now, formed the "main produce of the Cheshire plain, the piles of bannock and "barley bread, and the crates of fish which the fishwives "brought from the fisheries of the Dee, its sturdy burghers "pushed their way through a motley crowd, in which the "trader from the Danish towns in Ireland strove in his northern "tongue to draw buyers to his gang of slaves, while the Welsh "kerne, wrapped in his blanket, who had driven across the "bridge the small and wiry cattle from his native hills, chattered "as he might with the hardly less wild Cumbrian from the lands "beyond the Ribble."¹

This commercial intercourse with Ireland continued as long as Chester had any pretensions to convenience for shipping. In the earliest Charter now extant, granted by Henry II. to Chester, c. 1175, reference is made to its trading with Ireland in the reign of Henry I., and permission is given by Henry II. to the traders of Chester, doubtless to the annoyance of the Bristol merchants who had made Ireland their special mart, to buy and sell in detail at Dublin as freely as in the time of his grandfather. Prince John, in his brother Richard's reign (1188-1199), as Lord of Ireland confirms this privilege, and later as king, in Charter 7, ratifies the previous charter. Walter de Lasci (1202-1231), grants licence to traffic in corn and grain at Drogheda and all other Irish ports, and exemption from the toll of 2d. the cranock.² The charters of Earl Randle Blundeville (1208-1211) and of Earl John Scot (1232-7) incidentally testify to the maritime importance of Chester, and the Black Prince's charter further confers on the city certain admiralty powers, giving the mayor authority to make attachments in the water of the Dee between Chester and Arnold's Eye for tolls and customs and dues on imposts. Upon this grant is based the claim of independence of the jurisdiction of the Lord High Admiral which is referred to in Charters 31 and 37. We have seen³ how Edward II. in 1311 makes a requisition on the Mayor of Chester to supply two ships fully equipped with men, arms, and provisions for his Scottish expedition. Richard II. appoints Chester as a rendezvous in 1392 for the ships which are to convey the Duke

¹ Green, "Conquest of England," page 441.

² See ante, page 11.

³ Page 24.

of Gloucester, and later Roger de Mortimer, to Ireland. It is one of the conditions of the pardon granted by Henry IV. in 1403 (Charter 24) to the citizens for their share in Hotspur's rebellion, that they should furnish shipping for the relief of Beaumaris Castle, while more than once during the same reign the city was required to equip a small fleet to guard the North Wales coast against the Scottish cruisers, the Mayor of Chester acting as admiral.¹

The allusions in the later charters are altogether different in tone. Charter 27 (23 Henry VI.) refers at length to the prosperous times of Edward I., when there was a good harbour, to which many different traders, both of Chester and of other parts of England, resorted with their ships, to the great profit of the inhabitants. This period of prosperity, it is stated, had now for forty years come to an end. The port had been ruined by silting up, so that no merchant ship could approach within twelve miles and more. The same complaint about the choking of the channel is repeated in Charters 18 (1 Richard III.) and 29 (1 Henry VII.), and it is added that, whereas in old days there had been a crowded concourse of foreign traders landing at a gate called the Watergate and of others bringing their merchandise, the merchants, with their ships, now betake themselves to other ports and places, and the city had become ruined and desolate. Despite these difficulties and frequent losses, the merchants of Chester continued to be a comparatively wealthy body, and some of them in the following reign, 20 Henry VIII., found in the nave and aisles of the great church of the Friars Minor at Chester a convenient place to house their sails and other ship-stores.

As the sea receded from Chester a vigorous effort was made to retain for the port some of the trade of former times by building a new quay or haven further out in the estuary in the Wirral peninsula. In the Great Letter Book is preserved an order, dated 3 March, 1541, addressed to Mr. Hennage, Master of the King's Woods beyond Flint, directing him to deliver to the Mayor of Chester 200 trees of his Majesty's woods in Flintshire and Cheshire that be nearest to Lyghtfote pole, to be used in making a new haven there.² The completion of this new haven was apparently, six years later, still delayed for want of funds, for in February, 1547, the Lords of the Council, in reply to a petition for aid in carrying out the projected work, announce that they have advised King Edward in favour of it. The sum of £40 which Henry VIII. had "conferred on the new erected colledge in Chester to be bestowed

¹ See pages 43 and 47.

² This New Quay was sold to Sir Roger Mostyn in 1799.

"in dedes of charite and thamending of the high wayes," is to be diverted for seven years to the construction of the haven at Lightfoots Poole, and, in addition, 200 trees from the Flintshire and Cheshire woods. The work went on for four years more before a further appeal was made, 19 July, 1551, to the Lord Treasurer by the magistrates of Chester, begging his "intercession with the king for a sum of money towards the building a new Key in Wirrall upon the River Dee, in the face and belly of the Sea, which would amount to £5000 or £6000, or else their present povertie would force their present charges therein to be as labour lost, and therefore the undoing of the whole citie and hurt to the county adjoining."¹

The Assembly Book shows by the numerous orders passed from time to time how near this project was to the hearts of the citizens, and what efforts were being made by the whole population of the city to restore their decaying trade. In 1557 [A.O. 57] certain members of the council are appointed to supervise the work, and a grant is made of a certain custom called *primage*, 3½^d. for every ton of merchandize imported except corn. Voluntary contributions were also gathered in every parish by the churchwardens. In 1560 a fresh collection was ordered to be made in the Churches the Sunday after All Saints' Day, the mayor's peer to contribute 6^d. weekly, every sheriff peere 4^d. and

February, 1547. After our harty commendacions, Whereas the citie of Chester and the shippes and vesselles belonging to the same be in great decaye by reason of want of a good kaye and haven there for the succour and harborough of shippes; Being humbly supply[cat]ed unto that, whereas they of the city entend to make a newe haven at lightfotes poole, about vi. myles distant from Chester, thaduauncement wherof will stand them in great charges, We would devyse towardes theyr ayde sum kynd of contribution whereby the woork might both the better and sooner com to ende, We have thought good to signify unto you that the kinges Majestie by our aduise and consent ys pleased that you shall give order not onely that for thies seven years now next following those forty poundes which the Kinges Majestie of blissed memory King Henry theight conferred to the new erected colledge in Chester to be bestowed in dedes of charite and thamending of the heigh wayes maye be converted and employed towards the making of the said haven at lightfootspoole, But also that ii^c trees growing in those his majesties woodes in Flyntshire and Chesshire that be nyest to lightfotespoole may be marked and geven to the same Citie towards thadvauncement of the sayd haven. Therewith booth we requier you to see doon immediately, bycause his Majesties lyberalite being put in ure out of hand may be to them in lieu of a more largesse. Whereas the retarding thereof might happely seme to empyre [impair] and take somewhat from his Royall munificence. And thus fare you harteley well. From Somerset place.

¹ Harl. MSS. 2082, 14.

every of the forty 2^d. and the commoners according to their ability. [A.O. 71]. The work was yet in progress in 1565, when Anthony Hurleston was appointed overseer at a weekly salary of 3/4. [A.O. 90]. Such oversight was necessary, not only for the proper carrying out of the building operations, but to prevent nuisances being created. Then, as of late years, ship-masters found the watery deep a convenient place for the disposal of what was an incumbrance to them, and the practice of casting ballast and refuse into the estuary called for an order prohibiting it under severe penalties, [A.O. 95]. In 1568 want of money still caused delay, and an order was passed [A.O. 105, 106] that a levy should be made on every inhabitant, and that the stewards of the several occupations should raise a certain sum from their companies.¹ By an order of Assembly, 110, defaulters in paying their levy were to be committed to prison, there to remain until they paid. At the beginning of 1576 the work at the New Haven, after lingering on for nearly thirty years, was approaching completion, and the city authorities appeal through the Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Glaseor, to the Earl of Leicester for a grant out of the customs. [A.O. 264]. The next notice of it is ten years later, 1586, when an order is given for a "peece of worke" to save it from decaye [A.O. 583], and in 1588, a request was made through the Earl of Derby and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, for the custom called "Dover Pier" towards "the finishinge of" "the New Haven and maintenance of the decaied walls." This

¹ Payment of Companies towards the New Haven, 1567 8 :—

	Weekly.	Quarterly.		Weekly.	Quarterly.
19 Drapers -	iii ^s . ix ^d .	xl ^s .	9 Skynners & Haberd.	vii ^d . q ^r .	vii ^s . iii ^d .
17 ——— -	ii ^s .	xxviii ^s .	7 Cappers and lynen		
26 Barbor Tallow Ch.,			drapers -	iii ^d . ob.	iii ^s . vi ^d .
Painters, Glasiers	x ^d .	x ^s .	30 Glovers -	xix ^d . q ^r .	xix ^s . iii ^d .
60 Vintners -	vi ^s . x ^d .	iiii ^d . ii ^s .	30 Bakers -	xii ^d . ob. q ^r .	xii ^s . ix ^d .
32 Girdlers, &c.	xvi ^d .	xvi ^s .	29 Inkepers, Cooks, &c.	xv ^d .	xv ^s .
27 Shomakers	xv ^d . ob.	xv ^d . vi ^d .	7 Dyers -	iii ^d . q ^r .	iii ^s . iii ^d .
21 Joyners, &c.	ix ^d . ob. q ^r .	ix ^s . ix ^d .	20 Wevers -	vi ^d . q ^r .	vi ^s . iii ^d .
22 Iremongers	xx ^d . ob.	xx ^s . vi ^d .	23 Bochers -	vii ^d . ob.	vii ^s . vi ^d .
21 Cowpers, &c.	viii ^d .	viii ^s .	24 Tailors -	viii ^d . q ^r .	xiii ^s . iii ^d .
22 Shermen -	xii ^d . ob.	xii ^s . vi ^d .	25 Gentlemen, not being		
10 Goldsmeths and			of any occupation	iii ^s . iiiii ^d .	-
Masons -	v ^d .	v ^s .	9 Fishmongers	viii ^d . ob.	viii ^s . vi ^d .
7 Sadlers -	ii ^d . ob. q ^r .	ii ^s . ix ^d .	10 Drawers of Dee	ii ^d . ob. q ^r .	ii ^s . ix ^d .

The Gentlemen :—Bishop, vi^d.; Mr. Gerrard, 4^d.; Mr. Glaseor, 4^d.; Deane, 4^d.; Chancellor, 2^d.; Sir Wm. Calveley, 4^d.; Ladie Brereton, —; Mrs. Grace Stanley, —; Mr. Titley, 2^d.; Mr. Norbury, 2^d.; Mr. Roger Hurleton, 1^d.; Mr. Planckney, 2^d.; — Kethin, 1^d.; — Ric. Massy, the elder, 1^d.; — Thos. Browne of Hull, 1^d.; Mr. Thos. Browne of Saltney's Side, 1^d.; Mr. Rob. Manning, 1^d.; Mr. John Banester, 1^d.; Mr. Randall Cotgreve, 1^d.; Mr. Cookes, 1^d.; Mr. Strete, ob.; Mr. Brock, 1^d.; Sir William Snede, 4^d.; Mr. John Offley, 2^d.; Sir Lawrence Smythe, xvi^s.; Recorder, xvi^s.

structure, which had for more than half a century occupied the minds of the civic authorities and been the subject of so many appeals to the Royal Bounty and to the patriotic citizens, was doomed to partial demolition in 1608. The Privy Council, 27 April, in that year, appoint the two Lords Chief Justices and the Chief Baron to make inquiry into a controversy which had arisen out of a "Commission of Sewers heretofore graunted to "survey the river Dee and the annoyances thereof, and out of a "decree of the same commission for the pulling down (amongst "other things) of the one-halfe of a certaine key or harbour for "shippes called the New Key," and for making a breach of tenne yards in length to the bottome of the saide river in the middle of a cawsey made of stone in the said river Dee.—*Letter Book*.

We gather from Domesday some of the regulations of this port of Chester in the time of Edward the Confessor. "If "any ships came or departed to or from the port of the City "without the King's licence, the King and the Earl had from every "man who was in them xl shillings. If any ship came contrary "to the King's command, and against his peace, then the King "and the Earl had both ship, crew, and all the cargo. But if she "came in the King's peace, and with his licence, then they who "were in her peaceably sold all things as they had, but on the "ship's departure the King and the Earl had 10^d. from every last. "If the ship had marten skins on board, the King's prefect might "command the owners to sell to no one until they had been first "shewn to him. The city then rendered in ferm 45 pounds and "three timbres [timbre=40] of marten skins, one third part of "which was the Earl's and two the King's."

Skins and hides continued throughout the whole of our period to be part of the cargoes imported. There can be no doubt that fish, both salt and fresh (which formed so necessary an article of diet in the Middle Ages), was brought into the harbour in large quantities, and eagerly bought up.

Hides and fish, salmon, hake, herringe,
Irish wooll, and linnen cloth, faldinge,
And martern, good bever marchandie,
Hertes hides, and other of venerie.
Skinnes of otter, squirrel, and Irish hare,
Of shepe, lamb, and foxe is her chaffare,
Felles of kiddes, and conies great plentie. *Hakluyt*, 1, 199.

These lines summarise very fairly the entries in the Sheriffs' Books of customs from the reign of Henry IV. to the end of Elizabeth's reign. But whilst most of the vessels put in loaded with barrels of allec (herring), millevelles, cod and other fish from the Northern

seas, others brought in large cargoes of the red wine of Gascony, Canary and Malmesey wine, the white wine de Rupell, thus of wines of "sherey," and iron from Spain, and carried away in exchange supplies of salt from the Wiches of Cheshire. The lists in the reign of Henry VIII. exhibit much greater variety. Besides hides and felles of dere, brocke, gote, shepe, and lamb, fox and otter cases, marten skins (still as in the days of Edward the Confessor), with an occasional wolf's skin, there are mentioned tuny fishe, 1 firkin of aquavyte, 2 barrels of turpentyne, sword blades from Bylbow (Bilboa), 3 dozen bow staves, oil from Portugal, figs, reysons, mases, cloves, ginger, marmaladowe, baysalte, almonds, oranges, rosen, pycle, cork, sope, trayn, houe, y, tallow, wheat, rye, grain from Harwich, beyffs (beef), cloth to be walked, fethers, lether, flockbeds, yarne, old brass and pewter, mantells, chekkers, frieze in large quantities, saffrone, yellow oker, sadle trees, madder, allom, fuller's earth, lytemose, shumach, 14 packs of velvet damask, 2 bales of hoppes from Penmark (2 Henry VIII).¹

In Queen Mary's reign a new body of traders was incorporated by charter of a distinct character from that of the Gild Merchant. These were the "Merchant Venturers" or "Meere Merchants," a company similar to that formed in London and other English towns during the 16th century. The Gild Merchant consisted chiefly of craftsmen and small shopkeepers. The Merchant Venturers were concerned with foreign trade, and no member was at first allowed to exercise any manual occupation or to sell by retail. The charter granted to the Chester Company was obtained 1 Mary, 1553. It sets forth that, according to the complaint of William Aldersey, Richard Poole, and Richard Massye, and others, Merchant Venturers, Artisans and Craftsmen without any suitable knowledge have trafficked in foreign merchandise to the defrauding of the Queen's customs and the injury of the shipping interest of Chester. The Queen therefore appoints William Aldersey, Master of the Mystery of Merchant Venturers in Chester, with two wardens, Richard Poole and Richard Massie, and they, with other citizens who are not of any manual art "who have exercised the art or mystery of Merchant Venturers for seven years last past, should be one body corporate under the name of the Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of Merchant Venturers of Chester. No craftsman or other person of the city

¹ 35 Henry VIII., Richard Loker, in a ship of Hilbre, imported 1600 shepe felles, 68 dere, 69 fawne skins, 6300 broke felles. 36 Hen. VIII., one ship brought in 7 martens' skins, 240 otters, 12 wolff skins, 2 scales skins, 500 cony fells, 8 fox cases, 46 cople mode hawke. The Katerina of Chester for the Arche bysshop of Dublyn brings 2 horseys, which are sent to the Kyngs Grace and 2 casts of gentle hawks.

"is to resort to merchandise in foreign parts, unless admitted to the Society, and this grant is not to prejudice the rights of the Crown, the privileges of the Mayor, or of the Governor and Society of Merchant Adventurers frequenting Spain, Holland, Zeeland, Brabant, and Flanders." This same charter was renewed 1 Elizabeth (1559).¹ It was contested in 1581 by the Company of Merchants trading to Spain and Portugal.

The Meere Merchants of Chester had also a dispute with the retail-dealers who, under the charter, were prohibited from trafficking in foreign parts. This controversy dragged its slow length along, appeal being made to the Privy Council for an amendment of Queen Mary's Charter so that the whole city might share in the benefit. The Meere Merchants (their leaders being William Massie, Thomas Tetlowe, William Aldersey, William Browne, and Peter Mainwaring) were threatened with disfranchisement and fine for having endeavoured to influence Sir F. Walsingham in their favour [A.O. 374, 378, 385], but no action seems to have been taken in that direction. The subject was under discussion for over eight years. One of the chief causes of controversy was the license to export calf skins. [A.O. 651, 652, 668]. At last the long-protracted dispute ended in 1589, both parties succeeding in a part of their contention, the Meere Merchants being permitted to "make choise of eny one other trade (beinge not a manuell crafte) as draper, vintner, mercer, iremonger and such like," and an order was sent down by the Lords of the Privy Council directing that "all retaylors may be at libertie to use the trade of marchandize, together with there retaylinge, and take the benefit of the license for transportinge of calve skins." This concession was not obtained without much expenditure, the charges of the three representatives of the city being as high as £60 13s. 4d. [A.O. 759].

336. 20th March, 23 Eliz., 1581. It is alsoe then & there ordered
Transportation towchinge thoccupacon of the merchaunts trafficinge Spayne &
of Portigall wherof William Massie, Thomas Tetlowe, & others
Calves Skins. of this citie beinge against the chartres of this citie that the
same such new encorporac'on of these merchaunts trafficinge Spayne &
Portigall shall be defended as a cities cause, & that ii or iii of the beste &
moste substanciall citizins of this citie of best welthe & mentenance
shalbe come sutors for this citie to the lords of her majesties Pryvie
Counsell in that behalfe.

350. 181b.—6 Oct, 23 Eliz., 1586. After our very heartie com-
Merchant endac'ons we have received of late certen letters boeth from
Venturers the Lord Bishop of Chester & other of the gent. of the shier
of Spain. & alsoe from you the maior & your brethren towchinge certaine
inhabitaunts of that cytie being bound to appear before the president &

¹ Grose—Gild Merchant ii., 362.

compeny of the merchaunts tradinge Spayne and Portingall. And upon some hearinge of the matter in varians betwene them we have thought good to take this order that whereas it is by you pretended that the dealinges of the said compeny are contrary to soche liberties & usages which you claim by chartre & prescription which shuld appoint some one or two of your citizins to repayre hither at the begininge of the next terme & to bring with them boethe the chartre graunted by Quene Mary for the erectinge of a corporacon of merchaunts venterers in that cyty as alsoe the chartre of the cyty or the true copy thereof & all such other proofes wherby you suppose that you ought not to be subjecte to any orders of the said compeny of Spayne and Portingall At which tyme we mynde to comitt the matter unto the hereinge of her majesties lerned counsell or others lerned in the lawe to have there advise therin And thereupon will take such a fynall order therin as we shall think expedient & in the meane tyme it shall be lawfull for the said citizens which came thither not beinge alreadie free of ye compeny of Spayne & Portingall & all and every other the inhabitants of the said cytie whom you shall fynde to have provided any wares or merchaundizes being lawfull & not prohibited to be transported unto Spayne Portingall or any other forren partes frely to lade & cary away the same notwithstandinge any orders made by the said compeny of the merchaunts of Spayne. And as we have signified thus much unto the presydent of the said compeny here soe we praye you in our name to declare the same unto William Massie, William Aldersey, & Thomas Tetlowe, deputie and assistants of the said compeny as we are enformed in that cytie, that they forbear to moleste any of the citizins or any of Lirpoole untill suche tyme as we shall have taken other order therin. And for as much as we are enformed that the cause of this sendinge for of those of your cytizins which are come & whom you have recomended groweth firste upon some informacon sent up from the said deputy and assistants or some of them we praye you to will the said deputy and assistants or some of them sufficiently instructed in the said matter to repayre hither at the said tyme. And in the meane tyme you shalle alsoe in our names comaund the saide deputie & assistants to forbear to levie impositions & fynes whatsoever upon the persons or goods of the said citizins or upon any of them of Lirpoole by vertue of any auctoryty which they may have from the said president and compeny ether for matters past or to be don hereafter untill they shall understand our further pleasure and resolution. And soe trustinge that this shall satisfy & assureinge that we mynd upon the hearinge of the matter to have suche a favourable consideracon of the state of your cytie in the respecte of the late decay therof & your forwardness in her majesties services for the realme of Ireland as lawfullie and convenientlye we may we bid you heartily farwell. From Grenewiche the XIIth. of September 1582.

Postscript—We require you Mr. Massey to redeliver suche bonds as you have taken of any of Chester or Lirpole as deputie of the compeny trading Spayne & Portingall. Your loving frends,

W. Burghley R. Leicester James Crofte Chr. Hatton

To our loveinge frends the maior & his brethren of the Cytie of Chester & to William Massie, William Aldersey, & Thomas Tetloe, deputie & assistants of the compeny of the merchaunts tradinge Spayne & Portingall & to every of them to whom it maie apertaine.

354.
Who shall
defend the
action against
Meere
Merchants.

183a.—And whereas by former orders towching the suite the meere merchants have against the Retaylers, the same is to be defended as a cities cause, it is nowe debated howe money shalbe levied to defend those suits and what somes of money is needfull, and by whom to be levied, and whoe shalbe sessors therof. It is therefore nowe fullye ordered by this whole assembly that the gents named in a bill exhibited to this assembly in this behalfe shall accomplish the same, and that John Hankie, alderman, and Robart Brocke, gentleman, shalbe the travelers.

361.
Meere
Merchants suit,
Charter to be
amended.

184b.—6 April, 24 Eliz. And towching the merchants retaylers and the meere merchants suite to the lords of the quenes majestie privie counsell it is nowe fully concluded and further agreed upon that suite shalbe made to have a newe encorporacon for the benefite of the whole citie with amendment of the imperfections in this last chartre in quene Marie's daies. And at the same assembly Richard Birkenhed, esquier, Recorder of the citie aforesaid, William Glaseor, esquier, John Hankie, William Bird, aldermen, and Robert Brocke, gent., or any three of them were appointed to consider of the said last charter of quene Maries and to devise meanes howe to helpe the imperfections therof.

367.
Three points
asked for by
the Meere
Merchants.

185a.—6 April, 24 Eliz. The meere merchaunts have delivered up there supplycacons of ther greefes to certaine comissioners appointed by the privie Counsell where in effecte three things are desired which is considered of at this assembly, viz., that firste, if the retaylors occupie as meere merchants with them, they mighte likewise with the artificers retorne all kinde of comodities; the second, that there charges in attendinge this cause here may be borne by the citie as the retaylors charges are; and the thirde, that if there charges be not soe borne by the citie, then noe imposicon be levied upon them towards the charge of the retaylors in this attendinge, or beinge alredie laid on them the same maie be repayed. And at this assembly upon good and due consideracon hereof it is ordered by the maior, aldermen, sheriffs and comon counsell thereof, that the said firste pointe so far as lawe and custome of this citie will permit the same is graunted. And alsoe the said seconde pointe is graunted, and the laste is referred to Mr. Maior's consideracon.

368.
Meere
Merchants
slanderous bill
to Sir Francis
Walsingham.

Rich. Bavand, Mayor, 6 July, 24 Eliz. Moved what was to be don towching the merchants Retaylors and mere merchants upon sighte and hereinge of the copie of suche slanderous bill by the meere merchants exhibited to Sir Francis Walsingham, K^t. and upon the redinge of the names of those whoe denyed to be privie to the said bill. And upon due consideracon herein taken, it is ordered by this assembly, that the said meere merchants, notwithstandinge there disobedience, shall have this day sevensighte to deliberate with them selves, and to conforme them selves howe far the former doings are agreeable or againste there severall othes taken in this citie for the better mentenance of the orders therof, and to se whether they will submit them selves and be of other mynds and become good citizens, or ells then to have an assembly as nowe warned to be disfranchised and then to be fyned.

688.
Order of
Lords of the
Privy Council
touching
the
Meere
Merchants.

ix July, xxvi Elizabeth, 1589. An order set downe by the lords and others of Her Majesties privie Counsell in the matter of Controversye between the Maior and Citizens of the Citie of Chester and William Massey and others tearmed meare marchaunts at Nonsuche
Firste it is ordered that suche as be nowe meare Marchauntes there for ye trade of Spaine and Portugall and all other free Citizins of that Citie y^t are or hereafter shalbe of that societie or Compeny or otherwise use the trade of marchandize there shall or maie together withe there trade of marchandize use the benefit of retaylinge in some one trade to wit ether to be a drapere, marcer, vintener, Iremonger or suche like beinge noe manuall occupacon and soe to continue to them selves there widowes children and apprentizes without alteracon after once choise by them soe made and alsoe that all retaylors within the said Citie as well those w^{ch} have not heretofore used the trade of marchandize as those w^{ch} heretofore have used it, and suche as hereafter shalbe retaylors and willinge to use the trade of marchandize, shall and may likewise be at there libertie to use the same trade together withe there retaylinge and take the benefit of the licence for transportinge of Calve skins, and the same in like sorte to Continue to them selves there widowes children and apprentizes as afore saide.

Item that all other free Citizins of what title or trade soever which heretofore have borne or hereafter shall beare anie publike office within the same Citie shall and maie leavinge there manuall trade and occupacon be admitted into the Compeny of Marchauntes adventurers within the same Citie and they and there widowes children and apprentizes usinge marchandize as aforesaide to take benefite of the said licence proportionable and have like priveledge therein as the said meere Marchauntes have.

Item that suche of the said free Citizins as hereafter shalbe admitted into the Societie and Compeny of Marchauntes as before beinge heretofore noe known merchauntes but retaylors or artificers and hereafter desirous to be of the Compeny of the said merchauntes adventurers and partakers of the said licence shall everie of them paie suche fyne for the publike good of the Harboronghe there or suche othere publike uses for the saide Citie as to the Maior and Aldermen for the tyme beinge or the greatest parte of them shalbe thought meete soe all waies the same be not lesse then fyve poundes.

Item that ether parte as well the Marchaunte as ye retaylor haveing benefite of bothe freedoms w^{ch} they shall take unto, shall further contribute in all maner of charges to boeth the said Compenies as they doe nowe contribute and likewise mutuallie trade together by freightinge and shippinge there goodes together in one or moe bottoms as occasion hereafter shalbe offered.

Item that the Marchaunt adventurers of the said Citie shall and maie have and enjoy the benefite of a graunte made unto them by Queene Marie and w^{ch} by order of this Conncell in tyme of former controversie betweene the Marchauntes of London tradinge Spaine and Portingall and the said merchaunte adventurers of the said Citie of Chester in anno 1581 was certefyed by the nowe L: Cheefe Justice of England and the master of the Rooles to be good in lawe, and to w^{ch} graunte moste of the now merchauntes within the said Citie are sworne.

And it is further ordered that l^{res} with a copie of this order enclosed be directed to the Customer, Comptroller, Sercher and other her Majestes officers within the port of ye said Citie and the Creekes thereunto belonging requiringe them and every of them, not onlie to permit and suffer all and every person and persons before mencioned w^{ch} are hereby mente and intended to take benefite of the said licence quietlie to ship and transporte suche Calve skins as hereafter they or eny of them shall buy and provide for that purpose by virtue of the said licence and accordinge to this order, and thereupon to make and deliver unto them and eny of them suche Cocket and Cockets as shalbe needfull and requisite for the same they and eny of them payinge unto her Majestie her heires and successors or to her and ther fflarmor or fflarmors there for the tyme beinge suche somes of money upon every dicker hereafter by them to be transported for and in the name of Custome as by the said licence is appointed for the said meere Marchauntes to paie, but alsoe the said Customer to make severall entries in his Custome booke of all such Calve skins as hereafter shalbe transported, within the Portes, Creekes, places whereof he shall have the charge and likewise enter upon the backside of the licence a true note of all suche Calve skins as shalbe soe severallie and particularlie shipped out of the saide porte of Chester by vertue of the said licence and according to this order and the same upon his accompte yerelie to declare as by the said licence is Appointed.

And for the better accomplishinge thereof it is further ordered that the said licence shall from tyme to tyme hereafter by suche as nowe have or hereafter shall have the Custodie therof be delivered or shewed further at or in the Custome howse of the said porte to serve anie necessarie use before expressed soe as the effecte of this order maie be duly put in execncon without further trouble and for the benefite of the said Citie and Mentenance of Navigacon there, as at the firste granntinge thereof the same was mente and intended.

Lord Chauncellor
Lord Treasurer
Lord Admirall
Mr. Controller
Mr. Vicechamberlen

Mr. Secr. Walsingham
Sir John Perrot
Mr. Wolley
Mr. Fortescue

Wyllm. Hamnet, Mayor.

Exam per W. Waade.

57. **New** **Haven.** **91a.**—Mem^m "That at an assemble holden in the comen haulte the firste daye of Februarie anno dⁿⁱ 1557 John Webster then being Maire yt was then and ther agreid and ordeigned for the beter setting forward the worke of the Haven that ther shoulde be a master of the wourke a treasurer and two overseers of the wourke to be done and for that tyme was nominated and apoyntyd John Smyth alderman for the master of the wourke, Thomas Aldersay alderman tresurer and William Leche alderman and Thomas Stuerde oversers of the said worke and further agreid and orderid at the same assemble with consente of the merchants that the monye comonlye cauled primage being iii^d. ob. of every tonne of merchandiez coming into this citie except corne should from hensfourth mayde a gronte of everye tonne and paid by merchaunts towards the furtherance of the wourke of ye said haven and the leve loukers for the tyme beinge to gather and receive the same prymage with the helpe of the keper of the comon haule and thaye to paye

the same to the tresurer appoynted for the said wourke. Also it was ordeigned at the same assemble that the parisheners of every paryshe within the citie shall geve ther consents what thay wyll of ther good wyll geve wekelye towards the wourke of the saide Haven and therupon in every paryshe a boucke to be maide and the parcills so graunted by every person to be payed and the Churchwardenes of the same paryshe to gathar and receve yt and paye the same to the tresurer of the said wourke and yf any person denye or wyll not paye wyckelye that which he or they before grauntyd then the church wardens to sertyfy the mayre therof and he to forese them to paye the same.

71. Temp. Willⁱ Aldersey, 1560. At an assemble holden in
Collection for New y^e comon haule of y^e saide cytie the xxix daye of October
for New Haven. anno ii^o Domine Elizabethe Regine yt ys agreid and consentyd
by the mayre sheriffs aldermen and comon counsell of the

said cytye that the collection for y^e haven should begyn ageyne in the Churches the Sonday after All Saynts day next that is to saye every mayre pere shall paye wekelye vi^d. every shyrriff pere shall paye wekelye iiij^d. and every of the fortye iiij^d. and the comoners according to every one of ther abelytye as the shalbe sessed by the said mare (*sic*) by the hede men of every paryshe provided alwayes and yt ys further agreid by the same assemble that y^e premysses notwithstanding the mayre by his discretion maye abate of the somes according to the habilitie of the persons as to hym shall be thought good. And yt ys further agreid by the same assemble that all former orders hertofore made shall be put in excicucion and specially such as concerne the pain' of fines, amercyaments or forfytours and to be gatharid and levied. And yt ys further agreid by y^e same assemble that an order herafter spoken of and put in remembrance shalbe perussed by y^e mayre and Recorder, caulng to them iiij aldermen and iiij of y^e comon counsell to make y^e same perfyte and bring yt in at an other assemble y^r to be red and agreid unto conferming the devision of all forfytours of x^{li} and above and all deodands, goods and other such lyke.

A. O. 95.
Throwing
out of
ballast and
gravel.

111a.—Temp. Will^m. Snede militis 4^o die Juni 1567 At an assemble houlden in the comon Haule of the saide citie. Whereas heretofore by reasone of the casting and throwing out of shipes barks botes lighteners and other vesseles of balasts as stoun sande gravell and swipping of suche vessels ther beinge lyeing and moring at the newe haven of Chester water, greate inormytes hurtes and hynderaunces unto the said newe haven hathe hapenyd in fylling of the grounde and letting of the water to have full and right course to the same haven and herafter by menes therof grete hynderaunce and distourbanse therof woulde be to the distruction of the saide haven yf the same shoulde be permittyd, Therefore for the avoydinge of suche inconvenyences and for the redres therof yt ys orderid and decryed at this assemble by the saide mayre aldermen sheriffs and comen counsell of the saide citie that at any tyme herafter no kynde of balast of stone sande gravill swepinge or any kynde of vessyll nor any other thinge or thinges hurtefull to the saide haven in letting the water to have righte course or fylling up the lande there shall be caste out of any shipe barke picard bote lightnere or any other kynde of vessell harboring or moringe ther into the water of the saide haven nor within the full sea marks therof upon payne that every owner and owners of every suche vessell and vessells out of which such thing shall be throune shall forfyt for every offence the

some of fortye shillings which forfyture shalbe to the use of the said cytye ; and yt was ther and then allso orderid by the saide mayre, aldermen, sheriffs and comen counsell of the saide citie that whosoever at any tyme herafter shall knowe or understande any suche offence or anoyance to be comy'ttyd by any maner of person or persons, and do geve the maiore of the salde cytye for the tyme being knowledge therof imedyately upon any suche faulte comytted shall have for his or ther reward every tyme that he or they so doe, six shillings eyghte pence.

A.D. 105.
Money for
New Haven
to be raised.

117a.—Temp. Ric. Dutton armigeri xvto die Jan. 10 Eliz. at the aforesaide assemble. Wheras the furtheraunce of the workemanship at the new haven hathe byne gretely hynderid and stayed by reasone of ye monye appoynted for that pourpose hath not byne gatharid accordinglye and none eft sones mending the finishing of a necessary portion of the saide wourke at the nue haven and the due and orderly gathering of the said monye Therefore at the said assemble houlden the daye and place aforesaid yt was orderid concludid and fully agreid upon by the said maire aldermen sheriffs and comon counsell of the said citie that the Tenne persones whose names are subscribid shall furthwith by all such orderly meanes and wayes as thaye thinke beste sosse rate and ley all maner of person or persones within the said citie what theye and every of them shall paye towards the said wourke and to appoynte in what order and sorte the same shall be payed from tyme to tyme herafter and that the fouerthe parte of all suche payments and sessements fourthwith to be levied and on other partye at the feste of thannunciation of our Ladye Marye the Virgyne next and at the feste of Sent John Baptist next insuing all the reste and resedue of the saide some to be appoyntyd and sessed as aforesaid and so from yere to yere in every of the saide festes quarterlye unto the said bildinge and workemanship be fully endyd all which somes of monye shall in suche sorte be levied of every persons goods lands and tenements by waye of distrese or by other meanes as by the said persones shalbe limited and appoynted and that the steward of every occupacon shall levie the said soumes of mony and the shiriffs of the said citie to be tresurers therof.

A.D. 106.
Supervision
of
Work of
the Haven.

117a.—And further yt was orderid then and there by the said maire, aldermen, sheriffs and comen counsell of the said citie that from hensfourth every weke one of thaldermen sheriffs peres or comon counsell of the saide citie at the nomination and appoyntment of the saide maire upon his oune proper costes and charges shall go doune to the said wourke of the saide haven and ther contynue all weke to survie and over se the saide wourke and upon every Sondaye every such person to presente and exhibit to the said maire a byle of charges of the said haven for that werke and of the furtheraunce of the workemanshiipp there all that tyme.

John Couper Alderman

Roger Ley Iremonger

William Hall Alderman

William Massy Merchaunt

Henry Leche Draper

Edward Hanmer Draper

William Bridd the elder Tanner

John Coock Shomaker

Thomas Lyniall Hatter

Rauff Barlow Lynen Draper

110.
Money for
New Haven.

118b.—Temp. Ric. Dutton, Arm. xxiith daie of Marche, 10 Elizabeth. Whereas at an assemble houlden the xvth daie of January last past it was orderid and agreid that the wourke of the haven should be set forward, and for the discharge of

the charges therof that certane persones then nomynatyd shoulde assesse the inhabitaunts of this citie what every of them shoulde paye towards the same as by the said ordinaunce at large apperith, sethen which the said wourke hath bene set forward and assessment made accordinglye, notwithstandinge dyvers persons of the said inhabitaunts will not paye ther duties according to the said assessments, ffor remedye whearof yt ys nowe orderid at this said assemble by the said maire, aldermen, shiriffs, and comon counsell of the said citie of Chester that all and every person and persones which wyll not fourthwith paye all such parceles and somes of monye as thay ar assessed to paye according to the said former ordinaunce shalbe by the saide mayre commytted to prisone and by the maire of the said citie for the tyme being ther to remayne untill they have payed the same. And yt was then and there lycke wyse orderid that the citiznes of the said citie shall at all tymes save harmeles the said mayre for so doinge and of all costes, sutes and charges that every such maiore shalbe put unto for the same.

13 Jan., 18 Eliz., 1576, Henry Hardware, Mayor. And wheralsoe the haven called the newe haven of the saide citie is not fullie finished and not presentlie furnished with the revenewes of the said Citie to finishe the same, Therefore the whole assemble have made their requeste to W^m Glaseor, Esquior, vice-chamberleyn of the countie of Chester, beinge presente, to be a sutor to the Lord Threasurer and therle of Leycester, that it might please ther Honours to make requeste unto the Queene's majestie to graunte out of the Custome howse of Chester suche yerlie paymente and somme of money as to finish the wurkmanshippe of the said haven: Whoe of him self willinglie hath promised to doe the same with his beste indeavour therein. And for the better furtheraunce of the same it is assented by this assemble that a letter shalbe framed and a supplicacon for that intent and purpose from this Citie.

648. "Dover Pier" for New Haven and Repair of Walls. 219b.-28 Jan., 31 Eliz. Alsoe it is motioned whether Convenient for this Citie to become sutors for the Custome called Dover Pier wch the towne of Dover have had and ther terme therof expired that the Citie might have the same towards the fynishinge of our newe haven and mentenaunce of the decaied walles. It is nowe ordered that letters shalbe written to the right honorable our singuler good Lorde therle of Derbie and to Mr Secreatory Walsyngham Knight and Mr Solicitor in this behalfe to understand howe there honors and his worship shall favoure the same, requestinge them to move her Majesty therin and therupon to proceede further as shalbe thought convenient.

The favourite names for the ships were Mary, Katerina, le Trinite, George, John, the Bryde. We find also the Padern of Aberystwith, Bartholomew of Russhen, le Jacob de Lyverpool, Michell, Gabriel, Sondag, Goodluck, Christopher, Faulcon, Elen, Savyour, Prymerowse. The traders in the time of Richard II. and Henry IV. came in considerable numbers from Coventry, Drogheda, and Dublin. Thus, of eleven merchants taking ship and paying toll at Chester on 6 November, 6 Henry IV., seven were of Coventry, and, in another year of the same reign, of thirty-eight

entries of traders in one page of the Port Register, seventeen were from Coventry, three of Dublin, two of Troghda, three of Molahyde. In the reign of Henry VI. the traders came also from Preston, London, Dertmouthe, Dublin, Molahyde, St. Malo, Rouen, Lincoln, Beaumaris, the Isle of Man, Waterford, Nottingham, Newark, Thomworth, Bideford. As to their size, the tonnage did not often exceed 120 tons, and the great majority even of those belonging to Hilbre and Neston (which in Elizabeth's reign furnished the largest ships) were between 50 and 80 tons.¹

An interesting paper, dated 21 Sept., 1575, containing a claim for a vessel called the Beare Warwick of Chester, which was taken and spoiled by persons of St. Malo, estimates the value of the ship and cargo at £4,765 4s. 2d.²

It has been said that the fishing trade in England was ruined by the change of creed, and that to detest fish had become so much a note "of Protestantism that it became necessary in 1562-3 to "bring forward a politic ordinance on fish eating on Fridays and "Saturdays." Whatever may have been the state of the trade elsewhere, the traffic in fish at the Port in Chester does not appear to have suffered any diminution, and herrings and whitefish of all kinds, milwelles, ling, and salmon, form with friezes, checkers, feathers and flockbeds, flax, yarn, skins, and iron, the principal articles of freight during the reign of Elizabeth, as in the time of her sister Mary.

¹ "7 April, 3 Henry VIII., John Hewst, Merchant of Chester, having sustained loss in ships through the ruin and decay of the haven there, and having just built two new ships of 120 tons and 80 tons, is granted the sum of 4/- for every ton burden of each of the same ships." In the reign of Edward VI. one Hilbre ship had twenty-three traders on board, another eighteen, a third twelve. The Liverpool ships are all small, and some of the Chester vessels were as low as twelve to sixteen tons.

² 17 Elizabeth, 21 Sept., 1575. A ship, Beare Warwick of Chester, laden at Cales in Spain, taken and spoiled by persons of St Malos. Valuation by merchants of the goods and ship.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Wm. Godeman & Wm. Aldersey	337	2	10	Peter Newall - - -	212	9	4
Fulke Aldersey - - -	341	0	0	Rd. Rathburne - - -	82	13	0
Randall Leche - - -	174	0	0	Rob. Dryhurst - - -	457	15	4
Wm. Jones - - -	213	6	8	Edw. Trever - - -	98	18	8
Wm. Browne - - -	54	7	8	David Lloid - - -	57	3	2
Rauphe Thorneton - -	91	13	2	Bryan Bland - - -	109	5	0
Wm. Pillin - - -	322	5	10	David Challiner - -	134	7	4
Edward Hanmer - - -	56	19	2	Wm Wall - - -	19	0	0
John Fullin - - -	135	7	2	John Fletcher of Calys -	52	0	0
Rd. Bavand and Wm. Massy -	56	7	2	Fulk Aldersey, Rob. Dryhurst,			
Thom. Tetlow - - -	134	15	2	and Bryan Bland for the			
John Williamson - - -	111	2	8	shipp and ordinaunce	1,217	16	8
Rd. Bromfield - - -	27	11	6				
John Fletcher & John Basford	267	16	8				
					£4,765	4	2

The amount of customs received during the earlier reigns cannot be given, owing to the dilapidated condition of the Sheriffs' books. In 33 Henry VI., the total of payments did not exceed £7 16s. 7d., made up of small sums of 4^d. and 6^d. In 16 Edward IV. the customs received from traders to Ireland brought in £6 4s. 1d., and from those putting in at the Port of Chester £12 19s. 10d. Amongst the items are 13/- for "22 dol. vini et ferri, 1 pipe vineger and 6 barrell de sayme"; 12/10 for 36 dol. vini. In 10 Henry VII., 38 dol. ferri, 1 pip. ferri brought in 11/3. The payments in Edward VI. were £3 14s. 1d., and in 4-5 Philip and Mary £9 9s. 6d. The entries in the Muragers' books for 1553 are as follows:—Page 1, herryngs, milwell, £4 4s. 9d.; page 2, herryngs, 56/-; page 3, herryngs, tallow, iron, brasse, pakks, wyn, 29/3; page 4, herryngs, fryses, pakks, 47/-; page 5, 38/11, making a total of £12 15s. 11d.; and for 1854, page 1, herryngs, salmon, £5 6s. 6d.; page 2, tallow, whitefyshe, £2 13s. 9d.; page 3, tallow, wyn, brasse, 38/8; page 4, herryngs, hides, wine, 32/2; page 5, for Portingalls cloth, £4 os. 4d.; page 6, 36/8; page 7, 4/-, making a total of £17 12s. 0d.

In 1585 tallow is imported in larger quantity than usual, doubtless for the manufacture of candles, in which there was considerable traffic in Chester. In 1584 one ship hailing from London had for cargo 2 butts Muscadell, 7 barrells Resons, 78 dozen ston bottles, 8 packets hops ["the wicked weed called "hops"], 1 hogshed Rhenish wyne, cloves, 5 falcons, besides a lot of miscellaneous goods. In 1557 a Dublin vessel, in addition to brasse, fishe, and checkers, brought 30^c = 3,000 lamb fells, 24^c brook fells, 16^c cony fells and gott fells, 9 fox cases, 13^c shepe fells, 5 otter skynnes, 11 dossen calf skyns, 4 dere fells, 2^c shepe fells. A ship of 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, *Le Ffarwcon gent' de Chester*, conveyed cargo for William Aldersay, Thomas Bavand, aldermen; John Hankey, sheriff; Maurice Williams, Robert Amerey, William Jewet and another, William Dodd—lxxxix tonnes iron, vi tonne trayne, iiij tonne pitch and rosyn, vii chests fells, vi dossen sword blades, 1 hogshed tallow. Also for Robert Corbet de Lyverpole, iiij tonnes iron; Rauff Baylie, iii tonnes iron; Rauffe Sekerson, ii tonnes iron; Rogerus Walter, iiij tonnes iron. In 1532, the S^a Maria de Placencea (John de Lusexasa, master) had for William Godeman, vii dol. trayn, viii dol. ferri; Rad. Rogerson, vii dol. trane, xii dol. ferri; Thomas Longley, xii dol. ferri; Petrus Heley, xvi dol. ferri and iii. saffron.

Reference has been made¹ to the annoyance felt by the citizens

¹ Pages 89 and 92.

of Liverpool at the preference of Chester as the port of embarkation for soldiers *en route* to Ireland, and to the earlier effort made in the twenty-first year of Edward IV. to revive the shipping at Chester¹ by prohibiting goods from being landed elsewhere than at Chester. The Assembly book and the Sheriffs' Records preserve more than one allusion to the rivalry of Liverpool, the authorities there forestalling the customers of Chester by exacting the dues from the merchants, and giving them a certificate of payment to be shown at Chester. Thus, temp. Edward VI., it is noted that in a ship from Troddarth (Drogheda) was a trader with "one wey of tallow, "whiche came from Liverpole and payed his custoume there." 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, two ships "brought a certificate from "Liverpole." 7 Elizabeth, three ships put in with fells, iron, tallow, and one but of wyne, "having a cocket from Lyverpool." In consequence of the attempt made by the citizens of Dublin to divert their traffic from Chester to Liverpool, Beaumaris, and Conway, the citizens were forbidden, 4 Edward VI. (A.O. 34), to buy any wares from Ireland which had not been first entered in the "customarye bouckes" of the city, and, as a retaliatory measure, it was expressly ordered that no citizen should charter a vessel with goods to the crikke, haven or porte of Lyverpoole on penalty of £40. (A.O. 37).

34. **80b.**—Tempore Thome Aldersaye. Where as before the day of makynge herof it ys informed to the maior his brethern Citizens of day of makynge herof it ys informed to the maior his brethern Dublin transfer the aldermen of this citie that the mayre of the citie of Dublyn trade to wyth the advyse of his brethern there hath lately made an Liverpool, &c. ordinaunce that none of the inhabitants of Dublyn should from hensfourth transporte ship or convaye eny of ther goods or merchaundes unto this citie upon a serten penaltie therin conteynyd but onely to conveye the same unto Lyverpole Bewmaries Conway & other places in Wayles or els wher at ther pleasures contrary to the oulde accustomed famylaryte & trade of merchaundise betwene ye citizens of Dublyn & the citizens of this citie have used without any just or lawfull cause or title so to do by reasoun wherof diverse & sundry persons of this citie have of late resortid unto Lyverpoule & other places above namyd to bye the sayd wayres & merchaundes which yf the same persons had not resortid thether yt would have byne brought to this citie to be soule by reason wherof the pryces of the same wares & merchaundes be not onely gretely inhaunced but allso ye custome of this citie ys greatly mynysed & decayed, In advoydyng wherof yt ys ordred at an assemble houlden in the pentice of the said citie the Fryday in the fourth weke of Lent in the fourth yere of the reigne of our soveryng lord king Edward the sext by ye said mayre Recorder aldermen sheriffs & comen counsell of the said citie that from hensforth no maner of person or persons inhabiting within this citie of what estate or degre soever he or they be doe resorte unto any the places aforesaid or els into any other toune of North Wayles Chessilhire or Lancashier onesles yt be within the liberties of the watar of Chester & ther do bye eny wares or

merchaundes comyng out of Ierland which be not fyrest enterid into the customar ye bouckes of this citie upon payne of forfyture for every defaulte ten pounds to the use of the comon boxse of the same citie.

37.
No Citizen to
Charter a ship
to Liverpool,
&c.

81a.—Tempore Thome Aldersay. At an assemble holden in ye comen hanle there ye third daye of October in the fourth yere of the reigne of our soverigne lorde Edward the syxt by the said mayre aldermen sheriffs & comon counsell of ye said citie yt ys ordyred decryed & assemblyd for ye comon welthe of the same cytye & cytyzens of ye same that no maner of person or persons of what degre or condition so ever he or they be of dwelling or inhabytng within ye same citie or within suburbes precinte & liberties of the same citie or hereafter shall fortune to inhabite or dwell within ye same shall not at any tyme or tymes to comyn after the twenty daye of ye monythe of Mayrche next comyng shipp or cause to be shippid loden for them selves or for any other unto ther use or uses no maner kynde of wares goods or merchaundes or other thing or things what soever yt shalbe into ye crikke haven or porte of Lyverpole within ye com' (county) of Laucastr or oute or fourth of ye same crikke or haven unto any parties or costes beyond the se into eny forryn Realme nor to any the kings majestes lands domynyons or territories in no ship nor shipes or eny other bote or vessiles what so ever they shalbe & further that no person nor persons aforesaid at & in no tyme hereafter the said xxth day do fright or cause to be frightted laden or cause to be laden any maner shipe or shipes vessel or vessels with no maner kynde or nature of ware merchaundes vytale or other things whatsoever yt shalbe in any maner kynd or nature of ware merchaundes vytell or any other thing what so ever yt shalbe in any wyse to be brought & dischargid unladen & visborthened within the same crikke haven or porte of Lyverpole but onely to be dischargid within the porte or haven of this citie frome tyme wherof no manes remembrance according to the ould & aunycnt liberties & usages of ye same porte wherof no manes remembrance ys to the contrarie opon payne of forfytour of xlii (£40) for every tyme that they or eny of them shall do ye contrary to this ordenaunce & provysion the same forfyture of xlii to be levied of the lands & goods & chatalls for every such person or persons that shall do contrary to these provisions & ordenaunce by the shiriffs & forens of the tyme being to the use of ye tresurye of the cytye & in case ther can be no such the lands goods nor cattells found within the saide citie that then yt is ordred by the said mayre Recorder sheriffs fourtie of & for the comon counsell of ye said cytye yt ye maire of ye same cytie for ye tyme being shall cause the bodyes of the same person & persons so offending to be taken & he or they so tayken to comyn to ward into the prison cauled the Northgate of the same cytye & ther to remayne without bayle or manprys or eny remyscion enlargement unto such tyme as he or they & every of them have trewlye & faythfully payed & satsfyed to the tresaury of the said cytye the said forfyture or payne of xlii or without any diminiscion defalkyng or abayting of eny parte or parcell therof oneles yt be by the hole consent & comon assent of ye mayre aldermen shiriffs & fourty comyn counsell of ye said citie for that tyme being.

A.O. 1056.
Shipping of
Soldiers.

256a.—Thursday, Feb. xvth, 41 Elizabeth., Commen Hall of Pleas—Rd. Rathburne, Mayor. At which assembly Mr. Maior enformeth the same how that he hath received Letters from the right Ho: the Lords of her Majestes most

honorable prively counsell requirunge him to make provision of victualls both by sea and by land for divers greate companies of souldiores as well horse as foote appointed to come to this citie to take shippinge for Ireland and that he is to pay by their Honors dyrection unto every souldier iij^d per diem over and besides their dyet And desyreth that some good somme of money might be levied by way of lone amongste the Citizens and inhabitants of this citie for the better effectinge of the saied service untill such tyme as Mr. Maior shall procure money from their Honors To dischardge the same whereuppon At this Assembly by the full consent thereof Mr. Richard Bavand and Mr. William Aldersay Aldermenn and Justices of peace within the saied citie Mr. John Ratcliff beerebruer and Mr. Rauff Allen shoemaker sheriffs Peeres¹ John Moyle draper and John Lea Marchant are nominated and appointed to be Sessors to Assesse in their discretions the citizens of this citie what some of money every man shall lend towards the accomplishinge of the saied service And that the saied Sessors shall certify Mr. Maior of their doeinges and proceedinges therein by thursday next cominge which money is to be with all expedicon called for and delivered unto the Treasurers who are to pay the same over unto Mr. Thomas Lynyall Ald. uppon his fiat whom this Assembly have allsoe especially nominated and appointed to provide sea victualls for the saied horsemen and footemen And to appoint sufficient menn to be ymployed under him in the saied service.

Thursday, 1 March, 41 Elizabeth—Inner Pentice—Richard
 H.O. 1057. Rathburne, Mayor. At which assembly Mr. Maior declareth
 Earl of Essex that he is credible enformed that the Right Ho: the Erle
 Entertained. Marshall of England will speedely repaire to this citie to take
 shippinge for Ireland And moveth that some such order may be taken for
 the receipt and entertaynement of the saied Erle as may be both besittinge
 soe honorable a personage and tend to the credite of the citie; uppon
 whose motion it is by the same Assembly agreed and ordered that there
 shallbe prepared at the oversight and appoyntment of Mr. David lloyd
 and Mr. William Aldersay Ald. for the saied Erle a good banquettt uppon
 the cities Chardges and that a silver cupp of xli or xxty marks price shallbe
 bought and fortie Angells of gould alsoe provided uppon the cities
 chardges and putt into the saied cupp and soe be presented unto his Honor.

256b.—And at the same Assembly Rauffe Rathburne
 H.O. 1058. Harbingers Thomas Harvy John Lea George Boyes and John Lyniall are
 for Soldiers' appointed Harbingers to provide Lodginge for the souldiers
 Lodgings. appointed to come to this citie and to see them shipped vidz
 Thomas Hervie for Liverpoole and Wallezey, John Lea for Burton head
 and the other three as Mr. Maior shall at his pleasure Appoynte.

It is very possible that Chester may have suffered in common with other coast towns from the "Rovers of the Sea" and other piratical bands of which loud complaint was made in the reign of Henry VI. No record is preserved among the Chester documents of any kidnapping or pillaging such as is described in the Paston Letters, where a neighbour is said to have been "taken with "enemies walking by the sea-side." But in 1575, Sir Edward Fytton, writing from Chester to Lord Burghley to acknowledge the

¹ Sheriff's peer, one who has been sheriff.

safe arrival of some treasure at Chester, states that he intends to pass over with the Lord President, but they both think it wise to delay their departure for a few days, partly on account of the Scottish and other pirates on the coast, and partly the extremity of the plague being such that the Lord President has not yet determined where to land,¹ and in 1581, Edmond Devenishe of Dublin, merchant, deposes at Chester that, while he was making the passage in the Margaret of Helbry from Dublin to Holyhead, the vessel was attacked, boarded, and plundered by pirates in Holyhead Bay. The Mayor of Bristol, 5 June, 1597, asks the intervention of the Mayor of Chester in a matter of piracy, begging him to make stay of any sacks and oyles that may be brought for sale to West Chester from Milford. Divers Bristol merchants of good credit had advertised their mayor that "a certeyne French shippe laden with sacks and oyles, of the goodes of Mr. John Ollyver and other merchauntes of this place, was lately taken neere Caldye within our channell by certeyne Englishe Pirates, whoe (as yt ys to be conjectured) have murdered or otherwise made away xvi or xviii men that were in the said Frenche shippe, and have carried the said gooddes into Mylforde Avon, and from thence transported the same in other bottoms into Weste Chester." Some of the goods taken by these pirates were traced to a Richard Uggan (son of Sir Richard Uggan of Bolston, Pembrokeshire, K^t); and 17 June, 1597, Walter Stanfast, alderman of Bristol, writes thanking the Mayor, &c., of Chester for their zeal and promptitude in staying nine tuns and one butt of sack sold in the city of Chester by a certain Richard Uggan, who declares that the same sack was brought by way of merchandise from a barque of Milford, called the George Tasker, and praying on behalf of the Bristol merchants that the same sack may be stayed yet further. "We have made verely dylygente serche and enquirye, as well in her Majesties Custome House here as otherwise, but there hath byn noe such barque of Milford at this Porte, nor any such sakes transported as the said Uggan affirmeth: And we are now enformed that there is a Barque of Ireland taken of late by a pyrate, lyeinge in a shippe of warre abowt Mylford, which ys vehemently suspected to have taken an other shippe laden with sakes and oyles for the sayd Mr. Ollyver and other merchauntes of this cyty, and the said xix buttes of secke were bought of those Pyrates." The danger from these pirates appears to have been sufficiently pressing to have called for active measures on the part of the Crown, and so

¹ Hatfield MSS., ii., 104.

7th July, 1610, His Majesty's ship, the Lion's Whelp, is dispatched for this purpose. Sir Arthur Chichester writes to the Mayor of Chester requesting him to furnish the Captain, Owen Wynne, with victuals for three score men for two or three months, in order that the said captain may be with his ship and crew in search and pursuit of a pirate "who hath lately robbed manie both Englishe and Scottishe passengers that traded to Log-foile (Lough Foyle)." The victualling for sixty men and three months of 84 days amounted to £199 14s. 3d., but the charge was shown to be excessive by £52 14s. 8d. over the usual allowance. On 31 July in the same year the Lords of the Council announce to the Mayor that "the Lord Deputy of Ireland has been directed to send him two "notable pirates, Coward and Barret, lately taken in Ireland, to hold "in custody, that such further order may be taken concerning them "as shall be fitt." In the following year, 2 Oct., 1611, reference is made to one Gabriel Bunnage, who was found in Dublin in a pirate's ship, and ultimately released as innocent of any charge.

In connection with these Admiralty rights in the river Dee reference may be made to an interesting letter of 9 July, 1593, to the Earl of Derby, in which the Mayor of Chester mentions a dispute which he has with Richard Trevor of Trevallin, Esq., about a sturgeon recently taken on the English side of the Dee near Blacon Point, Mr. Trevor maintaining that the fish was taken on the Welsh side of the river, and therefore pertained to him as Vice Admiral, and representative of the Lord High Admiral.

Specimens of Entries in the Port-register.—16 Hen. VII., 1500-1. Introitus navis vocate *le Trinite de Cestr'* cujus sub Deo Joh'es Barret est magister.—Thomas Croke, i laste anguillarum; Thomas Corbet, i laste et dia laste anguillarum; Thomas Cane, i laste anguillarum; Moricius, ii hogeshed anguill^m et i hogg salsorum salmonum.

Introitus navis vocate *le James de Wyrehall* cujus sub Deo Ric'us Prenton est magister.—Thomas Ley de Coventry pro introitu et exitu cum tribus bigis xix die Aprilis, John Greneway i pakke, i^d.

Introitus navis vocate *le Trinite de Cestr'*, cujus Petrus Bretonne est magister.—Rad'us Davenport; Rog'us Smyth, mercer; Jacobus Manley; Will^m Hoggesone vi. p[ack] pro introitu et exitu cum biga viii^d; Morys Colton iiijp. i f. pro introitu et exitu cum biga viii^d; Joh'es Troghton iiijp., pro introitu iiij^d; Joh'es Richforde ip.; Jusfori Hibn ip.; Robt. Okely iii pipes vini; Robt. Blonket i pro introitu et exitu cum i equo v^d; Ricus Rypperd i pro introitu et exitu cum i equo v^d.

17 Hen. VIII. Introitus Navis vocate *Sancte Marie de Camena* Martinus Aluereamis.—Rotrigamis Masseill and Gregorius Consalio, xxxviii pipes vini, iii hogesheds de oyle, xxx^{li} de cera, xx kyntall de Corke, iii pounds cloves, ii doss' Cordevven skynnes; Antonio Peres, iii Cofurs de Sugar; Antonio Martino, iii hogeshedes oyle et un' kyntall Reysyng; Thomas Seys xxli Comfets

Introitus Navis vocate *le Michael de Dublyn* magister Ric'us Bresall.—Waltherus Barbe, ii packs shepe fells; Joh'es Chambres, ii packs yarne, ruggs, chekers, lambe fells and on doss mantells; Will' Neman, iii packs yarne, chekers, shepe fells, goate fells, ffox fells, and vii diker hides; Joh'es Bennet, iii packs yarne, chekers, Ruggs, mantells, blanketts, shepe fells, otter fells, fox fells, calfe fells, lynyn clothe and on flock bed; Nich'us Hankok, ii packs and on ffordell, cc and on g'orts yarne cc and duo chekers, on doss shepe fells and got fells, xx otter, on doss fox cases and in the fardell on doss et di mantells; Rob'tus Bailiffs, v packs Rugges, chekers, shepe fell, lynyn clothe, et lambe fell; Ric'us Lynte, on pack shepe fells, fox cases, otter fells and chekers; Joh'es Domfeld, v packs on ffordell Rugges, chekers, shepe fells, mantells, yarne, lambe fells, blanketts and flooks; Nichol' Condon, v packs Rugges, Chekers, yarne, lynyn clothe, shepe fell; iii fox cases, on otter, iii Roset mantells wolfe, blak lambe fell, white lambe fell, and ii mantells in a litell ffordell; Joh'es Rept, iii packs iii ffordells Rugges, chekers, mantells, shepe fells, yarne, fox fell, otter fell, and iii doss shepe fell; Thomas Barle, on pack; Thomas Phillipp, on pack; Alexander Berwik, v paks.

30 Hen. VIII. Navium et Batellorum cum mercatoribus et eorum mercimoniis Introitus et applicate in portibus com' Civitatis Cestrie tempore Thome Aldersey et Ricardi Dicon vic' Com' illius a die . . . prox' post festum Si Dionisii a^o xxx^o Henrici viii usque finem anni seq'.

Introitus Navis vocate *le Cristofer de Hilbree* cujus sub deo Petrus Romer est magister.—Mercator Joh'es Kirkes, liber [freeman] v tonell' allec; Petrus Romour, for' (forener) xviii barell allec

Sa. Maria de West Kirbe—Joh'es Coventre magister—Joh'es Kirkes, liber, iii tonell allec; Will's Kirkes forener, quinque barell allec.

le Kateryn Hikkes de Cestre—ven' de Carlingford—Thomas Longeley liber, viii ton, i pipe allec; Hugo Smytht for' iii ton allec v hide ix stone talow; Danolt Hoper liber, i hog' allec; Manus Hoper liber, i bar' allec; Thomas Thomkynson liber, ii barr' allec.

Le Michaelis de Cestr— x ton allec xx beves ii pipes mutton; Enido Holland liber, vi hoggeshedds vini xli ston talow; Mich. Hiscocke liber, vi ton heryug: vi dicker tanned corry [hides]; Rian Brymesdych liber, vii ton allec iii barells to ye Kyng grace.

Le Margaret de Chester—Will' Godeman liber, Will's Dickynson liber, Hugo Aldersey liber, Rad'us Rogerson liber, 1 dol. ferri (a joint cargo), i.e., the four merchants joined, and had together 50 casks of iron.

Le Mare Rose de Chester—Edwardus Becke, for', iii paks chekkers; Rob'tus Broune, for', iii dasium marter skynnes; Matthew Kyng for', ii pak's planckets and mantels Will's Dormer iii trusses de cadds and mantells.



CHAPTER IX.

Charters and Letters Patent

1.* Charter of Henry II., about 1171.—

Henry, by the grace of God King of England Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to his bailiffs of Dublin, greeting: I enjoin that the Burgesses of Chester may buy and sell in detail at Dublin, having and observing the same customs which they observed in the time of King Henry, my grandfather, and that they have there the same rights and liberties and free customs which they used to have at that time. Witness, William Fitz-Aldhelm,¹ dapifer. At Winchester.

Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie & Dux Normannie & Aquitanie & Comes Andegavie baillivis suis de Duvelina salutem: Precipio quod Burgenses Cestrie possint emere & vendere ad detaillum [or doraillum] apud Duvelinam habendo & faciendo easdem consuetudines quas faciebant tempore Regis Henrici avi mei & easdem ibi habeant rectitudines & liberas consuetudines quas tempore illo habere solebant. Teste Willelmo filio Ald' [Aldhelm] dapifero. Apud Wintoniam. [Seal red-brown wax.]

2. Charter of Randle Blundeville, Earl of Chester, 1208=1211—²

Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to his Constable, Dapifer, Justiciary, Sheriffs, Barons, Knights, Bailiffs, and all his men present and future, greeting: Know ye that I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to the men of Chester of my domain and to their heirs that no one may buy or sell any kind of merchandize, which shall come to the City of Chester by sea or by land, but them and their heirs, or by their favour, save at the fairs appointed, at the Nativity of S. John Baptist and at the Feast of

* The order of the Charters as given in *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Eighth Report, is followed.

¹ He accompanied the King in his expedition to Ireland, 1171. In 1172 the city of Wexford was committed to his charge, and in 1176 he was appointed deputy over the whole kingdom of Ireland, but in May, 1177, Prince John received a grant of the kingdom. In 1181 the government of Ireland was again entrusted to him. He died 1204.

² Between 1208 and 1211, and not later than 1211, because Roger the Constable died that year. Hugh Grylle, was Abbot of Chester, 1208-1226, Philip de Orreby, Justice 1202-1231, Randle created Earl of Lincoln, 1207.

S. Michael. Wherefore I will that my aforesaid men and their heirs have and hold the aforesaid liberty of me and of my heirs for ever, freely, quietly, honourably and peaceably. And I forbid, on pain or forfeiture to me of £10 to be taken for my use, any one to hinder or trouble them in respect of the foresaid liberty. Witnesses, the Lord Hugh, then Abbot of Chester, Philip de Orreby, then Justiciary of Chester, Warin de Vernon, William de Venables, Peter le Clerk, Roger de Meinilgar [Mainwaring], Hugh and Thomas Despencer, Alured de Suligny, William the Butler, Norman Pantulf, Adam de Yeland, David de Malpas, Josceram de Helsby, Richard de Kingsley, Hugh and Geoffrey de Dutton, Master Hugh and many others.

Ranulphus Comes Cestrie Constabulario Dapifero Justiciario Vicecomitibus Baronibus Militibus Ballivis & omnibus hominibus suis presentibus & futuris salutem: Sciatis me concessisse & presenti carta mea confirmasse dominicis hominibus meis Cestrie & eorum heredibus quod nullus aliquod genus mercimonii quod ad civitatem Cestrie per mare aut per terram venerit emat aut vendat nisi ipsi et eorum heredes aut per eorum gratum nisi in nundinis assisis in nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptiste & in festo Sancti Michaelis. Quare volo quod predicti homines mei & eorum heredes habeant & teneant antedictam libertatem de me & de heredibus meis in perpetuum libere quiete honorifice & pacifice. Et prohibeo super forisfacturam meam decem librarum ad opus meum capiendarum ne aliquis eos super dicta libertate impediat aut gravet. Testibus Domino H[ugone] tunc Abbate Cestrie, Philippo de Orrebi tunc Justiciario Cestrie, Guarino de Vernun, Guillelmo de Venab', Petro clerico, Rogero de Meinilgar, Hugone & Thoma dispensariis, Aluredo de Suligny, Guillelmo pincerna, Normanno pantul', Ada de Yeland, David de malo passu, Josceram' de Hellesby, Ricardo de Kingesleg', Hugone & Galfrido de Dutton, Magistro Hugone & multis aliis. [Seal gone. This Charter is recited in Charters 11, 12, 14, 19. 11. Orreby, Warino de Vernon, Willelmo de Venab', Meinegar, Sulingn', Willelmo pincerna, Pantulf, Kingeslegh'. 12. Gwarino. 12 and 14. Gwillelmo, 12 and 13. Gwill'o].

3. Randle Blundeville, 1200=1202—¹

Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to his Constable, Dapifer, Justiciary, Sheriffs, all his Barons, Bailiffs, and all his men French and English, as well to come as present, greeting: Be it known to you all that I have given and granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to all my citizens of Chester their Gild Merchant with all the liberties and free customs which they have ever had better and more freely and more quietly in the times of my ancestors in the aforesaid Gild. And I forbid, upon pain of forfeiture to me of £10, anyone to disturb them therein. These being witness, Roger Constable of Chester, Ralph de Montalt Seneschal of Chester,

¹ After 1200, because Randle did not keep the title of Dux Britanniae and Earl of Richmond after his divorce, and before 1202, as Philip de Orreby then became Justice.

Ralph de Mainwaring, William and Robert Patric, Philip de Orreby, Richard and William de Boidele, Richard Phiton, Lyulph de Twamlow, Ralph de Davenham, Warin de Vernon, Robert son of Picot, Peter the Earl's secretary, Richard Fish, Herbert de Pulford, William de Verdon, Thomas the Earl's secretary, who wrote these presents, and many others. At Chester.

Rannulphus Comes Cestrie Constabulario suo & Dapifero Justiciario & Vicecomit' & omnibus Baronibus & Ballivis suis & omnibus hominibus suis Francigenis & Anglicis tam futuris quam presentibus salutem:—Notum sit vobis omnibus me dedisse & concessisse & presenti carta mea confirmasse omnibus civibus meis de Cestria Gildam suam mercalem cum omnibus libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus quas illi unquam melius & liberius & quietius habuerunt temporibus antecessorum meorum in predicta Gilda. Et prohibeo super forisfacturam meam x librarum ne aliquis eos inde disturbet. Testibus hiis, Rogero Constabulario Cestrie, Radulpho de Monte Alto senescalco Cestrie, Radulpho de Mesnilwar', Willelmo & Roberto Patric, Philippo de Orrebi, Ricardo & Willelmo de Boidelei, Ricardo Phitone, Liulpho de Tnamlaw, Radulpho de Davenh', Warino de Venum, Roberto filio Picot, Petro clerico Comit'is, Ricardo Pisce', Herberto de Pulford, Willelmo de Verd', Thoma clerico comitis presentium scriptore & multis aliis. Apud Cestriam. [2 seals light-red wax, partly destroyed, one of them the seal of John le Scot. Recited in Charter 13, baillivis, unquam, Orreby, Lyulpho, Hereberto; referred to in Charter 8].

4. Randle Blundeville, 1200 = 1202.—

Rannulph, Earl of Chester, to his Constable, Dapifer, Justiciary, Bailiffs, and all his Barons and men, French and English, as well to come as present, greeting: Be it known to all that I have given and granted and by this my present Charter have confirmed to all my citizens of Chester all the liberties and free customs which they have ever had better and more freely or more quietly in the times of any of my predecessors, and expressly quittance and release of recognizances and proportament [deliverance of Assize] in the city of Chester for ever. And that if any citizen of my aforesaid city die, his will reasonably made may be held good in law, and from wheresoever he may die. And that if any citizen shall make any purchase in open day and before witnesses, and a suit shall afterwards arise from a Frenchman or Englishman who can reasonably dispute the purchase, the citizen who shall have made that purchase may be quit of me and my bailiffs, on losing so much only, and restoring what he has purchased, if he cannot otherwise satisfy the claimant. But if suit shall arise from a Welshman who can reasonably dispute the purchase, he shall give back to the citizen the price of the article bought which the same citizen can reasonably show that he gave for the thing bought. And that if a citizen in the aforesaid city shall have lent of his chattels to any one, he shall be allowed to take surety in the same city for the recovery of his

chattels without licence asked of the sheriff or other of my bailiffs. And if any citizen of the aforesaid city shall have been slain in my service, his chattels shall be dealt with as if he himself had made a reasonable will. All these aforesaid liberties and free customs I have given and granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed to them and their heirs, to have and to hold of me and of my heirs freely, quietly, and peaceably for ever. And I forbid anyone to disturb therein them or their heirs under forfeiture to me of £20. These being witnesses: Roger [de Lacy] Constable of Chester, Ralph de Montalt Seneschal of Chester, Ralph Mainwaring, William and Robert Patric, Philip de Orreby, Richard and William de Boidell, Richard Phiton, Lyulph de Twamlow, Ralph de Davenham, Warin de Vernon, Robert son of Picot, Peter [le Clerk] the Earl's secretary, Richard Fish, Herbert de Pulford, William de Verdon, Thomas the Clerk, and many others. At Chester.

Rannulphus comes Cestrie Constabulario, Dapifero, Justiciario, Ballivis & omnibus Baronibus & omnibus hominibus suis Francis & Anglicis tam futuris quam presentibus salutem:—Notum sit vobis omnibus me dedisse & concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse omnibus civibus meis de Cestria omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines quas illi umquam melius & liberius aut quietius habuerunt temporibus aliquorum predecessorum meorum & nominatim quietanciam & relaxationem recognicionis & proportionanti in civitate Cestrie in perpetuum. Et quod si civis aliquis de predicta civitate mea moriatur ejus testamentum rationabiliter factum ratum & firmum habeatur, ubicunque ipse moriatur. Et quod si civis fecerit emptionem aliquam de clara die & coram testibus, & sequela postea venerit de Francis vel de Anglicis qui possint rationabiliter emptum disracionare civis qui illam emptionem fecerit quietus sit de me & Ballivis meis, perdendo tantummodo & reddendo quod emerit, si aliter non possit vendicanti satisfacere. Si vero sequela evenerit de Walense qui possit rationabiliter rem emptam disracionare precium rei empte civi reddat quod idem civis rationabiliter poterit demonstrare se dedisse pro re emptam. Et quod si civis in civitate predicta de catallis suis cuiquam comodaverit liceat ei namium capere in ipsa civitate pro catallis suis recuperandis sine licentia postulata a vice-comite vel ab aliis ballivis meis. Et si aliquis civis de predicta civitate in servicio meo occisus fuerit de catallis suis fiat ac si ipse rationabile testamentum fecisset. Has omnes libertates predictas & liberas consuetudines predictis civibus dedi & concessi & presenti carta mea confirmavi eis & heredibus suis libere & quiete & pacifice in perpetuum. Et prohibeo ne quis eos inde disturbet aut heredes eorum super forisfacturam meam de xx libris. Hiis testibus, Rogero Constabulario Cestrie, Radulpho de Monte Alto senescallo Cestrie, Radulpho de Mesnilwar', Willelmo & Roberto Patric, Philippo de Orrebi, Ricardo & Willelmo de Boidell, Ricardo Phitone, Liulpho de Twamlawa, Rann'o de Davenham, Warino de Vernum, Roberto filio Picoti, Petro clerico comitis, Ricardo pisce, Herberto de Pulford, Willelmo de Verdum, Thoma clerico, & multis aliis. - Apud Cestriam. [Fragment of a Seal, light red wax].

5. John Earl of Moreton, 1189=1199, confirming Charter 1.—

John, Earl of Moreton and Lord of Ireland, to all his Justiciaries, Constables, and other Bailiffs and faithful subjects in Ireland greeting: Know ye that I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to the citizens of Chester all the liberties and free customs which they have been wont to have in our land of Ireland in the time of the Lord King Henry, my father, and therefore I enjoin that you permit them to have all those liberties and free customs, as the charter of the Lord King my father testifies that they ought to have, and I strictly forbid you to harass them on this in any way, or do or allow to be done to them any injury or annoyance therein. Witness: Roger de Plan': Roger de Arundeville, Stephen Ridel, my chancellor. At Lutegareshall. [Seal, dark-brown with secretum.]

Johannes Comes Moretonie & dominus Hibernie omnibus Justiciariis Constabulariis & aliis Baillivis & fidelibus suis de tota Hibernia salutem. Sciatis me concessisse & presenti carta mea confirmasse civibus de Cestria omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines quas habere consueverunt in terra nostra de Hibernia tempore domini Regis Henrici patris mei & ideo vobis precipio quod omnes illas libertates & liberas consuetudines eis habere permittatis sicut carta domini Regis patris mei testatur quod habere debeant & vobis firmiter prohibeo ne super hoc eos in aliquo vexetis vel aliquam injuriam vel molestiam eis inde faciatis vel fieri permittatis. Testibus Rogero de Plan', Rogero de Arundeville, Stephano Ridel cancellario meo. Apud Lutegareshalle.

6. John Earl of Moreton, 1189=1199.—

John, Earl of Moreton and Lord of Ireland, to his Justiciaries, Constables, and all his Bailiffs in all Ireland greeting: I enjoin upon you that you guard and protect the citizens of Chester and all their goods and possessions, and not do or allow to be done to them any injury or annoyance, and if by chance you shall have taken any of their goods or chattels, see that you take it to a reasonable market and satisfy them either in money or in merchandise at their pleasure, so that I hear no complaints thereof, and that they themselves be not disturbed in their journeys through default of payment from us. And I enjoin that they may themselves buy and sell within and without the borough freely and quietly, without any annoyance, hardship, or molestation, saving therein my reasonable customs. Witnesses: Stephen Ridel my chancellor, Roger de Plan', Roger de Arundeville, Richard de Verdon. At Lutegareshall.

Johannes Comes Moretonie & dominus Hibernie Justiciariis, Constabulariis & omnibus Baillivis suis de tota Hibernia salutem. Precipio vobis quod custodiatis & protegatis cives de Cestria & omnes res & possessiones eorum, & non faciatis vel fieri permittatis eis aliquam injuriam vel molestiam & si aliquid forte ceperitis de rebus vel catallis eorum videte

quod ad rationabile forum illud capiatis et eos ita bene pacetis vel in denariis vel in mercaturis ad gratum suum quod inde clameos non audiam & quod ipsi non disturbentur de itineribus suis per defectum pacamenti nostri, & precipio quod ipsi libere & quiete possint emere & vendere infra burgum & extra sine omni vexatione & gravamine & molestia salvis inde rationabilibus consuetudinibus meis. Testibus, Stephano Ridel cancellario meo, Rogero de Plan', Rogero de Arundeville, Ricardo de Vernon. Apud Lutegareshall. Dark green seal, defaced.

7. *King John, 3 May, 1201.*—

John, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou, to all his Justiciaries, Constables, and other Bailiffs and faithful subjects in all Ireland, greeting: Know ye that we have granted and by our present charter have confirmed to the citizens of Chester all the liberties and free customs which they have been wont to have in our land of Ireland in the time of the Lord King Henry our father. And therefore I enjoin upon you that you allow them to have all those liberties and free customs, as the charter of the Lord King our father reasonably testifies that they ought to have, and we strictly forbid you to harass them herein in any respect or do or allow to be done to them therein any wrong or annoyance, as our Charter which we gave them when we were Earl of Moreton reasonably testifies. Witnesses: H[erbert le Poer] Bishop of Sarum, T. Fitz-Peter, Earl of Essex, William Marshall, Hugh Bardolf, Simon de Pateshull, Ralph de Stoke, Eustace de Fauconbridge. Given by the hand of Simon Archdeacon of Wells, at Merlebridge, the third day of May, in the 3rd year of our reign.

Johannes Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hybernie Dux Norman' Aquita' Comes Andegav' omnibus Justiciariis Constabulariis & aliis Ballivis & fidelibus suis de tota Hybernia salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse & presenti carta nostra confirmasse civibus de Cestria omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines quas habere consueverunt in terra nostra de Hybernia tempore domini Regis Henrici patris nostri. Et ideo vobis precipimus quod omnes illas libertates & liberas consuetudines eis habere permittatis sicut carta domini Regis patris nostri rationabiliter testatur quod habere debeant, & vobis firmiter prohibemus ne super hoc eos in aliquo vexetis vel aliquam injuriam vel molestiam eis inde faciatis vel fieri permittatis sicut carta nostra quam eis fecimus dum essemus Comes Moreton rationabiliter testatur. Testibus H. Sarr' episcopo, T. filio Petri comitis Essex, Willelmo Marescallo, Hugone Bard', Symone de Pateshull, Radulpho de Stok', Eustacio de Fauc'abri'. Datum per manum S. Wellensis Archidiaconi apud Merlebridge iii die Maii anno Regni nostri tercio. [Reddish brown seal].

8. *John le Scot, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, 1234=1237.*—

John, Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, to his Constable, Dapifer, Justiciary, Barons, Knights, Bailiffs and Officers, and to all his faithful subjects present and future, greeting: Know ye that I

have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to all my citizens of Chester that no merchant buy or sell any kind of merchandise, which shall have come to the city of Chester by sea or by land, except the citizens of Chester themselves, or their heirs, or by their favour, except on the appointed market days, that is to say, at the Nativity of St. John Baptist and at the Feast of St. Michael. Also I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my same citizens of Chester, that, if a citizen have made any purchase before witnesses, and a suit afterwards come from Frenchmen or Englishmen who can reasonably dispute that purchase, the citizen who has made that purchase shall have quittance of me and of my Bailiffs, losing only and giving back what he has bought, if he cannot otherwise satisfy the claimant. But if the suit come from a Welshman, who can reasonably dispute the purchase, he shall give back to the citizen the price of the thing purchased, which the same citizen can reasonably prove that he had given for the thing purchased. Also I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my aforesaid citizens of Chester their Gild Merchant, to have and to hold as freely, quietly, and honourably, as they had it in the time of my uncle, Lord Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln. Also I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my aforesaid citizens of Chester, that no "caption" be made in the city of Chester, except for the use of the Lord Earl and his Justiciary whilst they are there, and that this should be thirteen pennyworths for twelve pence, except only ale, that is to say, four pints at most of one brewing, and the price of each pint ought to be 4^d.; and that no one have that "caption" of ale except the Lord Earl and his Justiciary, and that that "caption" be made in due order and circuit where it ought to be made. Moreover I have granted and by this my present charter have confirmed to my aforementioned citizens of Chester all the liberties and all the free customs which they have had, better and more freely or more quietly, of my uncle, Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln, according to the tenor of the great charter [Charter 3] which he gave to them when he was Earl of Chester and Lincoln: in which charter to give greater security to them I affixed my seal together with the seal of my uncle Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln. Now all these before-named and above-written liberties and free customs I have granted, and by this my present charter have confirmed to my beloved and faithful subjects, to wit, to all my citizens of Chester, to have and to hold for them and their heirs of me and of my heirs for ever, freely and quietly, peacefully and honourably. Wherefore

I wish and firmly enjoin that with regard to the aforesaid liberties and free customs no one ever cause them an impediment or annoyance on pain of forfeiting £10; but that all my Bailiffs protect and maintain them and their liberties and free customs. I, however, and my heirs will guarantee against all men all the aforementioned and above-written liberties and free customs to my oft-mentioned citizens of Chester and their heirs, and in witness of this I have fortified the present charter with my seal. These being witnesses: Richard Phiton, then Justiciary of Chester [1234-1237], Henry de Adithel, Hugh Phiton, William de Lai, William de Malpas, William de Venables, Warin de Vernon, Walkelin de Arderne, Roger Mainwaring, Hamo de Mascy, William Patric, Ralph de Praers, Richard de Sanbache, Hugh de Cholmondeley, Richard de Kingesley, and many others.

Johannes Comes Cestrie & Huntendon' Constabulario suo Dapifero Justiciario Baronibus Militibus Ballivis suis & ministris & omnibus fidelibus suis presentibus & futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse & hac presenti carta mea confirmasse omnibus civibus meis Cestrie quod nullus mercator aliquod genus mercimonii quod ad civitatem Cestrie per mare aut per terram venerit emat vel vendat nisi ipsi cives mei Cestrie & eorum heredes vel per eorum gratum, nisi in nundinis assisis, scilicet in Nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptiste & in festo Sancti Michaelis. Item concessi & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi eisdem civibus meis Cestrie quod si civis fecerit empcionem aliquam & coram testibus & sequela postea venerit de Francis vel de Anglicis qui rationabiliter possint emptum illud disracionare, civis qui empcionem illam fecerit quietus sit de me & de Ballivis meis perdendo tantummodo & reddendo quod emerit si aliter non possit vendicanti satisfacere: si vero sequela venerit de Wallense qui possit rationabiliter rem emptam disracionare precium rei empte civi reddat, quod idem civis rationabiliter poterit demonstrare se dedisse pro re emptam. Item concessi & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi dictis civibus meis Cestrie Gildam suam mercalem habendam & tenendam adeo libere quiete & honorifice sicut eam habuerunt in tempore avunculi mei domini Ranulphi comitis Cestrie & Lincolnie. Item concessi & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi prefatis civibus meis Cestrie quod nulla capcio fiat in civitate Cestrie preterquam ad opus domini comitis & Justiciarii sui dum fuerint ibidem, & hoc sit tresdecim denariati pro duodecim denariis, nisi tantummodo de cervisia, scilicet quatuor sextaria ad plus de una bracina, & precium ejusdam sextarii debet esse iii^r denarii & (n)ullus habeat capcionem illam cervisie preterquam dominus comes & Justiciarius & illa capcio fiat per ordinem in circuitu ubi fieri debet. PRETEREA concessi & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi memoratis civibus meis Cestrie omnes libertates & omnes liberas consuetudines quas illi melius & liberius aut quicquid habuerunt de avunculo meo Ranulpho comite Cestrie & Lincolnie secundum tenorem magne carte quam eis dedit quum fuit comes Cestrie & Lincolnie; In qua carta ad majorem securitatem eis faciendam sigillum meum simul cum sigillo avunculi mei Ranulphi comitis Cestrie & Lincolnie apposui. Has vero prenominate & superscriptas libertates & liberas consuetudines omnes concessi & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi dilectis

& fidelibus meis, scilicet, omnibus civibus meis Cestrie habendas & tenendas illis & heredibus illorum de me & de heredibus meis inperpetuum libere & quiete pacifice & honorifice. Quare volo & firmiter precipio quod super dictis libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus nemo illis unquam faciat impedimentum aut gravamen super forisfacturam decem librarum; set omnes ballivi mei ipsos & eorum libertates & liberas consuetudines & jura protegant & manuteneant. Ego siquidem & heredes mei omnes prenominate & superscriptas libertates & liberas consuetudines sepedictis [supra?] civibus meis Cestrie & heredibus illorum contra omnes homines warantizabimus, & in hujus rei testimonium presentem cartam sigillo meo munivi. Hiis testibus, Ricardo Phitone tunc Justiciario Cestrie, Henrico de Adithel, Hugone Phitone, Willelmo de Lai, Willelmo de Malo passu, Willelmo de Venables, Guarino de Vernon, Walkelino de Ardern', Rogero de Meingarie', Hamone de Masci, Willelmo de Patricio, Rannulpho de Praeris, Ricardo de Sanbache, Hugone de Cholmundele, Ricardo de Kingesl' & multis aliis. Seal gone, traces of green colour. In dorso, "This Charter doth largely respethe the liberties of Chester."

9. Henry III., 8 December, 1237, confirming Charter 4.—

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and all his Bailiffs, and faithful subjects, greeting: We have inspected the Charter of Ranulph, sometime Earl of Chester, in these words; "Ranulf, Earl of Chester to his Constable" [reciting in full Charter 4]. We therefore, accounting this gift and grant as valid and acceptable, grant for ourselves and our heirs and with our seal confirm it, as the aforesaid Charter of the Earl of Chester reasonably testifies. These being witnesses: John Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, Simon de Montfort, Amari de St. Amand, John de Plesseto, Richard Fitz-Hugh, and others. Given by the hand of the Venerable Father R[alph] Bishop of Chichester our Chancellor at Westminster, the eighth day of December, in the twenty-second year of our reign. [Green seal, fairly good].

Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie Dominus Hybernie Dux Norman' & Aquit', Comes Ande' [25 Andeg'] Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris & Bailivis & fidelibus suis salutem. Inspeximus cartam Ranulfi quondam Cestrie in hec verba (recites Charter 4 in full, but adds "libertates & omnes liberas consuetudines:" omits 'de' before 'Anglis.') The clauses of confirmation & attestation are—Nos igitur hanc donationem & concessionem ratam & gratam habentes eam pro nobis & heredibus nostris concedimus & sigillo nostro confirmamus, sicut carta predicta Comitibus Cestrie rationabiliter testatur. Hiis testibus, Johanne Comite Lincoln Constabulario Cestrie, Simon de Monte forti, Amaurico de Sancto Amando, Johannes de Plesseto, Ricardo filio Hugonis & aliis. Datum per manum Venerabilis Patris R(adulfi) Cycestr' episcopi cancellarii nostri apud Westmonasterium octavo die Decembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo.

10. Henry III., 8 December, 1237, reciting Randle Blundeville's Charter 3 granting a Gild Merchant.—

Henry, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Anjou, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and all Bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting: We have inspected the Charter of Ranulph, sometime Earl of Chester, in these words:—"Ranulph Earl of Chester to his Constable" [reciting in full Charter 3 in which Earl Ranulph grants a Gild Merchant.] We, therefore, accounting this gift and grant valid and acceptable, grant for ourselves and our heirs and with our seal confirm it, as the Charter of the aforesaid Earl of Chester reasonably testifies. These being witnesses: John Earl of Lincoln, Constable of Chester, Simon de Montfort, Amauric de St. Amand, John de Plesseto, Richard Fitz-Hugh and others. Given by the hand of the Venerable Father Ranulph, Bishop of Chichester, our Chancellor, at Westminster on the eighth day of December, in the twenty-second year of our reign.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hybernie Dux Norm' & Aquit' Comes And', Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris & omnibus Baillivis & fidelibus suis salutem. Inspeximus cartam Ranulfi quondam Comitis Cestrie in hec verba;—(reciting Charter 3 granting Gild Merchant.) The confirmation clauses are Nos igitur hanc donationem & concessionem ratam & gratam habentes eam pro nobis & heredibus nostris concedimus & sigillo nostro confirmamus, sicut carta predicta Comitis Cestrie racionabiliter testatur. Hiis testibus, J. Comite Lincolnie constabulario Cestrie, Simone de Monte forti, Amaurico de Sancto Amando, Johanne de Plesseto, Ricardo filio Hugonis & aliis. Datum per manum Venerabilis Patris R. Cycestrie episcopi Cancellarii nostri apud Westmonasterium octavo die Decembris anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo.

11. Henry III., 23 October, 1239, confirming Charter 2, granting exclusive right of trading.—

Henry, by the grace of God King of England, &c., to his Archbishops, &c., greeting: We have inspected the Charter of Ranulph, Earl of Chester and Lincoln in these words: "Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to his Constable, &c." [reciting in full Charter 2, by which exclusive right of trading in the city is granted to the citizens of Chester]. We therefore accounting the aforesaid grant valid and acceptable grant and confirm the same for ourselves and our heirs. These being witnesses: Richard, Earl of Picardy and Cornwall, John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Constable of Chester, Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Essex and Hereford, Stephen de Segrave, William de Cantilupe, Bertram de Crioil, Amauric de St. Amand, Peter de Manley, Geoffrey Despenser, John de Lexinton,

John Tubaut, and others. Given by our hand at Westminster, the 23rd day of October, in the 23rd year of our reign.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hybernie Dux Norm' Aquit' & Comes Andeg' Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris & omnibus Ballivis & fidelibus suis salutem: Inspeximus cartam Ranulfi Comitis Cestrie & Lincolnie in hec verba: (reciting Charter 2 in full).

The Confirmation clauses are: Nos igitur predictam concessionem ratam habentes & gratam ipsam pro nobis & heredibus nostris concedimus & confirmamus. Hiis testibus, Ricardo comite Pic'tavie & Cornubie, Johanne de Lacy comite Lincolnie & constabulario Cestrie, Hunfrido de Bohun comite Essex & Hereford, Stephano de Se'grave, Willelmo de Cantilupo, Bertramo de Crioil, Amanrico de Sancto Amando, Petro de Malo Iaco, Galfrido Dispensario, Johanne de Lexinton, Johanne Tubaut, & aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tercio die Octobris anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio. Seal dark green.

12. Charter by Edward I., 12 June, 1300, of *Inspeximus* and Confirmation of Henry the Third's Charter (No. 9).—

Edward, by the grace of God King of England, &c., to his Archbishops, &c., greeting: We have inspected a Charter of Confirmation which the Lord Henry of famous memory, King of England, our father, made to the citizens of Chester in these words: [reciting Charter No. 9, "Henry by the grace of God, &c.," which recites Charter No. 4]. We have also inspected a certain other Charter of Confirmation which our father aforesaid made to the aforesaid citizens in these words: "Henry, &c." [reciting Charter No. 11, which recites Charter No. 2, by which the monopoly of all marketable things in the city is granted to the citizens.] Now we, accounting the aforesaid gifts and grants valid and acceptable, grant and confirm them for ourselves and our heirs as far as in us lies to the aforementioned citizens and their heirs, citizens of the same city, as the aforesaid Charters reasonably witness. 1. Moreover we have granted for ourselves and our heirs

Fee-farm
of the City
for £100
per annum.

to the aforesaid citizens our aforesaid city, with all its appurtenances, liberties and free customs, to hold of us and our heirs for themselves and their heirs for ever, rendering therefrom annually to us and our heirs at our

exchequer in Chester £100, to wit, one moiety at Michaelmas, and another moiety at Easter. 2. And we have granted to them for us

Power to elect
Coroners.

and our heirs that they and their heirs aforesaid may choose from themselves Coroners in the aforesaid city as often as it shall be needful, who shall take an oath before the Mayor of the same city that they will faithfully make and execute attachments of the Pleas of our Crown which arise within that city and the liberty of the same, and discharge other duties which belong

to the office of Coroner in that city. 3. And that they should hold

Crown Pleas.

Pleas of our Crown relating to matters which may have arisen within the same liberty to be pleaded before the Mayor and Bailiffs of the said city in our court in the same city, and that they shall receive amercements and all other privileges which belong to us in this particular as we ourselves were formerly wont to receive them. 4. We have also granted to the same

Quittance of various tolls.

citizens for ourselves and our heirs that they and their heirs aforesaid may have for ever Sok Sak Tol and Theam, Infangenthef and Utafagenthef. 5. And that they should be quit throughout our land and power of Toll, Passage, Lestage, Murage, Panage, Pontage and Tallage, Leve, and of Danegeld, Geywit, and all other customs as well in England as in all other our domains. 6. And that neither they themselves nor their goods

Freedom from arrest.

wheresoever they are found in our land or jurisdiction be arrested for any debt for which they are not the pledges, sureties or principal debtors. 7. And that the same our citizens should not lose, for any transgression or forfeiture of their servants, their goods or chattels found in the hands of the same servants or deposited anywhere by the same servants, so far as they can sufficiently prove that they are their goods. 8. And if the same citizens or any of them die, whether leaving wills or intestate, neither we nor our heirs will cause their goods to be confiscated so that their heirs, executors, or nearer friends should not have them in their integrity so far as it is made clear that the said chattels were the property of the same deceased, and provided that knowledge and credence of the said heirs, executors, or friends be sufficiently obtained. 9. We have, moreover, granted to our said citizens that no bailiff or minister of ours, other than the bailiff of the same city, shall execute summonses, attachments, or any distrains within the liberty of the same city, or exercise the office of bailiff except in default of the same citizens or the aforesaid bailiffs. 10. And if any one shall be taken or attached within the liberty of the aforesaid city for any matter whatsoever, that he should be taken to our prison in the same city, to wit, at Northgate and not elsewhere, and be there kept and imprisoned until he be delivered from the same in accordance with the law and custom of the same city. 11. We have also granted, as far as in us lies, to the same citizens that they should build upon the vacant places within the aforesaid liberty and take to themselves other places and make their profit therefrom, and receive and take the revenues arising therefrom for the farm of the aforesaid city, saving to ourselves and our heirs our own demesne lands therein. Where-

fore we desire and firmly enjoin for ourselves and our heirs that our citizens aforesaid and their heirs, citizens of the same city, should have and hold for ever our said city, with all appurtenances, liberties and free customs whatsoever, rendering therefrom yearly to us and our heirs at our exchequer in Chester £100, one moiety to wit at Michaelmas, and another moiety at Easter. And that they should have all the aforesaid liberties and quittances granted to them by us as aforesaid. These being the witnesses: The Venerable Father W[alter], Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, J[ohn de Haluſton] Bishop of Carlisle, Roger le Bigod Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England, Otto de Grandison, Walter de Beauchamp Steward of our Household, John de Mettingham, Peter Mallorre, William Howard, John de Merk, Peter de Tadington and others. Given by our hand at York the 12th day of June, in the 28th year of our reign. (By a fine payable at the Exchequer before the Chancellor and Baron. Fine Seal.)

Edwardus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitanie, Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vice-comitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Inspeximus cartam confirmacionis quam celebris memorie dominus Henricus quondam Rex Anglie pater noster fecit civibus Cestrie in hec verba: Inspeximus cartam Ranulphi [Charter 9, reciting No. 4.] Inspeximus etiam quendam aliam cartam confirmacionis quam predictus pater noster fecit predictis civibus in hec verba: Henricus Dei gratia [reciting No. 11, which recites No. 2, it continues] Nos autem donaciones et concessiones predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis civibus et heredibus suis civibus ejusdem civitatis concedimus et confirmamus sicut carte predictae rationabiliter testantur. Preterea concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris civibus predictis civitatem nostram predictam cum omnibus pertinenciis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis tenendam de nobis et heredibus nostris sibi et heredibus suis predictis imperpetuum reddendo inde per annum nobis et heredibus nostris ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie centum libras, unam videlicet medietatem ad scaccarium nostrum Sancti Michaelis et alteram medietatem ad scaccarium nostrum pasche. Et concessimus eis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod ipsi et heredes sui predicti eligere possint de se ipsis coronatores in civitate predicta quotiens opus fuerit qui coram majore ejusdem civitatis prestant sacramentum quod attachiamenta placitorum corone nostre infra civitatem illam et libertatem ejusdem emergencium et alia que ad officium coronatoris ibidem pertinent fideliter facient et exequentur. Et quod habeant placita corone nostre de hiis que infra eandem libertatem emerserint coram majore et ballivis dicte civitatis in curia nostre ejusdem civitatis placitanda et amerciamenta et omnia alia que ad nos pertinent in hac parte percipiant sicut nos ea prius percipere consuevimus. Concessimus etiam eisdem civibus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod ipsi et heredes sui predicti imperpetuum habeant Sok¹ Sak

¹Sok (*soc, soka, soke*), jurisdiction, a liberty or privilege excusing tenants from customary burdens; liberty of keeping court or holding trials within a certain area; this area is also called 'soke.' Sak (*saca*), liberty of holding pleas and imposing fines and

Tol et Theam Infangenthef et Utfangenthef, et quod sint quieti per totam terram et potestatem nostram de theolonio, passagio, lestagio, muragio, panagio, pontagio et tallagio, Leve, et de Danegeld, Geywit, et omnibus aliis consuetudinibus tam in Anglia quam in omnibus aliis terris nostris. Et quod ipsi vel eorum catalla ubicunque locorum in terra vel potestate nostra inventa non arestentur pro aliquo debito de quo fidejussores aut principales non extiterint debitores; et quod ipsi cives nostri transgressione aut forisfactura servientium suorum bona aut catalla sua in manibus ipsorum servientium inventa seu alicubi locorum per ipsos servientes deposita quatenus ea sua esse sufficienter probare poterunt non amittant. Et si ipsi cives vel eorum aliqui testati vel intestati decesserint nos vel heredes nostri bona ipsorum confiscari non faciemus quin eorum heredes executores aut amici sui propinquiore ea integre habeant quatenus dicta catalla ipsorum fuisse constiterit defunctorum dum tamen de dictis heredibus executoribus vel amicis noticia seu fides sufficienter habeatur. Concessimus insuper civibus nostris predictis quod nullus ballivus vel minister noster alius quam Ballivi ejusdem civitatis summoniciones attachiamenta vel districtiones aliquas infra libertatem civitatis predictae faciat seu officium ballivi exerceat nisi in defectum eorundem civium vel ballivorum predictorum; et si quis captus vel attachiatus fuerit infra libertatem civitatis predictae pro quacunque re duatur ad prisonam nostram ejusdem civitatis scilicet apud Northgate et non alibi et ibidem detineatur et custodiatur quousque secundum legem et consuetudinem civitatis ejusdem inde deliberetur. Concessimus etiam quantum in nobis est eisdem civibus quod ipsi vacuas placeas infra libertatem predictam edificare et alias se inde apprivare ac commodum suum inde facere exitusque inde provenientes ad firmam suam civitatis predictae percipere et habere possint, salvo nobis et heredibus nostris dominicis terris nostris ibidem. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod cives nostri predictae et heredes sui cives ejusdem civitatis imperpetuum habeant et teneant civitatis nostre predictae cum omnibus pertinentiis, libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus quibuscunque reddendo inde per annum nobis et heredibus nostris ad scaccarium nostrum Cestr' centum libras, unam videlicet medietatem ad scaccarium nostrum St. Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad scaccarium nostrum Pasche. Et quod habeant omnes libertates et quietancias predictas eis per nos concessas sicut predictum est. Hiis testibus Venerabilibus patribus W. Coventr' et Lichefeld, J. Karliolen' Episcopis, Rogero le Bigod Comite Norff' et Marescallo Anglie, Ottone de Grandi Sono, Walter de Bello Campo Senescalco hospicii nostri, Johanne de Mettingham, Petro Mallorre, Will'mo Haward, Johanne de Merk, Petro de Tadington, et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Ebor' duodecimo die Junii anno regni nostri vicesimo octavo. Per finem solvendum ad scaccarium coram Canc' et Baron' de eodem scaccario.

forfeitures in the local court. *Tol* (*tolnetum*, *theolonium*, *thelonium*), a duty on imports, toll or custom. *Theam*, jurisdiction in matters of warranty (proof of lawful possession) and right to receive forfeitures. *Infangenthef*, right of trying a thief seized within the district. *Utfangenthef*, jurisdiction over a thief caught outside the district. *Passagium*, tax upon passengers, or fine for excusing military service beyond sea. *Lestagium*, custom exacted on goods carried from place to place. *Panagium*, fine paid for licence to feed swine in the forests. *Pontagium*, toll for keeping bridges in repair. *Tallagium*, a tax, an aid levied on tenants at the lord's will. *Danegeld*, a tax originally levied to buy off the Danish invaders. *Leve* (hence Levelooker) and *Geywit*, other exactions.

14. Edward III., 25 December, 1328, *Insuperimus* and Confirmation of the Charter (No. 12).—

Edward, by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland and Duke of Aquitaine, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers and all Bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting: We have inspected the Charter of Confirmation, which the Lord Edward [the First], sometime King of England our grandfather has made to the citizens of our city of Chester in these words: Edward, &c. [reciting in full Charter 12, granted at York by Edward I., 12 June, 28 Edward I., which recites Charters 9, 4, 11, and 2]. Now we, accounting the aforesaid gifts, grants, confirmations and quittances valid and acceptable, for ourselves and our heirs, as far as in us lies, grant and confirm them to the aforementioned citizens and their heirs and successors as the aforesaid charters reasonably witness. Moreover desiring to do the same citizens a more abundant favour in this particular we have granted to them for ourselves and our heirs that although they or their ancestors may have used the aforesaid liberties or quittances or any one of them before these times otherwise than they ought, or perchance may have used them less fully, the same citizens and their heirs and successors may yet henceforward fully enjoy and use all and singular the aforesaid liberties and quittances according to the tenor of the aforesaid charters and confirmations without let or hindrance of us or our heirs, or of our Justiciaries, Eschaetors, Sheriffs, or other Bailiffs or Ministers whatsoever. These being witnesses: The Venerable Father John Bishop of Ely our Chancellor, Henry Earl of Lancaster, Roger Mortimer, Gilbert Talbot, John de Roos Steward of our Household, and others.

Given by our hand at Worcester the 25th day of December in the first year of our reign. [By a fine of £10].

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie et Dux Aquitannie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vice-comitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Inspeximus cartam confirmationis quam dominus E. quondam Rex Anglie avus noster fecit civibus civitatis nostre Cestrie in hec verba: Edwardus [recites No. 12 which quotes No. 9 which recites No. 4]. The confirmation follows Nos autem donaciones, concessiones confirmaciones et quietancias predictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis civibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus concedimus et confirmamus sicut carte predictę rationabiliter testantur. Preterea volentes eisdem civibus uberiores gratiam facere in hac parte concessimus eis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod licet ipsi aut eorum antecessores libertatibus vel quietanciis predictis aut earum aliqua ante hec tempora aliter usi fuerint quam deberent, vel

forsitan eis minus plene usi iidem tamen cives et eorum heredes et successores universis et singulis libertatibus et quietanciis predictis exnunc plene gaudeant et utantur juxta tenorem cartarum et confirmationum predictarum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Justiciariorum Escaetorum Vice-comitum aut aliorum Ballivorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque. Hiis testibus Venerabili patre J. Elien' Episcopo cancellario nostro, Henrico Comite Lancastrie, Rogero de Mortuo Mari, Gilberto Talbot, Johanne de Roos Senescallo Hospitii nostri, et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Wygorn' vicesimo quinto die Decembris anno regni nostri primo. Per finem decem librarum. Fine Seal; also a duplicate of this with the seal of the Exchequer of Chester.

15. 25 Edward III. Writ by Edward the Black Prince on his grant for life to the Earl of Arundel of the Fee-farm of £100.—

Edward, eldest son of the noble King of England and France, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, to our well-beloved Mayor and citizens of Chester, greeting: For as much as we have granted to our dear and well-beloved Monsieur Richard Earl of Arundel the Fee Farm of £100, which you are bound annually to pay on behalf of our said city, to have and to hold for the term of his life, and that he may distrain for the same whenever he thinks proper, as appeareth by an indenture between us and the said Earl on this matter: We command you to be attentive and obedient to the said Earl and to his attornies in the payment of the said farm according to the purport of our said grant, provided that no covenant made between us and the said Earl may be brought in default of your non-payment. And in this fail not. In witness whereof we have put our seal to these our letters patent. Given at London, the 11th day of November, in the reign of King Edward the 3rd after the Conquest, of England the 25th, of France the 12th.

Edward eisnez filz au noble Roi Dengleterre et de Fraunce, Prince de Gales, Ducs de Cornewaille et Comite de Cestre, A nos bien amez Mair et citeins de nostre dit citee de Cestre salut:—Pour ceo que nous avoies grauntez a nostre cher et bien amez Monsieur Richard Comite Darundelle la fee ferme de cent livres quels vous nous estes tesnutz par an a paier de nostre dit citee, a avoir et tenir a terme de sa vie et quil puisse destreindre par mesme la ferme a quel hure quil soit aderere com apiert par une indenture entre nous et le dit comite sur ce faite: Vous mandons que a dit Comite et as ses attournez soiez entendantz et respoignantz en le paiement de la dite ferme soloint le purport de nostre dit graunt, siq' nulle covenante parentre nous et le dit comite faite ne pourra estre enfreinte en defaute de vostre nonn-paiement. Et ce ne lesez. En tesmoignance de quieu chose a cestes nos lettres patentes avouns mys nostre seal. Don a Londres le unsyisme jour de Novembre, lan du regne le Roy Edward tierce apres le conquest Dengleterre vintisme quinte, de Fraunce duszime.

16. 9 March, 28 Edward III. Charter by Edward the Black Prince.—

Edward, eldest son of the illustrious King of England and France, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester

to his Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Knights, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, and all his Bailiffs and faithful subjects of the whole county of Chester greeting : We have inspected the Charter which our foresaid father made to the citizens of our city of Chester in these words : "Edward by the grace of God" [reciting in full Charter 14, *Inspeximus* and Confirmation by Edward III. of the franchises and privileges granted by Edward I. at York, 12 June, 28 Edward I]. Now we, accounting the aforesaid gifts, grants, confirmations and quittances valid and acceptable, for ourselves and our heirs as far as in us lies, grant and confirm them to the fore-mentioned citizens and their heirs and successors, as the aforesaid charters reasonably witness. Furthermore desiring to do a more abundant favour to the same citizens in this particular we grant to them for us and our heirs that (although they or their heirs or predecessors have used the aforesaid liberties and quittances or any of them before these times otherwise than they ought or perchance less fully) they shall not for that plea be in any way hindered by us, our heirs or any ministers of ours, or decree of our heirs, but that transgression we for ourselves and our heirs entirely pardon the same citizens. Moreover we have granted for ourselves and our heirs to the same our citizens that they, their heirs and successors, may henceforward fully enjoy and use all and singular the aforesaid liberties and quittances according to the tenor of the aforesaid charters and confirmations without let or hindrance of us or our heirs or of our Justiciaries, Eschaetors, Sheriffs or other Bailiffs or Ministers whatsoever. We have also granted that the aforesaid citizens their heirs and successors may have all chattels of felons and fugitives within the liberties of the aforesaid city which extend to the value of £30 and under, and for the chattels of this kind which exceeded such value of £30, that we have the whole residue of the same. Moreover we have granted to the same our citizens that henceforward the mayor for the time being of the aforesaid city should have the office of our Eschaetry within the liberty of the city itself and be our Eschaetor so that every mayor aforesaid for the time when he is appointed mayor shall come into our Exchequer at Chester before our Justiciary or his deputy and our Chamberlain and that of our heirs or before at least the Chamberlain and make oath to perform the said office faithfully and render to us there a faithful account thereof.

Moreover because in the aforesaid charters granted to the forementioned citizens some lands, meres, limits or boundaries to which the precincts of the said city ought to extend and within which the liberties of the same city ought to be exercised are not

specified (on which account the said citizens have been as we have learnt several times molested and even attacked concerning the use of the liberties granted them): WE, desiring to provide for their security and also quiet in this particular have granted for ourselves and our heirs to the same citizens that the divisions, meres and bounds of the aforesaid city and liberty of the same should be henceforward kept and observed within the limits and places written below, and shall be held and kept henceforth for ever for the divisions, meres and bounds of the aforesaid city, and that the liberties of the same city within the same places and limits and as far as therein should be exercised in perpetuity according to the force, form, and effect of the grants of the same liberties made to the same citizens by our predecessors and progenitors and ourselves without any hindrance from us or our heirs, the Justiciaries, Chamberlains, Sheriffs, Eschaetors or any other ministers of us or of our heirs, that is to wit, from Claverton Lode opposite the Ironbridge, and so ascending by a sicke as far as Green ditch, also called the Meredyche, following that ditch up to a way which leads from Bromfield to Chester as far as Old ditch near a Marl pit, and so following that ditch northwards as far as a way which leads towards the western parts between the land of Robert de Bradford and the land of Michael Scot as far as the head of that ditch; and so following the land of the aforesaid Robert de Bradford as far as the land of the Prioress and the Nuns of Chester, which land was formerly the land of Thomas Daniers; and then following a sicke up to a way which leads from Chester to Kynarton, and across that way to the town of Lache, and so through the middle of that town on the north side to Loudepul in Saltney, also called the Blackpool, and so following that pool to the water of Dee, and then across that water to a certain stream which descends from another part of the same water of Dee into the same water at Pulbridge, and so following that stream as far as the Stonebridge and then to Bache-pool; and so following the side [*filum*] of the water of Bache-pool to a sicke called Flokersbrok; and so following Flokersbrok to Bispediche, and so following that in an easterly direction; and afterwards following that ditch southwards to a way which leads from Stanford Bridge to Chester, following that way to a ditch on the east side of Boghton Chapel, and then to a way which leads from Chester to Torporlegh, following that way, leaving the grange of the Lepers on the east side as far as the Hollow way which leads to Potherbache under the hill of the water of the Dee, and so following the bank of that water to Huntingdon wood, and then to the Ironbridge aforesaid. Moreover we have granted to the aforesaid

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Powers.

citizens and their heirs and successors that they may henceforward, as hitherto they have used without hindrance, make attachments in the water of Dee between Chester and Arnold's eye for toll and other customs belonging to the same citizens and dues on imports, and also for offences committed in ships being in the said water as it ebbs and flows between the aforesaid places. These being witness: The Venerable Father R[oger de Norbridge] Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Bartholomew Burghersh junior our Justice at Chester, John de Wynkefeld, Nigell Loryng our Chamberlain, Edmund Wanney Steward of our Household, Hugh de Venables, John de Legh, Peter de Thornton, Knights, John de Brunham junior our Chamberlain at Chester, and others. Given by our hand at Chester, the 9th day of March, in the year of the reign of our most beloved Lord and Father King of England the 28th, and of France the 15th. [Small Seal, dark green.]

Edwardus illustris Regis Anglie et Francie primogenitus princeps Wallie Dux Cornubie & Comes Cestrie Episcopis &c. Inspeximus cartam quam predictus pater noster fecit civibus civitatis nostre Cestrie in hec verba Edwardus Dei gratia (reciting Charter 14, followed by confirmation as in that Charter, but adding in it set illam transgressionem pro nobis & heredibus nostris eisdem civibus totaliter perdonamus.) 3. Concessimus etiam quod predicti cives heredes et successores sui habeant omnia catalla felonum et fugitivorum infra libertatem civitatis predictae que ad valorem triginta librarum et infra se extendunt ac de catallis hujusmodi que valorem hujusmodi excesserunt triginta libras et nos totum residuum eorundem habeamus. 4. Concessimus insuper eisdem civibus nostris quod exnunc major civitatis predictae qui pro tempore fuerit habeat officium escaetrie nostre infra libertatem civitatis ipsius et sit noster escaetor ita quod quilibet major predictus ad tempus quo preficitur in maiorem veniat in scaccarium nostrum Cestrie et coram Justiciario nostro aut ejus locum tenente et Camerario nostro et heredum nostrorum aut saltem coram Camerario et de dicto officio fideliter faciendo et fideli compoto inde nobis ibidem reddendo faciat juramentum. 5. Quia insuper in cartis predictis prefatis civibus concessis aliquae terre mete limites sive bunde ad quas precinctus dicte civitatis se extendere et infra quas libertates ipsius civitatis exerceri debeant non specificantur propter quod dicti cives super libertatibus eis concessis utendis pluries ut accepimus fuerunt inquietati et etiam impetiti, Nos eorum indemnitati providere volentes in hac parte similiter et quieti concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eisdem civibus quod divise mete et bunde civitatis predictae et libertatis eiusdem decetero teneantur et observentur infra limites et loca subscripta, et pro divisio metis et bundis civitatis predictae exnunc imperpetuum habeantur et teneantur, et quod libertates civitatis ejusdem infra eadem loca et limites et usque ad ea iuxta vim formam et effectum concessionum de eisdem libertatibus per predecessores et progenitores nostros et nos dictis civibus factarum absque impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Justiciariorum Camerariorum Vicecomitum Escaetorum aut aliorum quorumcumque Ministrorum nostrorum aut heredum nostrorum perpetuis temporibus exercentur, videlicet a Claverton Lode ex opposito pontis

ferrei et sic ascendendo per quoddam sicheum usque Gredediche similiter vocatum le Merediche sequendo illud fossatum usque quandam viam que ducit de Bromfeld versus Cestriam usque Oldediche iuxta quandam marleram et sic sequendo fossatum illud versus partem borealem usque ad quandam viam que ducit versus partes occidentales inter terram Roberti de Bradeford et terram Michaelis Scot usque ad capud fossati illius, et sic sequendo terram predicti Roberti de Bradeford usque ad terram Priorisse et monialium Cestrie, que quidem terra fuit prius Thome Daniers et deinde sequendo quoddam sicheum usque ad quandam viam que ducit de Cestria versus Kynarton, et ultra illam viam usque ad villam de Bache, et sic per medium ville illius ex parte boreali usque Le Londpul in Saltenei similiter vocatum le Blakepul, et sic sequendo illud pul usque ad aquam de Dee, et deinde ex transverso aque illius usque ad quandam rivulum ex altera parte eiusdem aque de Dee descendantem in eandem aquam apud le Pulbrigge et sic sequendo rivulum illum usque ad le Stanenbrugge et deinde usque le Bachepol, et sic sequendo filum aque de le Bachepol usque ad quoddam sicheum vocatum Flokeresbroke et sic sequendo Flokeresbroke usque Bispediche, et sic sequendo illud versus partes orientales et postea sequendo illud fossatum versus partem australem usque viam que ducit de Stanfordbrugge versus Cestriam, sequendo viam illam usque ad quoddam fossatum ex parte orientali capelle de Boghton et deinde usque viam que ducit de Cestria versus Torperlegh' sequendo viam illam dimittendo grangeam Leprosorum ex parte orientali usque in le Holgheway que ducit usque Potherbache subius montem aque de Dee, et sic sequendo ripam aque illius usque Huntyn-ton-Wode, et deinde usque ad pontem ferreum predictum. 6. Concessimus insuper predictis civibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus quod ipsi possint decetero sicut hactenus pacifice usi fuerunt attachiamenta facere in aqua de Dee in Cestrie et Arnaldeseyr' pro tolneto et aliis custuniis eisdem civibus pertinentibus et debitis asportatis necnon pro transgressionibus factis in navibus existentibus in dicta aqua prout fluit et refluit inter loca predicta. Hiis testibus Venerabile patre R. Coventry et Lichf' Episcopo, Barthol. de Burgherssl' juniore Justiciario nostro Cestrie, Johanne de Wynkefeld, Nigello Loryng Camerario nostro, Edmundo Wauney Senescallo hospicii nostri, Hugone de Venables, Johanne de Legh, Petro de Thorneton militibus, Johanne de Brunham juniore Camerario nostro Cestrie et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Cestriam nono die Marci anno regni carissimi domini nostri et patris Regis Anglie vicesimo octavo et Francie quinto decimo.

16a.† 16 July, 1270. Prince Edward, grant of protection from exactions.—

Edward the eldest son of the illustrious King of England [Henry III.] to his beloved Justiciary at Chester for the time being, greeting. Desiring to show as we are bound, to our citizens of Chester a special favour, and that they may be more closely defended and maintained in their rights we command you firmly enjoining that you take nothing from them save the due prises which are ours the price of which take care to pay within forty days without further delay, so that they ought not to refer to us for default of such pay-

† This document, hitherto unnoticed, was found attached to a later Charter.

ment. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made to endure for five years. Given at Westminster the 16th day of July in the 54th year of the reign of our beloved Lord.

Edwardus illustris Regis Anglie primogenitus dilecto justiciario suo Cestrie qui pro tempore fuerit salutem. Volentes ut tenemur civibus Cestrie gratiam facere specialem et ipsos in suis juribus in nostr' districcione artius defendi et mainteneri vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quatinus nichil ab eis mercatis capiatis nisi debitas prisas nostras quarum precium infra quadraginta dies solvere faciatis sine ulteriori dilacione Ita quod ad nos pro defectu . . . reclamare non oporteat. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes per quinquennium duraturas. Datum apud Westm' xvi die Julii anno Regis Domini nostri liiij^{to}

17. Edward III. Robert de Eton's claims to the Sergeantry of the Dee.—

Robert of Eton claymes for hym and for hys heyres to have the serjandrye of the Water of Dee from the strem of Eton to that place that is called Arnoldeshey. That is, to have the keypyng of the ford Water and to attache trespasors in that Water and to have for his office as it is contynt benethe in his claym for service that to that serjandrie belongeth that is for to Weet opnyng the isseo of the water for nettes that ben set wrongfully to harne of the Lorde Erle of Chester. That is to saye whan nettes arne set in the seid water called Stalnettes that passen assise of ix fethum and the dogrop passes oon fethum, or if the stake be to deep to wich the dogrop is teed eny depper withine the water then to the kne then the nette to be forfet. And then when eny nette is so forfet by wrong layinge the Lorde shall have the halvendell of the nettes And the sayd Robert that other halvendell if they be moe then oon. And if it be but oon net only the Erle shall have that. And if fysles been funde in the sayd nettes the erle shall have the halvendell. Ant the seid Robert that other halvendell. And if ther be funde but oon fyssh the erle shal have that. Takyng and doing in that sayd maner fro the sayd strem as longe as Stalnettes fallen to be set, that is fro the brugge of Dee to the meres of Blaken And fro thens to Arnoldeshey the Lorde shall have alle the nettes called shutenettes but oon which the said Robert shall have with all the fysh that is when it is forfet, so that a boot of xx feet of breed with longe horees [oars] of xvi feet of lenght ne moon not passe for nettes in the myddes of the sayd water. Hee claymes al so for hym and for his heres to have the strem that is to say to set stakes or postes in the water where he may tee and bynde his nettes to fysh with and his boot called fery, that is to saye to cary men of the comote of Chester over the water takynge of hem thiggyng in the Wyntre at the wyllc of his neighbors and of the sayd men of

a mon with a hors with a deem ob if he be chapmon, And if he be othe to aske noght of hym but what he wol gyf of free wyll, and fre fysshinge at Eton. And to take of every flete that passes by the myddes of that sayd strem a toll that is to weete of the first Knych' that the whych is called a berth peny. And of every Knych' then folowyng i qu [quadrans] a ferthyng. And if eny flete passe by the myddes of the sayd strem toward Chester without toll gevyng, the Lorde Erle shall have al that flete as forfet at the soot of the sayd Robert and his heires. Hee claymes also for hym and for his heires to have wayf that is to say whan any bestes by funde in the lordship of the sayd Robert at Eton without Kepyng that thay be sesed by the sayd Robert or his bayle [? bailiff] and they to be proclaimed in chirches and marketes by thre dayes. And if they abyde over a yer and a day unkalenged after that, he to have the properte. And wrek upon his londe in Eton that is whiche ser [so-ver] is cast of the water upon the londe of the seid Robert whykke [quick] or deed in the lordshyppe of the said Robert without eny mones possession the sayd Robert to have it. Hee claymes also for hym and for his heires to have two botes upon the sayd water to fyssh at his will. Of whiche liberties the sayd Robert and his aunceters were seset of tyme owt of mynde. [Robert de Eton, grandson of Richard de Eton, succeeded 6 Edward II. to the property; married Isabella de Stockton, 5 Edward III.]

19. 10 December, 1379. *Insuperimus* and Confirmation of Charter 16.—

Richard, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to his Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers, and all his Bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting: We have inspected the Charter which our most dearly beloved Lord and Father Lord Edward, late Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester made to the citizens of our city of Chester in these words: "Edward, eldest son of the illustrious King, &c." [reciting Charter 16, "the Black Prince's Charter"].

Now we accounting all the above-mentioned gifts, grants, confirmations and quittances valid and acceptable, for ourselves and our heirs as far as in us lies with the assent of our Council, of our special grace grant and confirm them for ever to the aforesaid citizens and their heirs and successors by the tenor of these presents as the said charters of our aforesaid progenitors, ancestors and father reasonably witness. Moreover desiring to show the same citizens a more abundant favour in this particular, we have granted to them for ourselves and our heirs that although they or their ancestors have used the aforesaid gifts, grants, liberties, and

quittances, or any one or more of them before these times otherwise than they ought, or perchance have used them less fully, yet the same citizens and their heirs and successors may henceforward fully enjoy and use all and singular the said gifts, grants, liberties and quittances and any of them according to the tenor of the said charters of our aforesaid progenitors, ancestors and father for ever without let or hindrance of us or our heirs, or of our Justiciaries, Chamberlains, Eschaetors, Sheriffs or other Bailiffs or Ministers whatsoever. These being witnesses: The Venerable Fathers, W[illiam of Wykeham] Bishop of Winchester, John [Harewell], Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas [de Brantingham], Bishop of Exeter our Treasurer, Richard Arundell, William de Ufford, Earls of Suffolk, Richard le Scrop our Chancellor, Will^m. de Beauchamp our Chamberlain, John de Fordham Keeper of our Privy Seal, Albert de Veer our Sub-Chamberlain and Robert de Rous Knights, and others. Given by our hand at Westminster, the 10th of December, in the 3rd year of our reign.

[By a brief from the Privy Seal for a fine of £20 paid in Hanaper. Great Seal—dark green, green and red silk cords.]

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Inspeximus cartam quam carissimus Dominus et Pater noster dominus Edwardus nuper princeps Wallie Dux Cornubie et Comes Cestrie fecit civibus civitatis nostre Cestrie in hec verba Edwardus illustris Regis [reciting No. 16.]

Nos autem omnes donaciones concessionones confirmationes et quietancias superdictas ratas habentes et gratas eas pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis civibus et eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum de assensu consilii nostri de gratia nostra speciali tenore presencium concedimus et confirmamus sicut dicte carte progenitorum antecessorum et patris nostrorum predictorum rationabiliter testantur. Preterea volentes eisdem civibus uberiolem gratiam facere in hac parte concessimus eis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod licet ipsi aut eorum antecessores donacionibus concessionibus libertatibus et quietanciis predictis aut eorum aliqua vel aliquibus ante hec tempora aliter usi fuerunt quam deberent vel forsitan eis minus plene usi iidem tamen cives et eorum heredes et successores universis et singulis donacionibus concessionibus libertatibus et quietanciis predictis et eorum qualibet exnunc plene gaudeant et utantur juxta tenorem dictarum cartarum progenitorum antecessorum et patris nostrorum infra dictorum imperpetuum sine occasione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum Justic' Camerar' Escaetorum, Vicecomitum aut aliorum Ballivorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque. Hiis testibus Venerabilibus patribus W. Wynton, J. Bathon' et Wellen', Th. Exon' Thesaurario nostro, Episcopis, Ricardo Arundell, Willelmo de Ufford, Suff' comitibus, Ricardo le Scrop Cancellario, Willelmo de Bello Campo Camerario nostris [*sic*] Johanne de Fordham custode privati sigilli nostri Aluredo de Veer subcamerario nostro et

Roberto de Rous Militibus et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Westm. decimo die Decembris anno regni nostri tercio. Per breve de privato sigillo pro fine viginti librarum solut' in hanaperio.

20. 25 July, 1367. Grant of Murage for repairs of the Bridge.—

Richard, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that of our special grace and at the supplication of our lieges, the Commonalty of our town of Chester, and for consideration that as many of our lieges of our said town coming and others therefrom crossing have been drowned in the water of the Dee since the bridge of the same town over the said water has been destroyed and broken. And also, because the same town for that reason is very greatly impoverished as we are informed, we have granted to the fabric and repair of the aforesaid bridge all the profits of the Passage of the said water at Chester and the Murage which used to be granted there for the walls, to be received for the same fabric and repair until that bridge is rightly and reasonably completed. In witness whereof we have caused these letters patent to be made, sealed with the seal of our exchequer at Chester. Witness myself at our Castle of Chester, the 25th day of July, in the 11th year of our reign.

Ricardus, &c., Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et ad supplicacionem ligeorum nostrorum communitatis ville nostre Cestrie ac per consideracionem quod quamplures de ligeis nostris dicte ville nostre venientes et alii abinde transeuntes in aqua de Dee submersi extiterunt postquam pons ejusdem ville ultra aquam predictam dirutus extitit et confractus; ac eciam quod eadem villa ea de causa maxime depauperata prout sumus informati concessimus fabrice et reparacioni pontis predicti proficua passagii aque predictae apud Cestriam et muragium quod pro muris ibidem concedi solebat, habenda eisdem fabrice et reparacioni quousque pons ille recte et racionabiliter perficiatur. In cujus rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes sigillo seaccarii nostri Cestrie signatas. [Per litteras de signetto].

21. 31 March, 1395. Letters Patent directing payment of murage for four years to the Mayor, &c., for the repair of walls and pavements.—

Richard by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all his Bailiffs, faithful subjects, and tenants in the Counties of Chester and Flynt and to others whom it concerns to whom the present letters may come, greeting: Our beloved lieges the mayor and commonalty of our city of Chester have besought us that, since the walls of the aforesaid city in several places of the same are ruinous and the pavements of the same city destroyed and broken which were wont to be maintained and repaired out of the murage taken within the aforesaid city, as well

by our grant as by the grant of other our progenitors before these times, we would, for the honour and reverence of Almighty God and out of respect for (divine) charity, grant to the same on their supplication the murage which remains to be taken within the aforesaid city for the four years next ensuing for the maintenance, repair, control and mending of the same walls and pavements to be had and taken in the manner and form in which such murage has hitherto been wont there to be taken. We assenting of our special grace to the same supplication with the assent of our Council desire and grant to the same mayor and commonalty that they may have and take such murages for four years next ensuing in the manner and form in which the murage there was wont to be taken in times past for the repair and maintenance of the walls and pavements aforesaid: so that the receivers of the same murage for the time being be bound to render a reasonable account thereof in our exchequer at Chester from year to year during the aforesaid term as other receivers of such murage there have been hitherto wont to render. And therefore we give you and each of you firmly in command that you be attentive, obedient and in all things responsive to the receivers of murage to be appointed and constituted by the same mayor and commonalty during the term aforesaid within the said city in all things which were wont to be taken during the term aforesaid of four years, that term beginning the next Tuesday after the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary last past. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made sealed with the seal of our exchequer at Chester. Given at Chester the 31st day of March in the 18th year of our reign.

31 March, 18 Ric. II. Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie omnibus ballivis fidelibus subditis et tenentibus suis in com' Cestrie et Fflynt et aliis quorum interest ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Supplicarunt nobis dilecti ligei nostri Major et communitas civitatis nostre Cestrie quod cum muri civitatis predictae in pluribus locis eorundem ruinosi existant et pavimenta ejusdem civitatis dirruta sint et confracta que de muragio infra civitatem predictam tam de concessione nostra quam aliorum progenitorum nostrorum ante hec tempora capto sustentari et reparari consueverunt, velimus ob honorem et reverenciam omnipotentis Dei intuitu caritatis eisdem supplicantibus concedere muragium quod infra civitatem predictam per quatuor annos jam proxime futuros restat capiendum pro sustentacione reparacione gubernacione et emendacione eorundem murorum et pavimentorum habendum et capiendum modo et forma quibus hujusmodi muragium hactenus ibidem capi consuevit. Nos eidem supplicationi de gratia nostra speciali annuentes de assensu consilii nostri volumus et eisdem majori et communitati concedimus quod ipsi hujusmodi muragia per quatuor annos jam proxime futuros habere et capere possint modo et forma quibus muragium ibidem

capi consuevit temporibus retroactis pro reparacione et sustentacione murorum et pavimentorum predictorum, Ita quod receptores ejusdem muragii qui pro tempore fuerint rationabilem computum inde nobis in scaccario nostro Cestrie de anno in annum durante termino predicto reddere teneantur prout alii receptores hujusmodi muragii ibidem hactenus reddere consueverunt. Et ideo vobis et unicuique vestrum danus firmiter in mandatis quod receptoribus muragii infra dictam civitatem durante termino predicto per ipsos majorem et communitatem ordiandis et constituendis in omnibus que capi consuevit durante termino quatuor annorum predicto intendentes sitis obedientes et per omnia respondentes termino illo incipiente die Martis proximo post festum Annunciationis Beate Marie proxime preteritum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes sigillo scaccarii nostri Cestrie signatas. Datum apud Cestriam tricesimo primo die Marcii anno regni nostri decimo octavo. [Per quendam billam per venerabilem in Christo patrem Thomam [Arundel] Ebor' Archiepiscopum Cancellarium Anglie in presencia Venerabilis in Christo patris Roberti [de Braybrooke] Episcopi Londin' et Roberti Parys Camerarii Cestrie concess' et indors'].]

22. 19 July, 1398. Insuperimus and Confirmation of Charter No. 16.—

Richard by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, Reeves, Ministers and all his Bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting: We have inspected the Charter which our most dearly beloved Lord and Father Lord Edward late Prince of Wales Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester made to the citizens of our city of Chester in these words: "Edward" [reciting Charter 16, the Black Prince's Charter, and continuing in the exact terms of Charter 19, granted by Richard II. himself 12 Dec. in the 3rd year of his reign, and adding at the end the following words] In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made, sealed with the seal of our Principality of Chester. Given at Chester the 19th day of July, in the 22nd year of our reign. ["Examined by Richard le Bruyn and Roger de Brescy."]

Ricardus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Archiepiscopis Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Ducibus Comitibus Baronibus Justiciariis Vicecomitibus Prepositis Ministris et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis salutem. Insuperimus cartam quam carissimus dominus et pater noster dominus Edwardus nuper Princeps Wallie dux Cornubie et comes Cestrie fecit civibus civitatis nostre Cestrie in hec verba "Edwardus, &c." In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes sigillo principatus nostri Cestrie. Dat' apud Cestriam decimo nono die Julii, anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo. [Ex^a per Ricardum le Bruyn et Rogerum de Brescy]. Seal, yellow wax.

23. 23 Feb., 1401. Letters Patent of Henry, Prince of Wales of Insuperimus and Confirmation of Richard II.'s Charter 19.—

Henry, eldest son of the illustrious King of England, Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester, to the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls,

Barons, Justiciaries, Sheriffs, and all his Bailiffs and faithful men of his whole county of Chester, greeting: We have inspected the Charter of Confirmation of Lord Richard the Second after the Conquest, late King of England, made in these words: Richard by the grace of God King of England [reciting Charter 19 which recites No. 16, which again recites No. 14, and after reciting 19 to the end, the Confirmation follows in the same terms as Charter 19]. Now we accounting, &c. These being witnesses: the Venerable Fathers, Guy [de Mona] Bishop of St. David's, [John Trevor] Bishop of St. Asaph, [Richard Youge] Bishop of Bangor, Reginald de Grey of Ruthyn, Henry de Percy, our Justice of Chester, Hugh le Despenser, and Hugh Holes, Knights, Peter de Melburne our Chamberlain, and others. Given by our hand at Kenyngton the 23rd of February in the 2nd year of the reign of our most beloved Lord and father the King of England and France.

Henricus Filius illustris Regis Anglie primogenitus Princeps Wallie Dux Aquitannie Lancastrie et Cornubie, Comes Cestrie, Episcopis Abbatibus Prioribus Comitibus Baronibus Justic' Vicecomitibus et omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus snis tocius comitatus sui Cestrie, salutem. Inspeximus cartam confirmacionis domini Ricardi nuper Regis Anglie secundi post conquestum factam in hec verba Ricardus dei gracia Rex Anglie [reciting No. 19 the confirmation follows — Nos autem omnes donationes, &c., as in Charter 19.] Hiis testibus Venerabilibus patribus G. [Guy de Mona] Meneven' et [John Trevor] Assaven' et [Richard Youge] Bangoren' episcopis Reginaldo de Grey de Ruthyn Henry de Percy Justiciario nostro Cestrie Hugone le Despenser Hugone Holes militibus Petro de Melburne Camerario nostro et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Kenyngton vicesimo tercio die Febr. anno regni carissimi domini nostri et patris regis Anglie et Francie secundo. [No Seal.]

24. 3 Nov., 1403, Henry IV. Pardon of treasons in Percy Rebellion.—

Henry by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all his Bailiffs and faithful men to whom the present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that of our special grace and at the supplication of our most beloved son Henry Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, as also for that the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Chester have granted to us a fine of 300 marks to be paid us by them, and that they at their own proper costs will find sufficient shipping for men equipped and to be equipped to set forth in obedience to us by sea for the present relief of the Castle of Beaumaris, and victuals sufficient for the shipping of the aforesaid men, we have pardoned to all and singular our lieges of the same city the suit of our peace which concerns us towards them for all manner of treasons, insurrections, rebellions, felonies by them done or perpetrated before this against us and their allegiance with Henry Percy the younger now dead and other

our rebels with the assent of same Henry Percy, wherefore they are indicted, accused and charged, and also whatever outlawries have been proclaimed against them or any of them on these pleas and we grant them therein our firm peace. We have also pardoned, granted and remitted to all and singular our lieges aforesaid all manner of forfeitures of their lands, tenements, goods and chattels which ought for the reasons premised to belong to us in all offices, fees and annuities which our lieges aforesaid or any one of them have or has for the term of his life. Also all manner of goods and chattels by our aforesaid lieges or any one of them from the beginning of their treasons and rebellions aforesaid to this present, which goods and chattels were [not] their own proper goods and chattels before the aforesaid rebellion, those acquired only being excepted. And moreover of our more abundant grace and consideration of the supplication and fine or burden aforesaid we have granted that the heirs, executors, and administrators of all and singular those persons deceased of the aforesaid city which were consenting to the treasons and rebellions aforesaid should have all and singular the lands, tenements, goods and chattels of the same persons deceased belonging to us by the circumstances premised : which lands, tenements, goods and chattels were not given by us to any other before these times, viz. that the aforesaid heirs [should have] the lands and tenements aforesaid for themselves and their heirs for ever and the forementioned executors and administrators the goods and chattels aforesaid for the support of the wives and children of the same deceased persons as is premised. In witness whereof we have caused these letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Cirencester on the 3rd day of November in the 5th year of our reign. [Seal, yellow wax.]

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et ad supplicacionem carissimi filii nostri Henrici Principis Wallie et comitis Cestrie, necnon pro eo quod major et communitas Civitatis Cestrie nobis concesserunt quendam finem trecentarum marcarum per ipsos nobis solvendarum et quod ipsi ad custus suos proprios invenient eskippamentum sufficiens pro hominibus ad proficiscendum in obsequio nostro per mare pro presenti rescussu castri de Beaumareys ordinatis et ordinandis ac victualia sufficiencia pro eskippamento hominum predictorum perdonavimus omnibus et singulis ligeis nostris ejusdem civitatis sectam pacis nostre que ad nos versus ipsos pertinet pro omnimodis prodicionibus insurrectionibus rebellionibus felonis per ipsos contra nos et ligeanciam suam cum Henrico Percy le filz jam defuncto et aliis rebellibus nostris de assensu ipsius Henrici Percy ante hec tempora factis sive perpetratis unde indictati reatati vel appellati existunt ac eciam utlagati si que in ipsos seu eorum aliquem hiis occasionebus

fuerint promulgate et firmam pacem nostram eis inde concedimus. Perdonavimus etiam concessimus et remisimus omnibus et singulis ligeis nostris predictis omnimodas forisfacturas terrarum tenementorum bonorum et catallorum suorum que ad nos ex causis premissis pertinere debent omnimodis officiis feodis et annuitatibus que ligei nostri predicti seu eorum aliquis habent vel habet ad terminum vite sue: neenon omnimodis bonis et catallis per prefatos ligeos nostros seu eorum aliquem ab inicio prodicionum et rebellionum suarum predictarum ——— hucusque que quidem bona et catalla propria bona et catalla sua ante rebellionem predictam non fuerunt adquisitis dumtaxat exceptis. Et insuper de uberiore gratia nostra et consideracone supplicaonis et finis sive oneris predictorum concessimus quod heredes executores et administratores omnium et singularum illarum personarum defunctarum civitatis predictae que fuerunt de assensu prodicionum et rebellionum predictarum omnia et singula terras tenementa bona et catalla eorundem personarum defunctarum ad nos occasionibus premissis pertinencia: que quidem terre tenementa bona et catalla per nos alicui alii ante hec tempora data non existunt habeant videlicet predicti heredes terras et ten' predicta sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum prefatique executores et administratores bona et catalla predicta ad sustentacionem uxorum et liberorum earundem personarum ut premittitur defunctarum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Cirencestriam tercio die Novembris anno regni nostri quinto. [Irrotulata ad com' tent' apud Cestriam die Martis proximo post festum Epiphanie anno Regni Henrici quarti post conquestum quinto.] Per ipsum Regem.

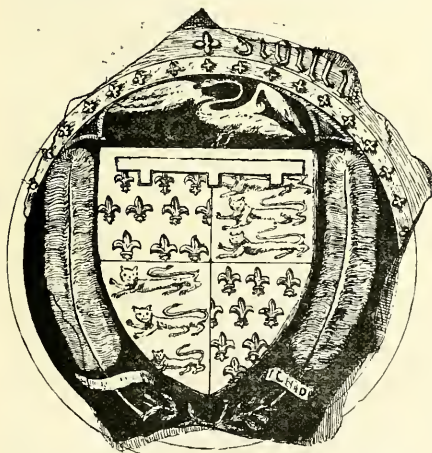


Palatine Seal of Henry IV. (½ size.)

25. 5 March, 1407. Grant for five years of Murage.—

Henry, eldest son of the illustrious King of England and France, Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine Lancaster and Cornwall, Earl of Chester, to all to whom these present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that of our special grace and by the advice of our Council we have granted to our beloved Mayor and Commonalty of our City of Chester that they and their successors may have and receive the entire profit and emolument from the "prise and caption" of Murage within our city aforesaid in whatever way arising according as and as the same murage before these

times was wont to be taken and received better and more fully at any time for the repair and maintenance of the walls of our aforesaid city. Provided always that one moiety of the aforesaid murage be faithfully expended on the walls before-mentioned, and the other moiety of the same upon the completion and finishing of the Tower on the Dee Bridge begun by the Ministers and Officials of our Castle of Chester in the time of Richard, late King of England, the Second after the Conquest, [the same murage] to be had and received by the forementioned Mayor and Commonalty and their successors from the Feast of Easter now next coming after the date of these presents to the end of five years then immediately following fully completed without hindrance or disturbance from us or our Ministers whatsoever as fully and completely as ever in time past it was wont to be taken and paid. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made sealed with the seal of our Exchequer of Chester. Given at Chester the 5th day of March in the 8th year of the reign of our beloved Lord and Father King Henry the Fourth after the Conquest.



Seal of Henry V. (as Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester)

N.B.—Swan and Fleur de lys after reduced to three

[Seal—Light Yellow]

Henricus filius illustris Regis Anglie et Francie primogenitus Princeps Wallie Dux Aquitanie Lancastrie et Cornubie Comes Cestrie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et per avisamentum consilii nostri concessimus dilectis nobis majori et communitati civitatis nostre Cestrie quod ipsi et eorum successores habeant et percipiant totum proficuum et emolumentum de prisā & captione muragii infra civitatem nostram antedictam qualitercunque proveniencia prout & sicut idem muragium ante hec

tempora melius & plenius aliquo tempore capi & percipi solebat in emendacionem & sustentacionem murorum civitatis nostre predictae. Proviso omnino quod una medietas muragii predicti super muros antedictos, & altera medietas ejusdem super complementum & perfectionem Turris super

pontem de Dee, per ministros & officarios castri nostri Cestrie tempore Ricardi nuper Regis Anglie secundi post conquestum incepte, fideliter expendantur habendum et percipiendum prefatis majori et com'itati et successoribus suis a festo Pasche post datum presencium jam proximo futuro usque finem quinque annorum extunc immediate sequencium plenarie completorum absque impedimento vel perturbacione nostri seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque adeo plene et integre prout unquam tempore transacto capi et solvi solebat. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes sigillo scaccarii nostri Cestrie signatas. Datum apud Cestriam quinto die Marcii anno regni dilecti domini et patris nostri Regis Henrici quarti post Conquestum octavo. Per literas de privato sigillo.

25a. 20 May, 1409. Grant of Murage by Henry Prince of Wales.—

Henry, eldest son of the illustrious King of England and France, Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitaine Lancaster and Cornwall, Earl of Chester, to all to whom the present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that we of our special grace and to the support and repair of the walls, bridges, and gates of our City of Chester have granted to the burgesses and our tenants, the Mayor and Commonalty of our city aforesaid, licence to take murage in the manner and form in which it was wont to be taken as long as it shall please us; so that the profits coming from the same murage may be bestowed and expended on the repair of the walls, bridges, and gates abovementioned. In witness whereof we have caused these letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Chester on the 20th day of May, in the 10th year of the reign of our beloved Lord and Father King Henry the Fourth after the Conquest. [By letters of the Privy Seal. No seal appended.] This charter is not to be found, the only copy being in the Pentice Chartulary, folio 47.

Henricus filius illustris Regis Anglie et Francie primogenitus Princeps Wallie Dux Aquitanie Lancastrie et Cornubie Comes Cestrie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos de gratia nostra speciali et in supportaconem et emendaconem murorum pontium et portarum civitatis nostre Cestrie concessimus burgensibus et tenentibus nostris Majori et com'itati civitatis nostre predictae licenciam capiendi muragium modo et forma quibus capi solebat quamdiu nobis placuerit. Ita quod proficua de eodem muragio provenientia ponantur et expendantur super reparacione murorum pontium et portarum supradictarum. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Cestriam vicesimo die Maii anno regni dilecti domini et patris nostri Regis Henrici quarti post Conquestum decimo. Per literas de privato sigillo.

26. 20 November, 1425.—

Letters patent by Henry VI. of Inspecimus and Confirmation of the Charter (No. 23) granted by Henry IV., whereby the father of the said King (Henry VI.) when he was Prince of Wales confirmed the letters patent of 3 Richard II., which contained

confirmation of the Black Prince's Charter. Dated at Westminster. It concludes: *Nos autem cartam illam ipsius patris nostri de hujusmodi donacionibus, concessionibus, confirmacionibus libertatibus et quietanciis minime revocatis de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in parlamento nostro apud Westm' anno regni primo tento existen' approbamus, ratificamus et confirmamus prout carta predicta rationabiliter testatur et prout prefati cives civitatis predictæ et eorum antecessores libertatibus et quietanciis predictis a tempore confectionis carte predictæ rationabilis uti et gaudere consueverunt. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westm' vicesimo die Novembris anno regni nostri quarto. [Per breve de privato sigillo. Ex^a per Will^m. Prestwyk and Johannem Stopyndon clericos. Great Seal, Green.]*

27. 4 Aug., 1445. Letters Patent of release for 50 years of £50.—

Henry [VI.] by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all to whom the present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that by the humble supplication of our beloved lieges the Mayor and citizens of our city of Chester we have understood how our said citizens hold the said city in fee-farm of us with all appurtenances, liberties, free customs, paying therefore annually to us and our heirs at our exchequer of Chester £100, one moiety at the said exchequer at the Feast of St. Michael and the other moiety at our said exchequer at the Feast of Easter by virtue of a Charter granted by Edward the First, late King of England our progenitor, to the citizens of the said city then being and their heirs for ever. And as at the time of this grant and long after there was a good harbour to the said city, to which harbour many different traders at that time being of our said city and others of this kingdom of ours of England and of other kingdoms and lands, had a common course and return, passage and repassage with their ships and merchandise to the said harbour of our said city, to make a convenient port to the great profits and increase of riches of the said our citizens of the city and inhabitants there being: And as now it is so, and for 40 years now last past it has been, that the great flow of water at the said port by which our said merchants had a course and return with their ships and merchandize to our said city is taken away from the said harbour by the wreck of sea sand so that the said harbour is wholly destroyed and cannot be recovered: so that no merchant ship can approach within 12 miles and more of the said city, and thus no merchant ship belongs nor has for a long time belonged to our said city, but they in default of the aforesaid harbour are wholly destroyed and wasted to the great

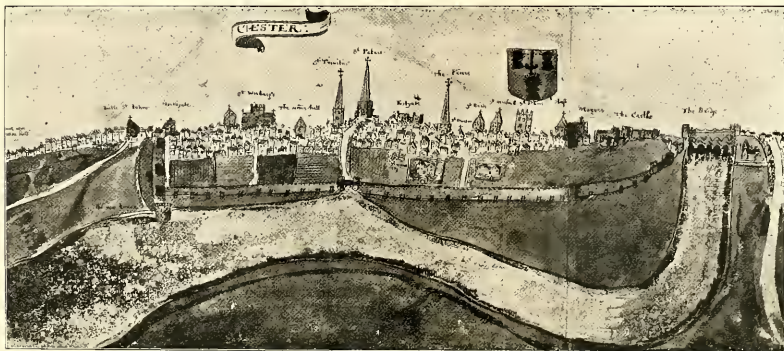
detriment, desolation, and impoverishment of our said city and citizens: And after that the said harbour was so destroyed, an insurrection and rebellion occurred in Wales, during which rebellion no one in our said city dared or was able to sell or buy victuals or traffic in any other merchandise with any Welshman; but [the citizens] guarded our said city day and night as men of war against the Welshmen then being in rebellion, whereas the said Welshmen before the rebellion used to buy and sell with our said citizens as well victuals as all manner other merchandize to the great profit of our said city and citizens: Which victuals and merchandize were withdrawn on account of the rebellion, which was and is no slight detriment and impoverishment of our said city and citizens for that the aforesaid city stands and adjoins upon the aforesaid March of Wales. For which reasons before recited many citizens and other inhabitants of our said city are withdrawing themselves from our said city and are dwelling in other parts of this our realm on account of the great and insupportable burdens of their fee-farm, so that the greater part of our said city is wasted, desolate, ruinous and very sparsely inhabited, such that our said city is not able or like to bear such a burden of the said fee-farm save with the annihilation for ever of our said citizens and the inhabitants there now dwelling without our favour in this particular as is more largely contained in the said supplication. WE therefore, considering the premisses, how the said city is daily wasted and weakened and is in a short process of time like to be desolated as is stated by the said supplication, of our special grace at their request in the same supplication relax, quit-claim and exonerate our said citizens and their successors £50 annually, a parcel of the said £100, during fifty years now next coming. And also of our concession we ratify and confirm to the said citizens and their successors the said city with all manner liberties franchises conveniences and customs by us or by any of our progenitors granted or confirmed to our said citizens or any of their predecessors, paying to us and our heirs £50 only yearly during the said 50 years at our exchequer of Chester at the Feasts of Easter and S. Michael in equal portions, notwithstanding any grant made before this to them and their predecessors or reservation reserved to us or our progenitors by our said progenitors or by us or any other of our progenitors ratified and confirmed to our said citizens or their predecessors. And for any fee farm except only for the said £50 during the aforesaid term we exonerate and acquit the said citizens and their successors aforesaid and that no other sum of fee-farm save only the said sum of £50 be levied on them in any way, and that no levy thereof be made during the



detriment, desolation, and impoverishment of our said city and citizens: And after that the said harbour was so destroyed, an insurrection and rebellion occurred in Wales, during which rebellion no one in our said city dared or was able to sell or buy victuals or traffic in any other merchandise with any Welshman; but [the citizens] guarded our said city day and night as men of war against the Welshmen then being in rebellion, whereas the said Welshmen before the rebellion used to buy and sell with our said citizens as well victuals as all manner other merchandize to the great profit of our said city and citizens: Which victuals and merchandize were withdrawn on account of the rebellion, which was and is no slight detriment and impoverishment of our said city and citizens for that the aforesaid city stands and adjoins upon the aforesaid March of Wales. For which reasons before recited many citizens and other inhabitants of our said city are withdrawing themselves from our said city and are dwelling in other parts of this our realm on account of the great and insupportable burdens of their fee-farm, so that the greater part of our said city is wasted, desolate, ruinous and very sparsely inhabited, such that our said city is not able or like to bear such a burden of the said fee-farm save with the annihilation for ever of our said citizens and the inhabitants there now dwelling without our favour in this particular as is more largely contained in the said supplication. WE therefore, considering the premisses, how the said city is daily wasted and weakened and is in a short process of time like to be desolated as is stated by the said supplication, of our special grace at their request in the same supplication relax, quit-claim and exonerate our said citizens and their successors £50 annually, a parcel of the said £100, during fifty years now next coming. And also of our concession we ratify and confirm to the said citizens and their successors the said city with all manner liberties franchises conveniences and customs by us or by any of our progenitors granted or confirmed to our said citizens or any of their predecessors, paying to us and our heirs £50 only yearly during the said 50 years at our exchequer of Chester at the Feasts of Easter and S. Michael in equal portions, notwithstanding any grant made before this to them and their predecessors or reservation reserved to us or our progenitors by our said progenitors or by us or any other of our progenitors ratified and confirmed to our said citizens or their predecessors. And for any fee farm except only for the said £50 during the aforesaid term we exonerate and acquit the said citizens and their successors aforesaid and that no other sum of fee-farm save only the said sum of £50 be levied on them in any way, and that no levy thereof be made during the



Chester, Chester 1680, by Edward Wright



Bird's-eye View of Chester, by W. Smith, Rouge Dragon, 1580

foresaid term. In witness whereof we have caused these letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Chester the 24th day of August in the 23rd year of our reign. By brief of the Privy Seal and of the date aforesaid by authority of Parliament.¹

Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie, Dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod per humilem supplicaconem dilectorum ligeorum nostrorum Majoris et civium civitatis nostre Cestrie intelleximus qualiter dicti cives nostri dictam civitatem cum omnibus pertinenciis libertatibus liberis consuetudinibus in feodi firma de nobis tenent solvendo inde annuatim nobis et heredibus nostris ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie centum libras, unam medietatem ad dictum scaccarium ad festum Sancti Michaelis et alteram medietatem ad dictum scaccarium nostrum ad festum Pasche virtute cujusdam carte per Edwardum primum nuper Regem Anglie progenitorem nostrum civibus dicte civitatis nostre ad tunc existentibus et heredibus suis imperpetuum facte. Et qualiter tempore cujus concessionis et diu postea ad dictam civitatem nostram erat bonus portus ad quem portum multi et diversi mercatores tunc temporis dicte civitatis nostre existentes et alii hujus regni nostri Anglie et aliorum regnorum et terrarum communem cursum et recursum transitus et reventus cum navibus et mercimoniis suis ad dictum portum dicte civitatis nostre habebant ibidem portum sui salutaris facere ad dictorum civitatis civium nostrorum et inhabitantium ibidem existencium grandia proficua et diviciarum incrementa. Et qualiter nunc taliter existit et per quadraginta annos jam proxime preteritos existit quod grandis aque cursus dicti portus per quem dicti mercatores nostri cursum et recursum cum navibus et mercimoniis suis ad dictam civitatem nostram habebant per sabulorum maris wreccum a dicto portu subtrahitur ita quod dictus portus penitus destruitur et recuperari non potest: Ita quod nulla navis mercatoria per duodecim milliaria et magis dicte civitatis nostre appropinquare possit sic quod nulla navis mercatoria dicte civitati nostre pertineus est nec per longum tempus erat, set ille in defectu portus predicti penitus destruuntur et vastantur ad dictorum civitatis nostre et civium grandia detrementum desolacionem et depaupertatem. Et postquam dictus portus taliter destructus fuit, quedam insurrectio et rebellio in Wallia contingebant, qua rebellionem durante nemo dicte civitatis nostre victualia seu aliqua alia mercimonia cum nullo Wallico vendere vel emere audebat nec poterat: Set dictam civitatem nostram ut homines guerre a Wallicis ad tunc rebellibus existentibus indies et noctanter custodire [sic for custodiebant] ubi dicti Wallici ante rebellionem cum dictis civibus nostris tam victualia quam omnimoda alia mercimonia ad grande incrementum dictorum civitatis et civium nostrorum emere ac vendere utebantur: Que victualia et mercimonia subtrahebantur per rebellionem que erat et est non modicum detrementum et depaupertas dictorum civitatis et civium nostrorum pro eo quod predicta civitas stat et adjungit super marchiam Wallie predictam, pro quibus causis antea repetitis multi cives et alii dicte civitatis nostre inhabitantes a dicta civitate nostra subtrahuntur et in aliis hujus regni

¹ The petition referred to above was dealt with in an Inquisition held before John Mainwaring and other Commissioners, 28 Henry VI., who refer to the state of the Port in the time of Edward the First. The substance of their report is embodied in this Charter.—*Harl. MSS* 2082.

nostri partibus cause sue firme onerum magnorum et importabilium sunt inhabitantes, ita quod dicte nostre civitatis maior pars vastata, desolata, ruinosa et minime inhabitata existit sic quod dicta civitas nostra abilis nec similis perdurare aliquale onus dicte feodi firme portare non existit nisi ad imperpetuum adnichilacionem dictorum civium nostrorum et inhabitancium ibidem modo existencium absque gracia nostra in hac parte prout in dicta supplicacione magis large continetur Nos igitur premissa considerantes qualiter dicta civitas dietine vastatur et debilitatur et est per brevem temporis processum similis desolari ut per dictam supplicacionem suam dicitur, de gracia nostra speciali ad eorum requisitum per eandem supplicacionem relaxamus quiete clamamus et exoneramus dictis civibus nostris et suis successoribus quinquaginta libras annuatim parcellum dictarum centum librarum durantibus quinquaginta annis jam proxime futuris. Et eciam de concessione nostra ratificamus et confirmamus dictis civibus et suis successoribus dictam civitatem cum omnimodis libertatibus franchisesiis commoditatibus et consuetudinibus per nos vel per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum dictis civibus nostris vel aliquibus predecessorum suorum concessis vel confirmatis reddendo nobis et heredibus nostris quinquaginta libras tantum annuatim durantibus dictis quinquaginta annis ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones aliqua concessione eis et predecessoribus suis vel reservacione nobis vel progenitoribus nostris per dictos progenitores nostros reservata vel per nos vel aliquem alium progenitorum nostrorum ratificata et confirmata ante hoc tempus facta dictis civibus nostris vel predecessoribus suis non obstante Et pro aliqua feodi firma nisi tantum de dictis quinquaginta libris durante termino predicto exoneramus et acquietamus dictos cives et successores suos predictos et quod nulla alia summa feodi firma nisi tantum dicta summa quinquaginta librarum ab eis nullo modo levetur nec levacio inde fiat durante termino predicto. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Cestriam vicesimo quarto die Augusti anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio. Per breve de privato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti. Light yellow wax, beautifully executed.

28. 20 Nov., 1456. Pardon and release to Sheriffs of seven successive years of the sums of 25 marks each due to the King.

Henry [VI.], by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all his Bailiffs and faithful men to whom the present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that whereas it has pleased us from time past of our special grace and divers considerations and on account of the great poverty of the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens of our city of Chester, by our letters patent to remit, quit-claim, and relieve the citizens of our aforesaid city and their successors of the £50 annually, parcel of the fee-farm of the city aforesaid, during the term of fifty years, of which £50 so released quit-claimed and relieved twenty-five marks annually were resumed into our hands by virtue of a certain Act of Resumption put forth in our Parliament held the 6th day of November in the twenty-eighth year of our reign: We, in consideration of the

premisses and of the great burdens which the aforesaid Mayor and citizens already have hardly in different manners borne, have of our abundant grace pardoned, remitted and released to John Southworth and Henry Hyrn, late Sheriffs of the city aforesaid, the twenty-five marks with which they in their account before our auditors at Chester were charged for one year, viz., from the Feast of St. Michael in the said year, the 28th, to the Feast of St. Michael then next following, and the execution and levy of the same : And to James Hurleton and Richard Hawardyn, late Sheriffs of the city aforesaid, the twenty-five marks with which they were charged in their account before our auditors at Chester for another year, viz., from the Feast of St. Michael, in the twenty-ninth year of our reign, to the Feast of St. Michael then following and the execution and levy the same : And to Richard Massey and Richard Raynford, the twenty-five marks, &c., in the thirtieth year, &c. ; and to Robert Rogerson and Thomas Gerard, &c., for the thirty-first year ; and to John Troghford and Ralph Mareschall, &c., for the thirty-second year ; and to John Gosnour and John Barowe, &c., for the thirty-third year ; Also to Thomas Kent and William Hankyn, &c., for the thirty-fourth year ; because that no express mention exists at present of any other gift or grant made previously by us or any of our illustrious progenitors to the forementioned Mayor and citizens, or any statute, act, ordinance, or restriction published to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Westminster, the 20th day of November, in the thirty-fifth year of our reign.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum nobis ex tempore preterito pro diversis considerationibus ac magna paupertate majoris vicecomitum et civium civitatis nostre Cestrie complacuit de gracia nostra speciali per litteras nostras patentes remittere quietare clamare et exonerare civibus civitatis nostre predictae et successoribus suis quinquaginta libras annuatim parcelam feodi firme civitatis predictae durante termino quinquaginta annorum, de quibus quidem quinquaginta libris sic relaxatis, quiet' clamatis et exoneratis viginti et quinque marce annuatim in manus nostras virtute cujusdam actus resumptionis in parlamento nostro sexto die Novembris anno regni nostri vicesimo octavo tento editi resumpte extiterunt Nos consideratione premissorum ac grandium onerum que predicti Major et cives jam tarde diversimodo sustinuerunt ex ampla gracia nostra perdonavimus remisimus et relaxavimus Johanni Southworth et Henrico Hyrn nuper vicecomitibus civitatis predictae viginti et quinque marcas de quibus ipsi super compoto suo coram auditoribus nostris apud Cestriam pro uno anno videlicet a festo Sancti Michaelis dicto anno vicesimo octavo usque festum Sancti Michaelis tunc proximum sequens onerati fuerunt ac executionem et levacionem earundem. Et Jacobo Hurleton

et Ricardo Hawardyn nuper vicecomitibus civitatis predicte xxv marcas de quibus ipsi super compoto suo coram auditoribus nostris apud Cestriam pro alio anno videlicet a festo S. Michaelis a^o regni nostri xxix^o usque festum S. Michaelis tunc prox' sequens onerati fuerunt ac execucionem et levacionem earundem. Et Ricardo Massy et Ricardo Raynford nuper vicecomitibus civitatis predicte xxv marcas de quibus ipsi super compoto suo coram auditoribus, &c. &c. anno regni nostri xxx^o &c. &c. Et Roberto Rogerson et Thome Gerard, nuper vicecomitibus &c. xxv marcas de quibus &c. &c. anno xxxi^o &c. &c. Et Johanni Throghford et Radulpho Mareschall nuper vicecomitibus &c. xxv marcas de quibus &c. a^o xxxii^o &c. &c. Et Johanni Gosnour et Johanni Barrowe nuper vicecomitibus &c. xxv marcas de quibus &c. a^o xxxiii^o &c. &c. Necnon Thome Kent et Willelmo Hankyn nuper vicecomitibus &c. xxv marcas de quibus &c. a^o xxxiv^o &c. &c. Eo quod expressa mencio de aliquo dono vel concessione per nos vel aliquem inchtorum progenitorum nostrorum prefatis majori et civibus antea facta in presentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinacione vel restrictione in contrarium edito non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westm' xx^o die Novembris anno regni nostri tricesimo quinto. Per breve de privato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate Parliamenti. Yellow seal—great—somewhat defaced.

18. 10 April, 1 Richard III., 1484. Remission for 10 years of the yearly payment of part of fee-farm.—

Richard [III.] by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all to whom these present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that by the humble supplication of our beloved subjects, the Mayor and citizens of our city of Chester, we have understood how our said citizens hold the said city with all appurtenances, liberties, and free customs, in fee farm of us paying thence yearly to us and our heirs £100 at our exchequer of Chester, one moiety at the said exchequer at the Feast of St. Michael, and another moiety at our said exchequer at the Feast of Easter, in virtue of a certain charter granted for ever by Edward the First late King of England our ancestor to the citizens of our said city at that time living and to their successors: And moreover besides the said £100 that the said mayor and citizens stand bound to us and our heirs, Earls of Chester, in a certain sum of 70^s. one penny and one half-penny for a custumal rent, Chamberlain's rent and long-gable-rent, and for other liberties and customs granted to certain occupations and employments within our said city, one moiety thereof to be paid at our said exchequer at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, and another moiety at our aforesaid exchequer at the Festival of Easter: And that at the time of this grant and for long after there was a good port to our said city to which port many and divers merchants at that time living in our said city of Chester and of this our realm of England

and of other kingdoms and countries had a common passage to and fro, crossing and return with their ships and merchandise to the said port of our said city making a convenient port there to the great profits and increase of riches of our said citizens of the city and inhabitants there living: And that now the condition is such that for the space of 60 years now last past the great flow of water at the said port by which our said merchants had a passage to and fro, up to and from the said city, with their ships and merchandise, is taken away owing to the wreck of sea-sands daily falling and increasing in the channel there, so that the said port is wholly destroyed and cannot be recovered, insomuch that no merchant ship can approach the said city for twelve miles and more, and thus no merchant ship belongs and has not for a long time belonged to our said city, but these ships in default of the aforesaid port are wholly destroyed and wasted to the great detriment, desolation, and impoverishment of the said citizens of our city. And further when they of the March of Wales had been daily accustomed to buy and sell and obtain their bread and beer at our said city, lately on account of the taking of toll at our gates there, though accustomed to do so from long time, they withdraw themselves, which has been and is still to the great detriment and impoverishment of our said city and the citizens and to the diminution of our tolls and customs there, because the aforesaid city stands and adjoins the March of Wales aforesaid. For which reasons before recited many citizens and other inhabitants of our said city withdraw themselves from our said city and are dwelling in other parts of this our realm on account of the great and insupportable burdens of their fee-farm, so that the greater part of our said city is wasted, in a desolate and ruinous condition, and very scantily inhabited, and thus our said city, not able nor like to endure such a burden of the said fee-farm of £100 together with the burden and payment of the said 70^{s.} 1½^{d.}, cannot bear the aforesaid except to the perpetual annihilation of our said citizens and the inhabitants now living there, without our especial grace shown them in this particular as is more largely contained in the said petition. We therefore, considering the premisses and how our said city is of long time wasted and weakened and within a short process of time is like to become desolate as is stated in their said supplication, of our especial grace at their request by the same supplication remit and grant quittance and release to our said citizens and their successors from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel last past before the date of this £73 10^{s.} 1½^{d.} yearly, parcel of the said £103 10^{s.} 1½^{d.},

during the term of three years next following after the date of these our letters patent. And also concerning our grant we ratify and confirm to our said citizens and their successors the said city with all liberties, franchises, conveniences, and customs granted or confirmed by us or by any of our progenitors to our said citizens or to any of their predecessors, rendering to us and our heirs only £30 yearly during the said ten years at our exchequer of Chester at the Feasts of Easter and St. Michael, in equal portions, notwithstanding any grant to them and their predecessors, or reservation reserved for us or our progenitors by our said progenitors, or ratified and confirmed by us or by any other of our progenitors made before this time to our citizens and their predecessors. And for any other fee-farm or any other thing due to us and our heirs by reason of custom-rent, long-gable-rent, and chamberlain rent, or for any other liberties and customs granted to any occupations or artificers within our said city except only for the said £30 during the aforesaid term, we desire the said citizens and their aforesaid successors to be exonerated and acquitted, and that no other sum of fee farm nor any other debt or burden be levied in any way nor levy thereof be made from the said mayor and citizens or any of them saving only the said sum of £30 during the aforesaid term. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Chester the tenth day of April in the first year of our reign.

Ricardus Dei gracia Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod per humilem supplicacionem dilectorum nostrorum subditorum Majoris et civium civitatis nostre Cestrie intelleximus qualiter dicti cives nostri tenent dictam civitatem cum omnibus pertinenciis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus in feodi firma de nobis solvendo inde annuatim nobis et heredibus nostris centum libras ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie unam medietatem ad dictum scaccarium ad festum Sancti Michaelis et aliam medietatem ad dictum scaccarium nostrum ad festum Pasche virtute cujusdam carte per Edwardum primum nuper Regem Anglie progenitorem nostrum civibus dicte civitatis nostre adtunc existentibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum facte. Et insuper vltra dictas centum libras dicti major et cives stent onerati nobis et heredibus nostris comitibus Cestrie in quadam summa sexaginta et decem solidorum unius denarii et unius oboli pro custumali redditu Camerali redditu et long-gable rent et pro aliis libertatibus et custumis concessis certis occupacionibus et artificiis infra dictam civitatem nostram, unam medietatem inde solvendam ad dictum scaccarium nostrum ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli et aliam medietatem ad predictum scaccarium nostrum ad festum Pasche. Et qualiter tempore cujus concessionis et diu postea erat bonus portus ad dictam nostram civitatem, ad quem portum multi ac diversi mercatores tunc temporis dicte civitatis nostre Cestrie existentes, ac alii lijus regni nostri Anglie ac aliorum regnorum et terrarum communem cursum et recursum transitus et redditus cum

navibus et mercimoniis suis ad dictum portum dicte civitatis nostre habebant ibidem portum sui salutaris facientes ad dictorum civitatis civium nostrorum et inhabitancium ibidem existencium grandia proficua et diviciarum incrementa. Et qualiter nunc taliter existit quod per spacium sexaginta annorum jam ultimo preteritorum grandis aque cursus dicti portus per quem dicti mercatores nostri cursum et recursum usque et a dicta civitate cum navibus et mercimoniis suis habebant per sabilorum [sic] maris wreccum quotidie cadentem et multiplicantem in chanella ibidem subtrahitur, adeo quod dictus portus penitus destruitur et recuperari non potest, ita quod nulla navis mercatoria per duodecim milliaria ac magis dicte civitati appropinquare possit, sic quod nulla navis mercatoria dicte civitati nostre pertinens est nec per longum tempus erat, sed ille in defectu portus predicti penitus destruitur et devastantur ad dictorum civitatis nostre civium grandia detrimentum desolationem et depaupertatem; Et ulterius ubi illi de marchia Wallie quotidie accustomati erant emere et vendere et adquirere suum panem et servicium ad dictam nostram civitatem, modo causa capcionis theolonie ad nostras portas ibidem ab antiquo tempore accustomati se subtrahunt, que fuit et adhuc est ad magnum detrimentum et depaupertatem dicte nostre civitatis et civium, ac theoloniarum et customarum nostrarum adminutacionem ibidem, eo quod predicta civitas stat et se adiungit super marchiam Wallie predictae. Quibus de causis antea repetitis multi cives et alii dicte civitatis nostre inhabitantes a dicta nostra civitate subtrahuntur et in aliis hujus regni nostri partibus causa sue firme onerum maguorum et importabilium sunt inhabitantes: Ita quod dicte nostre civitatis major pars vastata desolata ruinosa et minime inhabitata existit sic quod dicta civitas nostra habilis nec similis perdurare aliquale onus dicte feodi firme centum librarum uua cum onere et solucione dictorum sexaginta et decem solidorum unius denarii et oboli predicta portare non existit nisi ad perpetuam adnichillacionem dictorum civium nostrorum et inhabitancium modo ibidem existentium absque gratia nostra speciali eis in hac parte prolata prout in dicta supplicacione magis large continetur. Nos igitur premissa considerantes et qualiter dicta civitas nostra vastatur dietine et debilitatur ac infra brevem temporis processum est similis desolari ut per dictam supplicacionem suam dicitur de gracia nostra speciali ad eorum requisitum per eandem supplicacionem relaxamus quiete-clamamus et exoneramus dictis civibus nostris et successoribus suis a festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli ultimo preterito ante datum hujus sexaginta et tresdecim libras decem solidos unum denarium et unum obolum annuatim parcellam dictarum centum trium librarum decem solidorum unius denarii et unius oboli durante termino decem annorum proxime sequentium post datum harum literarum nostrarum patencium. Et eciam de concessione nostra ratificamus et confirmamus dictis civibus nostris et suis successoribus dictam civitatem cum omnibus libertatibus franchises com'oditatibus et consuetudinibus per nos vel per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum dictis civibus nostris vel aliquibus predecessorum suorum concessis vel confirmatis reddendo nobis et heredibus nostris triginta libras tantum annuatim durantibus dictis decem annis ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis per equales porciones aliqua concessione eis et predecessoribus suis vel reservacione nobis vel progenitoribus nostris per dictos progenitores nostros reservata vel per nos vel aliquem alium progenitorum nostrorum ratificata et confirmata ante hoc tempus facta dictis civibus nostris et

predecessoribus suis non obstante et pro aliqua alia feodi firma vel aliqua alia re nobis et heredibus nostris debita ratione custume redditus long-gable redditus et redditus camere vel pro aliquibus aliis libertatibus et customis concessis aliquibus occupacionibus seu artificiaris infra dictam civitatem nostram nisi tantum de dictis trigiuta libris durante termino predicto dictos cives et successores suos predictos volumus exonerari et acquietari. Et quod nulla alia summa feodi firme nec aliquod aliud debitum vel onus de dictis majore et civibus vel aliquibus eorum nisi tantum dicta summa triginta librarum ullo modo levetur nec levacio inde fiat durante termino predicto. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.—Teste me ipso apud Cestriam decimo die Aprilis anno regni nostri primo. [Per breve de privato sigillo et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti.] Endorsed Relax' Ricardi [secondi *written over* iii] anno primo lxxiiiⁱ x^s id ob feodi firme pro decem annis. [Seal, yellow—good preservation.]

29. 21 March, 1486. Remission of £80 of fee-farm.—

Henry [VII.], by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to all to whom the present letters may come, greeting: Know ye that whereas the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens and Commonalty of our city of Chester of old held the city aforesaid of our progenitors and predecessors, Earls of Chester, by fee farm for £100 to be paid annually. And now from the humble supplication and lamentable information of the present Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens and Commonalty of the said city we have learnt how the same city has been one of the ancient cities of our Kingdom of England, and built for the holding and safe guard of the Marches and the parts adjacent, and the port of the same city with so crowded a concourse of foreign traders landing there at a gate called the Watergate of the same city and of others bringing there their merchandise it had been maintained in such prosperity by the port dues paid by the traders of old dwelling there and frequenting it, and so much busied that the aforesaid fee farm till then had been raised and levied from customs and other subsidies, dues, profits and advantages in the same port arising by reason of the aforesaid traffic, and very great convenience therefrom of the inhabitants of the same city accrued there in the support of the walls and other their burdens. And afterwards the channel of the same port became and is at present obstructed as much by the vehement inflow of the sea as by the vehement influx of sand and silting up of gravel that merchants with their ships were by no means able to reach the aforesaid city for the space of 12 miles for 200 years now last passed, but betake themselves to other ports and places in the same country where they may more easily unload their merchandise and reload. And the walls of the same city have fallen in decay and ruin. Besides, the aforesaid city, which of old had been wont to be inhabited fully by merchants and others rich artificers, is so

thoroughly ruined and prostrated to the ground that nearly one fourth part of the same city at present is destroyed and desolate. For which reasons and on account of the unbearable burden of the payment of the said fee farm the citizens and inhabitants of the said city are impoverished that they withdraw therefrom from time to time: so that the same city in all likelihood will in future be desolated and entirely void of market and citizens as by their supplication and information worthy of credit we more fully understand. We considering the premises and for the good and laudable service rendered to us long since by the aforesaid citizens and commonalty, of our special grace and from our sure knowledge and mere motion, have pardoned and do pardon, remit and release by these presents, for ourselves, our heirs and successors, Kings of England or Earls of Chester, to the now Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens and Commonalty of the aforesaid city or by whatever names they may be designated and to their successors, of the said farm of £100, £80 yearly for ever, so that the same Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, Commonalty and their successors may henceforward for ever have and hold the aforesaid city of us, our heirs and successors, Earls of Chester, paying therefore to us and our heirs Earls of Chester only £20 yearly at the terms of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel in equal portions. And further we desire and grant by these presents that neither they themselves nor their successors be henceforward in any way burdened or attacked for the payment of any greater farm or return which may be due to us by reason of the premises save only for the aforesaid £20 annually. And that they and their successors be relieved and quit for ever of the whole residue of the said farm of £100 beyond the aforesaid annual £20 as regards ourselves, our heirs and successors, Kings of England and Earls of Chester. And further of our more abundant grace we ratify and confirm to the said now Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, Commonalty and their successors the said city with all liberties, franchises, conveniences and customs which they ever more freely or quietly had or used in the time of any our predecessors Kings of England or Earls of Chester, or granted and confirmed by us or by any of our progenitors Kings of England or Earls of Chester aforesaid to our citizens or any of their predecessors, notwithstanding any grant to them or their predecessors or reservation reserved to us or our progenitors by any our progenitors or ratified and confirmed before these times by us or by any other of our progenitors or any other statute, act, ordinance, provision, restriction, resumption, or any other thing, cause, or matter, done, provided, or ordained before these times

to the contrary. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Chester the 21st day of March in the first year of our reign. [Yellow seal—with the ostrich feathers as supporters, three garbs of Chester on the dexter side.]

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Sciatis quod cum major vicecomites cives et communitas civitatis nostre Cestrie ab antiquo tenuerunt civitatem predictam de progenitoribus et predecessoribus nostris comitibus Cestrie ad feodi firmam pro centum libris annuatim solvendis. Ac jam ex humili supplicatione lamentabilique insinuacione nunc majoris vic' civium et communitatis dicte civitatis accepimus qualiter eadem civitas una antiquarum civitatum regni nostri Anglie ac pro teucione et salva gardia marchiarum Wallie partibus illis adjacentibus constructa extiterat portusque ejusdem civitatis tam frequenti concursu mercatorum extraneorum illuc usque quandam portam vocatam Watergate ejusdem civitatis adducentium et aliorum ibidem mercandisas suas per fines maritimos mercatorie ab olim commorancium et conversancium ita prospere fuerat suffulta et occupata quod predicta feodi firma adtunc de custumis et subsidiis aliisque debitis proficuis et avantag' in eodem portu ratione concursus predicti emergent' levata et sustentata fuit, maximumque commodum superinde inhabitancium ejusdem civitatis in sustentacione murorum aliorumque onerum suorum ibidem adaugebatur Postmodumque canella ejusdem portus tam vehementi ebullione maris quam vehement' sabulorum et ebullione glariarum scaturigine obstructa constitit et existit in presenti quod mercatores cum navibus suis civitatem predictam per spacium duodecim miliarum nequaquam attingere valuerunt per ducentos annos prox' jam elapsos sed ad alia ejusdem patrie portus et loca se conferunt ubi facilius mercandisas suas discarcare et recarcare possint Ac muri ejusdem civitatis in decasum cecidere et ruinam Necnon predicta civitas que a mercatoribus plenarie et aliis divitibus artificibus antiquitus inhabitari consueverat ita funditus est dirupta et ad terram prostrata quod pena [sic] quarta pars ejusdem civitatis ad presens destructa et desolata existit. Pro quibus quidem causis ac onere importabili solucionis feodi firme predictae cives et inhabitatores dicte civitatis adeo depauperati existunt quod abinde de tempore in tempus recedunt Ita quod eadem civitas de verisimili in futurum desolabitur et mercato et civibus penitus vacabit prout per eorum supplicationem et ex relatu fidedigno plenius intelleximus. Nos premissa considerantes et pro bono et laudabili servicio nobis per predictos cives et communitatem jam pridem impenso de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris perdonavimus remisimus et relaxavimus ac perdonamus remittimus et relaxamus per presentes pro nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris Regibus Anglie sive comitibus Cestrie nunc Majori vic' civibus et communitati civitatis predictae seu quibuscunque nominibus censeantur et successoribus suis de dicta firma centum librarum quatuor viginti libras annuatim pro perpetuo. Ita quod iidem major vic' cives communitas et successores sui de cetero imperpetuum habeant et teneant predictam civitatem de nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris comitibus Cestrie reddendo inde nobis et heredibus nostris comitibus Cestrie viginti libras dumtaxat per annum ad terminos Pasche et Sancti Michaelis Archangelis per equales porciones. Et ulterius volumus et concedimus

per presentes quod nec ipsi neque successores sui exnunc quovismodo onerentur seu impetantur pro vero solutione alicujus majoris firme sive redditus que nobis ratione premissorum deberi poterit nisi tantummodo pro predictis viginti annuis libris et quod ipsi et successores sui de toto residuo dicte firme centum librarum ultra predictas xx libras annuas erga nos heredes et successores nostros Reges Anglie et comites Cestrie exonerentur et quieti sint imperpetuum. Et ulterius de uberiori gratia nostra ratificamus et confirmamus dictis nunc majori vic' civibus communitati et successoribus suis dictam civitatem cum omnibus libertatibus franchises commoditatibus et consuetudinibus quas illi unquam liberius aut quicquid habuerunt sive usi fuerunt tempore aliquorum predecessorum nostrorum regum Anglie sive comitum Cestrie aut per nos vel per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum regum Anglie sive comitum Cestrie dictis civibus nostris vel aliquibus predecessorum suorum concessis sive confirmatis, aliqua concessione eis sive predecessoribus suis vel reservatione nobis vel progenitoribus nostris per aliquos progenitores nostros reservata vel per nos vel per aliquem alium progenitorum nostrorum ratificata et confirmata ante hec tempora in presenti facta minime existit, aut aliquo alio statuto actu ordinatione provisione restrictione resumptione sive aliqua alia re causa sive materia ante hec tempora in contrarium facta provisiva sive ordinata non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Cestriam vicesimo primo die Marci Anno regni nostri primo.

30. 6 April, 1506. The Great Charter of Henry VII.—

Henry, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, greeting: Know ye that we, for the great affection which we have and bear to our city of Chester, the citizens and commonalty of the same city, and in consideration of the good behaviour and great expenses of the inhabitants of the same city, as also the voluntary service many ways rendered by them against our adversaries and rebels, willing the better estate of the same city, and especially to provide for the convenience and quiet of the said citizens, their heirs and successors, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have given and granted, and do give and grant, and by these presents have confirmed for us and our heirs to the aforesaid citizens and commonalty their heirs and successors for ever, that the said city, and all the ground within the ditch of the said city, with the suburbs and hamlets within the precinct and compass of the same, and all the ground in the precinct and compass of the said city of Chester and the aforesaid suburbs and hamlets (wholly excepting our castle within the walls of the said city), be exempted and separated, and in all things and to all intents be exempted and separated, as well by land as by water, from our shire of Chester; and that the said city, and the suburbs and hamlets of the same, and all the ground within the precinct and compass of them (except as before excepted) be henceforth a county by and in itself distinct and separate from our county of Chester, and that from henceforth it shall be called and named the county of the city of Chester.

¹ This important charter has been so frequently consulted and pored over that it is in many parts nearly illegible, and the deciphering was a work of very considerable difficulty. Fortunately the beautifully written Charter of Elizabeth, which contains an *Inspecimus* of the same, though it too had suffered in a different way, from fire, was available for collation.

Choice of
Twenty-four
Aldermen and
Forty
Common
Councilmen.

We will also, and give and grant for us our heirs and successors to the fore-named citizens and commonalty their heirs and successors, that they and their successors for ever have power to elect, make, and create, every several successive year, twenty-four fellow citizens of the city aforesaid for Aldermen; as also forty other citizens of the said city for the

Common Council of the same city: which twenty-four citizens so chosen and created shall for ever henceforth have and bear the name of Aldermen of the city of Chester; of which twenty-four Aldermen, one, by

Recorder.

the unanimous consent and assent of the Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, and the other citizens of the Common Council aforesaid, shall be chosen and appointed Recorder of the city aforesaid. We will also and grant that the aforesaid citizens and commonalty shall have,

Mayor.

appoint, and have power to choose from among themselves every several successive year for ever a Mayor of the said city; and that every Mayor of the said city for the time being, in his own person and so soon as he shall be chosen and appointed Mayor of the city, be our Escheator and the Clerk of our market there; and that the said Mayor and commonalty be one community by themselves, and by the name of the Mayor and citizens of the city of Chester be termed and called for ever, and by the same name be persons able and capable in law, and by the same name before us, &c., Earls of Chester, and before every one of our justices in any of our courts may plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered; and that the said Mayor and citizens have, make, and have power to choose from among themselves every successive

Manner
of choosing the
Mayor
and Sheriffs.

year two citizens for Sheriffs of the said city of Chester; which Mayor and Sheriffs shall be chosen and appointed in form following, viz.:—All fellow citizens of the said city, suburbs, and hamlets, dwelling within the said city, suburbs, and hamlets of the said city, who choose to be present at the election of the Mayor every year, upon Friday next after the Feast of St. Denis, may meet together freely and without gainsaying at the common-hall of the said city, who, there being so met or the greater part of them, shall name two citizens dwelling in the said city of the more sufficient, discreet, and honorable persons of the number of the twenty-four Aldermen, in the said city, suburbs, and villages, to be chosen similarly in the form following, either of whom may or may not heretofore have been Mayor or Sheriff of that city, and shall in no wise have occupied the office of Sheriff for the space of three years next preceding the Friday after the Feast of St. Denis aforesaid; of which two so named the greater part of the aforesaid Aldermen and Sheriffs then there present by scrutiny shall name, choose, and appoint one as Mayor. And if it so fall out that in this election or nomination of this one person for Mayor the discordant voices be in number equal on either side, then we will that the voice of the Mayor for the time being shall be taken and accounted for two voices. But in the choosing of Sheriffs of the aforesaid city this form shall be observed, viz.—That when the said Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, and other citizens of the said city and county dwelling there, if they choose to be present at the election of such Sheriffs, are without any gainsaying yearly upon Friday next after the Feast of St. Denis, assembled and met together, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there in person shall freely choose an able and sufficient person for one Sheriff

of the city; and the other said fellow citizens, then and there similarly present, or the great part of them, shall choose and appoint the same day one other able and sufficient person for the other Sheriff of the said city; which two so chosen shall from the aforesaid Friday next after the Feast of St. Denis for one whole year be and continue Sheriffs of the said county and city. And that the aforesaid Mayor and Escheator, Clerk of the Market, and Sheriffs of the aforesaid city for the time being shall immediately after their appointment in each year take their oaths before the person who had preceded the same Mayor so elected in that office the year preceding and before the commonalty of the city, in manner and form as heretofore they have been accustomed; and this power we have given them without the issuing of any writ from the Chancery or Exchequer of us our heirs or successors, or waiting for any other mandate from

Authority of
Escheator
and Sheriffs.

us, &c. And that the said Mayor of the city aforesaid both may and can do, have, and perform, all things that belong to the Escheator and to the office thereof, and to the Clerk of the Market and to his office, as well in our presence as otherwise; also the aforesaid Sheriffs shall have, do, and perform, all things belonging to the Sheriffs and the office of Sheriffs, and that every of them may and shall have power in as ample manner and form to do all that pertaineth to them, as all other Escheators, Clerks of Markets, and Sheriffs of other counties or cities in our realm of England according to the law and custom of the same do perform, accomplish, and discharge, and ought and are wont to perform, accomplish, and discharge. And that no other Escheator or Sheriff of our county of Chester, or Clerk of Market, or any other officer of us for the time being enter or presume to enter the city aforesaid, the suburbs, hamlets, precinct, and compass thereof, or within the city, suburbs, hamlets, precinct, and compass thereof in any manner intrude or presume to intrude into the exercise of any office there; and that the said Escheator, Clerk of the Market, and Sheriffs of the city of Chester, and any of them, have the same power, jurisdiction, and liberty, or whatsoever else belongs to the office of Escheator, Clerk of Markets, and Sheriffs in the aforesaid city, suburbs, and hamlets, and in the precinct and hamlets thereof, which other Escheators, Clerks of Markets, and Sheriffs of us, elsewhere within our realm of England and our county palatine of Chester

Courts.

have or shall have. And that the aforesaid sheriffs of the city of Chester hold their county courts upon Monday from month to month, in like manner as other sheriffs of us or our heirs in other counties of our realm hold or shall hold theirs; and the aforesaid sheriffs of the city of Chester and their successors for ever shall in like manner keep their courts there, viz., every week on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, that they may determine all pleas and assizes, by plaints (without our writ) coming before them, concerning all contracts and cases arising within the city aforesaid and the limits thereof, in manner and form as in time past they have been accustomed; and that they receive to their own use, and have all fines, amercements, and other perquisites at all times hereafter, and that they exercise all offices, liberties, and franchises, as any other sheriffs in the said city in time past have accustomed to do, have, exercise, hold, and receive. And moreover we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed for us and our heirs to the aforesaid mayor and citizens and to their heirs and successors for ever, that the mayor of the

The Sword. said city of Chester and his successors for the time being have their sword which we gave them, or any other as may please them (in the absence of us or our heirs) carried before them with the point upright, as well in the presence of other the nobles and lords of our realm of England who are related to us and any others, as in any other way. And that the serjeants-at-mace of the mayors and sheriffs of the city aforesaid, and their successors for the time being, may bear their maces gilt, or of silver or silvered, and adorned with the escutcheon of the arms of us and of our heirs, as well in the presence of us and our heirs as in the presence of our consort and the mother of our heirs and successors aforesaid, within the said city, suburbs, hamlets, lands, precincts, and compass aforesaid, as do our own serjeants-at-arms, at their pleasure lawfully without controul without let or hindrance or obstacle of us or our heirs hereafter. And further we grant to the said mayor of the city aforesaid and his successors that every year they may choose of the more honest and discreet citizens of the city aforesaid two

Coroners. to be our Coroners within the said city the liberties and limits thereof, who before the mayor and aldermen of the city aforesaid shall yearly take a corporal oath that they for the whole year shall well and faithfully do and observe the duty of Coroners within the city, limits, and bounds aforesaid; and that the same Coroners so chosen and sworn have power and authority the same as our Coroners in the county palatine of Chester or any other county of our realm of England, have, use, or exercise.

Muragers. And moreover we have given and granted to the aforesaid mayor and citizens and their successors that they may every year elect two of the citizens aforesaid to be overseers of the walls of the aforesaid city, called Muragers, as of old they have been accustomed to do, and that they every year oversee and repair the walls of the city aforesaid; and that they thus chosen every year collect and receive a certain custom or subsidy in the aforesaid city commonly called murage towards the maintenance and building of the aforesaid walls, as of old it hath been levied in the said city. And furthermore we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed for us and our heirs to the aforesaid

No officers of the king's household to intermeddle in the city. citizens and commonalty, that the stewards and marshals of our household, or the clerk of the market of our household, from henceforth shall not either in the presence or in the absence of us enter or sit within the liberties of the city aforesaid, the suburbs, hamlets, lands, precinct, and circuit thereof, or do or exercise their office there or upon any persons within the liberties, &c., of the city aforesaid, or under any pretence make or cause to be made any inquiry, or in any wise intrude there, or commence actions against any of the citizens of the city aforesaid, or any persons residing within the same, out of the city, for any matter, cause, or chance, arising or to arise within the liberties, &c., of the city. And moreover we have granted for us and our heirs and by this charter confirmed to the afore-

Byc-Laws. said citizens, that if peradventure any customs and ordinances hereto obtaining and used within the said city of Chester be in any part of them difficult or defective, so that on any new emergency arising in the said city when a proper remedy doth not clearly exist they need to be corrected, then the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of the city aforesaid, or the greater part of them for the time being, shall for the common good of the citizens of our city of Chester and other our

faithful subjects frequenting the same, by the common assent of the above-mentioned and by the advice of the mayor, sheriffs, and forty other fellow citizens yearly chosen in the manner before directed for the common council of the city aforesaid, or the greater part of them, have full power and authority to apply and ordain some new remedy, agreeable to good faith and reason, and require due obedience to these their ordinances as often and as far as there shall be need and as to them may seem expedient, so that, however, these ordinances be profitable to us and our people and agreeable to good faith and reason as aforesaid.

Cognisance of Pleas. We have granted also, and by this our charter confirmed for us and our heirs to the aforesaid mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and their successors for ever, that the same mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty, have cognizance of all and all manner of pleas, real, personal, and mixed, as also of assizes, novel-disseizin, death of ancestors, certificates, attaints, &c., as also of lands and tenements being within the said city, suburbs, hamlets, and precinct, and of debt, accompt, trespass, covenant, and other contracts, matters, and cases whatsoever within the said city of Chester, the suburbs and hamlets, as also the circuit and precinct of the same (our castle and our liberty

Except Castle and Gloverstone.

within the boundary commonly called Gloverstone only excepted) however arising, as well in the presence of us and our heirs as in the absence of us and the same our heirs, both

before our Justices of either bench, justices appointed to hold assizes, and justices itinerant, and before all other our justices and officers, to hold such assizes before the mayor and sheriffs in the Common-hall of the city of Chester aforesaid, with all profits of such pleas however arising without let, hindrance, or impediment of us or our heirs, justices, barons of our exchequer, stewards, or marshals of our household, or of our escheators, sheriffs or bailiffs, or officers; so that the said justices, &c., do in no wise intermeddle with the cognizance of such like pleas arising within the city, &c., of Chester; or that any of them presume to take any office upon him there, except only the stewards and marshalls of the household of us and our heirs, concerning trespasses, covenants, attaints, contracts, debts, or actions personal, in the household of us or our heirs, done between those which either are or shall be of the same household. We grant

Power to hold Pleas.

moreover to the same mayor and citizens of our city aforesaid, to their successors and heirs for ever, that they may hold all pleas, complaints, and assizes, as well of lands and tenements within the said city, hamlets, and precinct thereof, as of all trespasses, debts, accounts, covenants, contracts and demands, within the said city, &c., arising and proceeding by complaints (without our writ) before the mayor and sheriffs of the city aforesaid and their successors for ever.

No Citizen to be sued or implicated out of the city.

And that no citizens of the city aforesaid be impleaded or sued before us or before any our Justices concerning any lands, tenements, or any other contracts, &c., arising or happening within the said city, but only before the mayor and sheriffs: and furthermore we grant to the said mayor and

sheriffs and their successors for ever that they by their sergeants-at-mace may attach and arrest the bodies of defaulting persons, if any such person be impleaded before the mayor and Sheriffs, &c., by any one or more concerning any covenant, &c., or any other matter or cause arising or



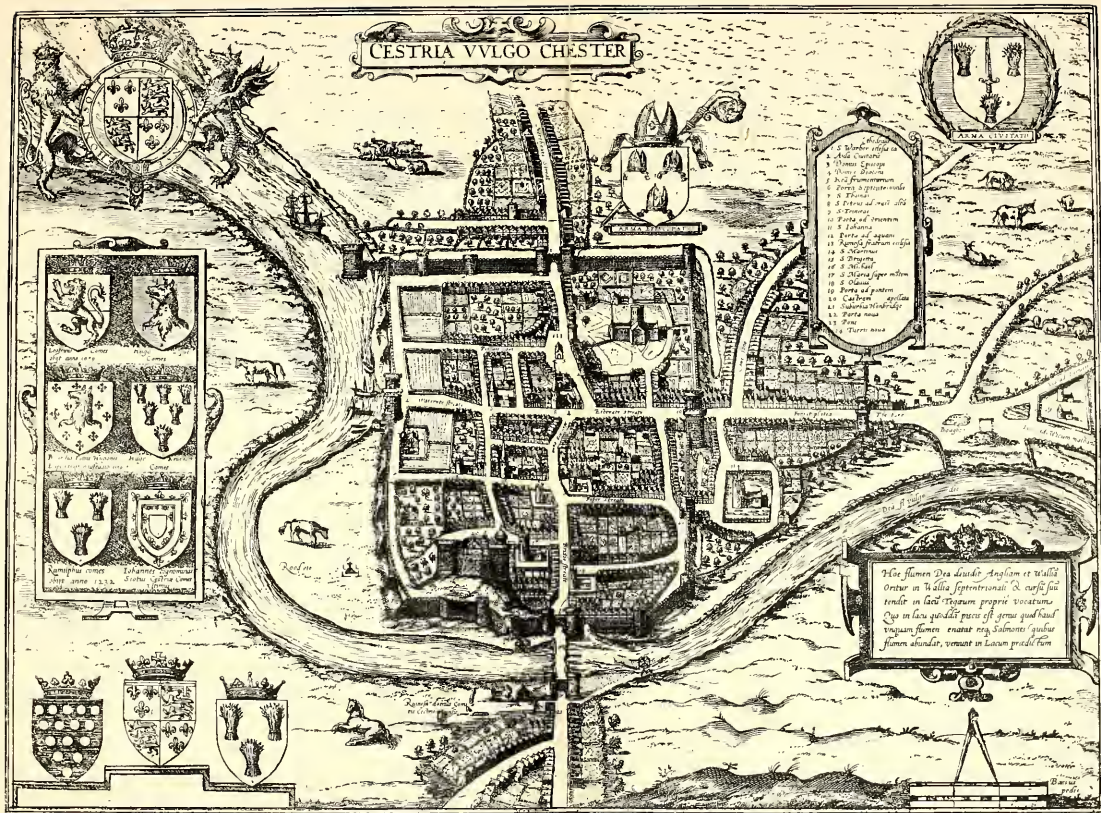
faithful subjects frequenting the same, by the common assent of the above-mentioned and by the advice of the mayor, sheriffs, and forty other fellow citizens yearly chosen in the manner before directed for the common council of the city aforesaid, or the greater part of them, have full power and authority to apply and ordain some new remedy, agreeable to good faith and reason, and require due obedience to these their ordinances as often and as far as there shall be need and as to them may seem expedient, so that, however, these ordinances be profitable to us and our people and agreeable to good faith and reason as aforesaid.

Cognisance of Pleas. We have granted also, and by this our charter confirmed for us and our heirs to the aforesaid mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and their successors for ever, that the same mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty, have cognizance of all and all manner of pleas, real, personal, and mixed, as also of assizes, novel-disseizin, death of ancestors, certificates, attaints, &c., as also of lands and tenements being within the said city, suburbs, hamlets, and precinct, and of debt, account, trespass, covenant, and other contracts, matters, and cases whatsoever within the said city of Chester, the suburbs and hamlets, as also the circuit and precinct of the same (our castle and our liberty **Except Castle and Gloverstone.** within the boundary commonly called Gloverstone only excepted) however arising, as well in the presence of us and our heirs as in the absence of us and the same our heirs, both

before our Justices of either bench, justices appointed to hold assizes, and justices itinerant, and before all other our justices and officers, to hold such assizes before the mayor and sheriffs in the Common-hall of the city of Chester aforesaid, with all profits of such pleas however arising without let, hindrance, or impediment of us or our heirs, justices, barons of our exchequer, stewards, or marshals of our household, or of our escheators, sheriffs or bailiffs, or officers; so that the said justices, &c., do in no wise intermeddle with the cognizance of such like pleas arising within the city, &c., of Chester; or that any of them presume to take any office upon him there, except only the stewards and marshalls of the household of us and our heirs, concerning trespasses, covenants, attaints, contracts, debts, or actions personal, in the household of us or our heirs, done between those which either are or shall be of the same household. We grant

Power to hold Pleas. moreover to the same mayor and citizens of our city aforesaid, to their successors and heirs for ever, that they may hold all pleas, complaints, and assizes, as well of lands and tenements within the said city, hamlets, and precinct thereof, as of all trespasses, debts, accounts, covenants, contracts and demands, within the said city, &c., arising and proceeding by complaints (without our writ) before the mayor and sheriffs of the city aforesaid and their successors for ever.

No Citizen to be sued or impleaded out of the city. And that no citizens of the city aforesaid be impleaded or sued before us or before any our Justices concerning any lands, tenements, or any other contracts, &c., arising or happening within the said city, but only before the mayor and sheriffs: and furthermore we grant to the said mayor and sheriffs and their successors for ever that they by their serjeants-at-mace may attach and arrest the bodies of defaulting persons, if any such person be impleaded before the mayor and Sheriffs, &c., by any one or more concerning any covenant, &c., or any other matter or cause arising or



Map of Chester, from G. Braun's Civitates Orbis Terrarum, 1572-1618

happening within the said city, suburbs, and hamlets thereof; and shall commit him or them to their common gaol, there to be kept until they have found sufficient sureties to answer before the said mayor and sheriffs as to the aforesaid pleas in manner and form as in the city of London, or as in the said city hath been of old time used and approved. And that

**Northgate
Gaol.**

they have a proper gaol and prison within the said city, in a certain place called the Northgate Tower, in the same manner as in time past they have had and used, to correct and keep

all prisoners and transgressors according to their deserts. And that they

**Portmote and
Crownmote
Courts.**

hold their court, called the Portmote and Crownmote, to be holden before the mayor of the city aforesaid for the time being in manner and form as they have formerly been

accustomed. We have granted moreover for us and our heirs to the

**Citizens not to
serve on Juries
out of the city
except it
concern the
King.**

aforesaid Mayor and Citizens their heirs and successors, that they be not summoned, placed, or impannelled and that none of them be summoned, placed, or impannelled in assizes, attaints, juries, or inquisition of tenures in ward, or any other

deed, contract, slander, or complaint, or any other action personal, real, or mixed, in the said city of Chester howsoever arising; nor make any recognizance in assizes, attaints, or juries, without the said city unless the fact do specially concern us or our heirs. We have granted

Felons' Woods.

moreover for us and our heirs to the aforesaid citizens that

they have all chattels of outlaws, felons, fugitives, howsoever attainted or condemned, and of self-murderers and deodands and of all that are executed for felony, as also of petty traitors contingent within the said city of Chester. And that the aforesaid citizens, &c., be quit and

**Citizens freed
from all
customs, except
wine and iron.**

altogether disburthened of all and all manner of customs, prizes, and all other payments, exactions, and demands, for all their merchandize there (only excepting the customs of prize-wine and iron) to help and ease the payment of their fee-farm of the said city of Chester. And that the said Mayor

Sheriffs and Citizens have the forfeit of victuals by law howsoever forfeited, to wit, bread, wine, and all other saleable things which belong not to merchandize. We have granted moreover to the said citizens that

**Regulation of
the River Dee.**

the said Mayor or Sheriffs shall at all times hereafter have the searching of the water of Dee from a certain place called the

Iron-bridge to another place called Arnold's Eye¹ to search and oversee all nets, weirs, and other devices for the taking of fish set in the same water; and if they happen to find either by examination or by inquiry that any persons against the form of any statutes or ordinances have used them to the destruction of young fish called fry, that then they may take, carry away, and detain, and at their pleasure burn all such instruments for the punishment of those who had there set such nets, &c., or who hereafter shall presume to set or erect them, and bring to justice, mulct, fine, or otherwise punish according to the law ordinances and customs of the city aforesaid all and every of them which do so set their nets, &c.; and that they have all fines, ameracements, and forfeits for the aforesaid transgressions, howsoever assessed, to be collected and required by themselves, their Sheriffs or officers. We will also, and grant and under a heavy penalty forbid any man to make any trenches in the said

¹ The Red Stones, near Hoylake.

water of Dee within the marks, limits, and bounds aforesaid; or that he presume to carry or cause to be carried any dung or other filth in boats or other vessels through the aforesaid water, under pain of forfeiting the boats or vessels and a fine according to the discretion of the Mayor and Sheriffs, which forfeits and fines we will that the citizens have and receive in ease and aid of the farm. We have also granted for us and our heirs

Market.

to the aforesaid Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and Commonalty, that henceforth no merchant within the city aforesaid in the suburbs, hamlets, precinct, and circuit aforesaid, sell by wholesale or retail fish or flesh, except in the accustomed place assigned by the aforesaid Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, and Commonalty, under pain of forfeiting the said fish or flesh, and paying a fine at the discretion of the Mayor and Sheriffs for the time being; which forfeit and fine we direct to be converted and applied to the use of the citizens in aid of payment of their fee-farm. We will, moreover, and of our abundant grace, &c., give

**Justices of
Peace whilst
Aldermen.**

and grant to the now citizens and their successors that the Mayor and Recorder of the city aforesaid now being, and their successors the Mayors and Recorders of the said city for ever, and those Aldermen who have been Mayors of the said city as also those who hereafter shall sustain that burden, shall so long as they shall be Aldermen there, by these presents jointly and severally be keepers of the peace of us and our heirs within and through the whole city of Chester, as also Justices of the Peace of us and our heirs; and also that they keep or cause to be kept, without any other commission to be given them than these letters patent, all statutes, ordinances, and provisions for the keeping of the peace, and concerning foresters, labourers, craftsmen, servants, hostlers, beggars, and vagabonds, giving out marks of association, or of cloth and caps, neither to be given nor used, of lollardy, of counterfeiting, clipping, washing and howsoever falsifying of our coin, and of all other articles published or to be published, and to be kept and executed by Justices of the Peace, as well within and through the whole city aforesaid as in the liberties, suburbs, hamlets, grounds, precinct, and circuit aforesaid, according to all the force, form, and effect of the same statutes, &c.; and that they cause all those whom they find offending against the form and effect of these statutes to be punished as those laws shall require; and that they bring to justice, according to the laws and customs of our realm of England, the bodies of all those who have threatened any of our people concerning their bodies or the burning of their houses, and compel them to find sufficient security for peace and good demeanour towards us and our people. We will also and grant that the same Justices or four of them (of whom the Mayor and Recorder for the time being shall be two) be also Justices of us and our heirs to inquire, by oath of honest and lawful men as well of the city aforesaid as of the liberties, &c., by whom the truth of the matter may be better understood, from time to time as often and whensoever they shall think good, concerning all felonies, trespasses, forestallings, and regratings from time to time there done and committed,

**Subjects of
inquiry.**

of all manner of assemblings against the peace and to the disquiet of our people, of all persons passing on foot or horseback with armed force, of liers in wait to entrap or destroy the people, of all that wear caps there and other liveries of any sort on consideration and maintenance contrary to the form of ordinances, laws, and provisions in that behalf made; of hostlers and

others who shall offend in the abuse of measures and weights or in the sale of victuals; and of those who shall harbour any labourers, craftsmen, servants, hostellers, beggars and vagabonds, and others, contrary to the form of the ordinances, &c., in that behalf made, both within the whole city, &c., hamlets, ground, precinct, and compass aforesaid; and of all and every other article and articles which shall be inquired of before any Justices of Peace in any other shire of our realm of England from time to time, and there done and committed; and the full truth of all other articles whatsoever concerning the premisses or any of them. We have granted also to the aforesaid citizens that they choose, and have power to choose as often as they think good so to do, such Undersheriffs, Clerks, and Sheriffs' Bailiffs of the city aforesaid and the county of the same, and in the suburbs and hamlets thereof as they will answer for, to have, exercise, and enjoy those offices as long as it shall please them, as freely as at this time is done in our city of London, any statutes or ordinances to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherefore we will, grant, and assuredly command for us and our heirs, so much as in us lieth, that the aforesaid citizens and their successors for ever enjoy and use all the aforesaid grants in manner and form above expressed. Notwithstanding it is not our mind or intent that, under pretence or by virtue of any grant or ratification by us or our progenitors, Earls of Chester, as is beforementioned, the same citizens or their successors be in any way restrained of any of their privileges or ancient customs of the same city; but that they, the citizens of our city of Chester aforesaid, keep all their liberties and free customs perfect and inviolate as at any time heretofore they have done. And moreover, of our abundant grace, we have granted and by this our present charter confirmed to the aforesaid present mayor, citizens, aldermen, and sheriffs of the city aforesaid, as also to the citizens and commonalty, that they from this time have and hold for ever our aforesaid city of Chester, the hamlets and suburbs of the same, with all lands, tenements, profits, commodities, escheats, forfeits, deodands, amercements, fines, and a certain custom called murage, with all other rights and things aforesaid howsoever belonging or appertaining to the said city, &c., due to us and our heirs, the Earls of Chester, and our successors, in the same manner and form as

Fee=farm
£20.

we by right ought to enjoy and possess them as fee-farm of us, paying therefore to us yearly at our exchequer of Chester for the tenure of the premisses twenty pounds of silver and

no more, at the feast of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel by equal portions; saving that the same Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs as also the citizens and commonalty be not hereafter charged with any ancient farm of that city or any arrears thereof but from the said ancient farm and all arrears thereof, if there be any, and every parcel thereof be for ever quit, discharged, and dismissed, without composition or any thing else to us rendered, paid, or done. We grant moreover to the aforesaid mayor, citizens,

Grant of waste
ground.

and their successors, that they may build all the void places within the liberties aforesaid and make the most of the same and reap the benefit thereof, and that they receive and take the revenues thereof for the payment of their farm aforesaid. And that they have for themselves and their heirs for ever sok, sak, toll, and theam, infangenthefe and utfangenthefe, and be discharged throughout all the lands and territories of us our heirs and successors as Earls of Chester, of toll, passage,

lastage, murage, panage, pontage, and tallage, leve and danegeld, geywyt, and all other customs, as well in England as in other the lands of us and our heirs aforesaid; express mention of the true value of the premisses or of any parcel of them, or any act, ordinance, or other thing, matter, or cause, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent: witness ourself at Chester, the sixth day of April, the twenty-first year of our reign.

Henricus, Dei gratia Rex &c. Sciatis quod nos ob magnam affectionem quam erga civitatem nostram Cestrie ac Cives et Communitatem ejusdem civitatis gerimus et habemus: Ac in consideracione boni gestus et grandium sumptuum et expensarum civium ejusdem civitatis, necnon gratuitorum serviciorum nobis per ipsos contra adversarios et rebelles nostros multipliciter impensorum, Volentes melioracionem ejusdem civitatis necnon eorundem civium ac ipsorum heredum et successorum commodo et quieti specialiter providere de gracia nostra speciali ac ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus, damus et concedimus ac per presentes confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis civibus et communitati ac eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum quod dicta civitas ac tota terra infra fossatum ejusdem civitatis cum suburbiiis et hamelettis suis in precinctu et circuitu eorundem et tota terra in precinctu et circuitu ejusdem civitatis Cestrie ac predict' suburbiorum et hamelettorum suorum (Castro nostro Cestrie infra muros ejusdem civitatis situato omnino excepto), sint a Com' Cestrie exnunc exempta, seperata [sic] et in omnibus per omnia penitus exempta et seperata tam per terram quam per aquam. Et quod dicta civitas ac suburbia et hameletti ejusdem ac tota terra infra precinctum et circuitum eorundem (exceptis praexceptis) sint de cetero Comitatus per se in se distinctus et seperatus a Com' nostro Cestrie et Comitatus Civitatis Cestrie de cetero nominetur et nuncupetur imperpetuum. 3. Volumus eciam, damus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis civibus et communitati heredibus et successoribus suis quod ipsi ac successores sui imperpetuum, singulis annis successivis, viginti quatuor concives civitatis predictae in Aldermannos necnon quadraginta alios cives ejusdem civitatis pro communi consilio civitatis illius eligere, facere et creare possint, qui quidem viginti quatuor concives, sic electi et creati, nomen Aldermannorum civitatis Cestrie habeant et gerant imperpetuum, quorum eciam viginti quatuor Aldermannorum unus ex unanimi consensu et assensu Majoris et Aldermannorum ac vicecomitum necnon aliorum civium ex communi consilio predicto ad officium Recordatoris civitatis predictae eligatur et preficiatur. Volumus eciam et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predicti cives et communitas ac heredes et successores sui habeant preficiant et eligere possint de se ipsis, singulis annis successivis, imperpetuum unum majorem. Et quod quilibet major ejusdem civitatis, qui pro tempore fuerit, seipso et quamcunq; in majorem civitatis electus et prefectus fuerit, sit Escaetor noster et Clericus mercati nostri ibidem. Et quod iidem major, Com'itas, successores et heredes sui imperpetuum sint una Com'itas per se, et per nomen Majoris et civium civitatis Cestrie imperpetuum nominentur et nuncupentur et per idem nomen sint persone abiles et in lege capaces, et per idem nomen coram nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris, comitibus Cestrie ac coram quolibet Justiciariorum nostrorum in quibuscunq; curiis nostris placitare et implacitari, respondere et responderi possint, seu possit. Et quod dicti major et cives habeant preficiant

et eligere possint de se ipsis, singulis annis successivis, duos cives in vicecomites ejusdem Com' civitatis Cestrie qui quidem major et vic' in forma subscripta eligantur et preficiantur, videlicet, omnes concives dicte civitatis et suburbiorum et hamelettorum predictorum commorantes infra dictam civitatem suburbia et hamelettos ejusdem civitatis qui in eleccione majoris interesse voluerint, quolibet anno die Veneris prox' post festum Sancti Dionysii apud communem Aulam civitatis predicte possint valeant libere et absque contradictione aliqua convenire, qui sic ibidem existentes, sive major pars eorum, duos cives in dicta civitate habitantes de magis sufficientibus discretioribus et honorabilibus personis de numero viginti quatuor Aldemannorum in eisdem civitate suburbiiis hamelettis predictis in forma subsequenti similiter eligendorum; quorum uterque major sive vic' civitatis illius antea extitit aut non extitit et officium vic' per triennium prefatum diem Veneris proximum post festum Sancti Dionysii immediate preceden' nullatenus occupaverit nominent, de quibus duobus sic nominatis major pars predictorum Aldermannorum et vicecomitum tunc ibidem presencium unum majorem per scrutinium nominent eligant et prefigant. Et si in hujusmodi electione sive nominatione istius unius persone in majorem voces equales fuerint in numero ab invicem discordantes, tunc vocem majoris ejusdem civitatis pro tempore existentis pro duobus vocibus haberi volumus et teneri. In electione vero vicecomitum civitatis predicte forma subsequens observetur, videlicet, quod majore dicto et Aldermannis et aliis civibus civitatis et Com' illius in eisdem commorantibus electioni vicecomitum hujusmodi interesse volentibus, in die Veneris post festum Sancti Dionysii annuatim absque contradictione quacunque convenientibus et congregatis, major, vic', et Aldermanni pro tempore existentes, sive major pars eorum tunc ibidem personaliter existentes, quandam personam habilem et sufficientem in unum vic' civitatis predicte, dictique alii concives, tunc ibidem similiter presentes, sive major pars eorum, aliam personam sufficientem et habilem in alterum vicecomitem civitatis predicte eodem die libere eligant et prefigant, qui duo sic electi vicecomites Com' et civitatis illius a dicto die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Dionysii per unum annum integrum sint et permaneant. Et quod prefati Major et Escaetor, clericus Mercati et vicecomites civitatis predicte, qui pro tempore erunt, statim post prefec-tiones suas singulis annis sacramenta sua coram illo qui ipsum majorem sic electum in officio illo anno precedente precesserat ac coram communitate civitatis illius prestabunt, modo et forma sicut hactenus consueverunt, et hoc absque brevibus nostris de dedimus potestatem extra cancellar' aut scaccarium nostrum heredum vel successorum nostrorum prosequendi aut a literis mandatis nostris heredum vel successorum nostrorum inde expectand'. Et quod prefati major civitatis predicte omnia et singula que ad Escaetorem vel ad officium Escaetoris et ad clericum mercati nostri et ad officium clerici mercati nostri tam in presencia nostra quam alias, necnon predicti vicecomites omnia et singula que ad vicecomites aut ad officia vicecomitum pertinent, facere, habere et exercere possint et valeant et quilibet eorum possit et valeat in tam amplius modo et forma sicut ceteri escaetores clerici mercati et vicecomites aliorum comitatuum regni nostri Anglie aut civitatum secundum legem et consuetudinem ejusdem faciunt exercent et execuuntur, ac facere, exercere et exequi debent et consueverunt. Et quod nullus Escaetor seu Vicecomes comitatus nostri Cestrie aut clericus mercati seu aliquis alius minister noster aut heredum vel successorum

nostrorum qui pro tempore fuerit civitatem predictam suburbia et hamelettos predictos ac precinctum et circinitum eorundem ingrediantur seu ingredi presumant, aut infra civitatem suburbia et hamelettos predictos ac precinctum & circuitum eorundem se aliquialiter intronittant vel intronittere presumant ad aliqua officia aliquialiter ibidem facienda et exercenda. Et quod iidem Escaetor clericus mercati et vicecomites civitatis Cestrie et eorum quilibet easdem habeant potestatem jurisdictionem et libertatem ac quecunque alia ad officia Escaetoris clerici mercati et vicecomitum pertinentia in eisdem civitate suburbiis et hamelettis predictis ac precinctu et circuitu eorundem que ceteri escaetores clerici mercati et vicecomites nostri et heredum nostrorum alibi infra Regnum nostrum Anglie et comitatum palatinum nostrum Cestrie habeant et habebunt. Et quod predicti vicecomites civitatis Cestrie comitatum suum ibidem per diem lune de mense in mensem aut aliter teneant eodem modo et prout alii vicecomites nostri et heredum nostrorum alibi in aliis comitatibus in eodem regno comitatus suos teneant et tenebunt et quod predicti vicecomites civitatis Cestrie et eorum successores imperpetuum curias suas ibidem similiter teneant, videlicet diebus Martis Jovis et Veneris qualibet septimana, et omnia placita et assisas per querelas sine brevi nostro coram ipsis de omnibus contractis et casibus infra civitatis predictae precinctus et limites ejusdem emergentibus modo et forma sicut ante hec tempora habere et facere consueverunt: Et fines et amerciamenta et omnia alia proficua sua inde perpetuis temporibus ad usus suos proprios percipiant et habeant; et quod exercent omnia officia et libertates et franchisesias prout aliqui alii vic' ejusdem civitatis ante hec tempora facere, habere, exercere, tenere et percipere consueverunt.

* Et insuper concessimus et hac carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis heredibus nostris predictis prefatis majori et civibus ac eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum quod major dicte civitatis Cestrie et successores sui qui pro tempore fuerint gladium suum eis per nos datum aut alium gladium qual' eis placuerit extra presenciam nostram et heredum nostrorum habeant portatum et portari facere possint coram eis punctu erecto in presenciam tam aliorum magnatum et dominorum Regni nostri Anglie qui nos linea consanguinitatis attingunt et quorumcunque aliorum quam alio modo quocumque. Et quod servientes clavarum majoris et vicecomitum civitatis predictae et successorum suorum qui pro tempore fuerint clavas suas deauratas vel argenteas aut argentatas et si que armorum nostrorum et heredum nostrorum predict' ornatas, tam in presenciam nostra et heredum nostrorum quam in presenciam consortis nostre ac matris heredum et successorum nostrorum predict' infra dictam civitatem suburbia hamelettos terras precinctus et circinitus predictos prout proprii servientes nostri ad arma pro libito deferre valeant licite et impune absque occasione impedimento vel impetitione nostri heredum vel successorum nostrorum in futuro. Et ulterius concedimus prefatis majori civitatis predictae et successoribus suis quod ipsi annuatim elegere possint de magis discretioribus et prob'ioribus civibus civitatis predictae duos cives fore coronatores nostros heredum et successorum nostrorum infra dictam civitatem et limites et libertates ejusdem civitates qui coram Majore et Aldermannis civitatis predictae annuatim sacramentum prestabunt corporale quod ipsi per totum annum officium coronatoris infra civitatem et limites et pro bundis predictis bene et fideliter facient et observabunt. Et quod iidem coronatores sic electi et jurati habeant potestatem et auctoritatem sicut

coronatores nostri in Comitatu Palatino Cestrie aut in aliquo alio comitatu regni nostri Anglie habent utuntur et exercent. Et ulterius dedimus et concessimus prefatis majori et civibus et successoribus suis quo ipsi annuatim de civibus civitatis predictae duos cives fore supervisores murorum civitatis predictae vocatos *muragers* sicut antiquitus ibidem facere consueverunt elegere possint. Et quod ipsi annuatim muros civitatis predictae supervidebunt et reparabunt. Et quod ipsi sic electi annuatim colligant et percipiant quoddam subsidium sive customam in dicta civitate vulgariter vocatum "*murage*" prout ab antiquo in dicta civitate levatum fuit propter sustentacionem et edificacionem murorum predictorum. Et insuper concessimus et ac carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis prefatis civibus et communitati ac eorum heredibus et successoribus imperpetuum quod Senescalli et Marescalli hospicii nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut clericus mercati hospitii nostri vel heredum nostrorum decetero nec in presencia nec in ausencia nostra vel heredum nostrorum nec ingrediantur nec sedeant infra libertatem dicte civitatis et suburb' hamelett' terr' precinctus et circuitus predictos nec officia sua ibidem faciant vel exerceant nec de aliquibus infra eandem libertatem civitatis predictae ac suburbia hamelettos terras precinctus et circuitus predictos factis vel faciendis seu contingen' aliquo colore inquirant seu inquiri faciant nec se inde intromittant quovismodo nec in placitis trahant aliquos cives dicte civitatis aut alias personas infra eandem residentes extra dictam civitatem pro aliquibus rebus, causis, aut casibus infra libertatem civitatis illius ac suburbiorum hamelett' terrarum precinct' et circuitus predict' emergent' vel emergend' quovismodo. Preterea concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris et hac carta nostra confirmavimus prefatis civibus nostris quod si fortassis alique consuetudines et ordinaciones in dicta civitate Cestrie hactenus obtente et usitate in aliqua sui parte difficiles sive difficiliore existant sic quod propter aliqua in eadem civitate de novo emergent' ubi remedium congruum prius clare non existit ordinatum emendacione indigeat quod tunc major et vicecomites civitatis predictae pro tempore existentes ac Aldermanni sive major pars eorum pro tempore existent' plenam potestatem habeant et auctoritatem ad novum remedium congruum bone fidei et rationi consonum pro communi utilitate civium predictae civitatis nostre Cestrie et aliorum fidelium nostrorum ad eandem confluentium de communi assensu predictorum et consilio majoris et vicecomitum et quadraginta aliorum concivium pro communi consilio civitatis predictae in forma precedenti annuatim eligendorum sive majoris partis eorum apponend' et ordinand' et ordinaciones suas hujusmodi executioni debite demand' quociens et quando opus fuerit et eis videbitur expedire, dum tamen ordinaciones ille sint nobis et populo nostro utiles et bone fidei et consone rationi sicut predictum est. Concessimus eciam et hac carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis majori vicecomitibus civibus et successoribus suis imperpetuum quod idem major, vicecomites cives et communitas habeant cogniciones omnium et omnimod' placit' realium personalium et mixtorum tam Assisarum nove disseisine morte antecessorum certificacionum et attinet' quam aliorum quorumcunque tam de terris et tenementis infra eandem civitatem suburb' hamelett' terr' ac precinct' eorundem existen' quam de debitis compotis transgressionibus convene' et aliis contractis materiis et casibus quibuscunque infra eandem civitatem Cestrie suburb' hamelett' predict' ac precinct' et circui' eorundem

(Castro nostro et libertate nostra infra bundas vulgariter nuncupatas *le Glover Stoune* tantum except'), qualitercunque emergent' tam in presencia nostra et heredum tam coram Justiciariis nostris de utroque banco Justic' ad assisas capiendas assign' ac Justic' Itinerantibus quam coram omnibus aliis Justic' et ministris nostris, heredum et successorum nostrorum ad hujusmodi assisas coram majore et vicecomitibus ejusdem civitatis Cestrie pro tempore existent' tenendas in communi Aula civitatis Cestrie predictae cum omnibus proficiis de hujusmodi placitis et qualitercunque convenient' sine occasione impetitione vel impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum aut Justic' Baronum de scaccario nostro seu Senescalli vel Marescalli hospicii nostri aut heredum nostrorum seu Escaetorum Vicecomitum aut aliorum Ballivorum seu Ministrorum nostrorum vel heredum nostrorum quoruncunque, ita quod iidem Justic' Barones de Scaccario Senescalli et Marescalli Escaetores Vicecomites Ballivi seu Ministri nostri predictae de cognitionibus hujusmodi placitorum infra civitatem Cestrie suburbia et hamelettos predictos ac precinctus et circuitus eorundem emergentium se nullatenus intromittant nec aliquis eorum intromittat ad aliquod officium ibidem exercendum nisi dumtaxat Senescalli et Marescalli hospicii nostri et heredum nostrorum de transgressionibus conven', attinct', contract' debet' seu actionibus personalibus in hospicio nostro seu heredum nostrorum inter illos qui sint vel erunt de eodem hospicio nostro factis.

Concessimus insuper eisdem majori et civibus civitatis nostre predictae et successoribus et heredibus suis imperpetuum quod teneant omnia placita querelas et assisas tam de terris et ten' infra dictam civitatem hamelett' et precinct' ejusdem existent' quam de omnibus transgress' debet' compot' conven' contract' seu demand' infra dictam civitatem suburbia et hamelettos predictos emergent' per querelas sine brevi nostro coram majore et vic' civitatis predictae et successoribus suis imperpetuum. Et quod nullus civium civitatis predictae nec heredes aut successores sui aut eorum aliquis aut aliqui implacent aut prosequantur coram nobis aut heredibus et successoribus nostris aut coram aliquibus justic' nostris aut heredum et successorum nostrorum de communi banco aut coram Justiciariis nostris heredum aut successorum aut comitii com' nostri Palantini Cestrie aut Justiciariis nostris Itinerantibus aut heredum et successorum nostrorum aut aliquibus aliis justiciariis aut ministris nostris hered' aut successorum nostrorum de aliquibus terris aut ten' aut aliquibus aliis contract' conven' transgressionibus, debitis, demandis [El. demanda] infra dictam civitatem hamelettos suburbia ejusdem existent' emergent' seu contingent' nisi coram majore et vicecomitibus civitatis predictae et successoribus suis.

Et ulterius concedimus eisdem majori et vic' et successoribus suis imperpetuum quod ipsi et successores sui imperpetuum per servientes et cujuslibet eorum et successorum suorum ad clavas personas minus sufficientes per corpora sua attachiari et arestare possint seu eorum quilibet possit si aliquis talis persona coram majore aut vic' civitatis predictae aut successoribus suis temporibus futuris per aliquem aut aliquos implicetur de aliquibus conven' contract' demandis transgressionibus deceptionibus compoto debito detent' seu de aliqua alia re de sua causa infra dictam civitatem suburbia et hamelettos ejusdem emergente seu contingente et eos et eorum quemlibet in communi gaola sua ibidem custodiendos quousque sufficientem securitatem eis invenerit ad respondend' coram dictis majore et vic' et successoribus suis in placitis predictis modo et forma, prout in civitate London aut in dicta civitate ab antiquo usitatum et antecessoribus

suis approbatum. Et quod habeant propriam gaolam et prisonam infra civitatem predictam in quodam loco vocato *le Northgate Towre* eodem modo sicut antiquitus habuerunt et consueverunt ad quoscunque prisiones transgressores de meritis castigandos custodiendos. Et quod habeant curiam suam vocatam *le portmote* et *coronemote* coram majore civitatis predictæ pro tempore existente, tenendam eisdem modo et forma quibus antiquitus teneri consueverunt. Concessimus eciam pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis majori, civibus, heredibus et successoribus suis quod non summoniantur ponantur nec impanellantur nec ullus eorum summoniatur nec ponatur aut impanellatur in assisis, attinctis, materiis vel inquisitionibus aliquibus de tenuris intrincicis seu super quocunque facto contracto columpnia seu querela aut aliqua actione personali reali seu mixta in dicta civitate Cestrie, suburbiis hamelettis et terris predictis ac precinctu et circuitu eorundem aqualiter emergente nec recogniciones aliquas in assisis, attinctis vel jurat' illis faciant extra civitatem predictam nisi factum illud nos vel heredes nostros specialiter tangat. Concessimus eciam pro nobis et heredibus nostris prefatis civibus heredibus et successoribus suis quod habeant omnia catalla utlagatarum felonum fugitivorum qualitercunque attinctorum seu dampnand' ac felonum de se et deodand' et quorumcunque jus exigend' pro feloniam possit parvorum proditorum infra eandem civitatem Cestrie suburbia, hamelettos, terras, precinct' et circuit' predict' contingen'. Et quod predicti cives heredes et successores eorum imperpetuum habeant forisfact' victualium per legem qualitercunque forisfiend' videlicet panis vini et servicie et aliarum rerum venalium que ad mercandisas non pertinent. Concessimus insuper eisdem civibus et successoribus suis pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod iidem major seu vicecomites sint quieti et penitus exonerati de omnibus et omnimodis custumis prisis et omnibus aliis prestationibus exactionibus et demandis pro quibuscunque mercandisis suis ibidem (custumis prisis vini et ferri tantummodo exceptis) in relevamen et supportacionem in auxilium solucionis feode firme dicte civitatis Cestrie. Et quod predicti major vicecomites et cives civitatis predictæ eorumque heredes et successores sui perpetuis futuris temporibus habeant scrutinium in aqua de Dee de quodam loco vocato *le Ironbrugge* usque ad quendam locum vocatum *Arnaldesherre* ad omnia rethia veras & alia ingenia pro piscibus capiendis in eadem aqua existen' invent' supervid' ac scrutand' & ad ea omnia & singula que contra formam aliquorum statut' edit' sive ordinat' aut in destructionem juvenum pisciculorum vocat' *frey* ibidem posita vel erecta inveniri contigerit tam pro examinatione quam inquisitione capiend' asportand' retinend' & pro libitu suo comburend' in punicionem illorum qui hujusmodi rethia veras vel ingenia sic ibidem posuerunt exerxerunt aut exnunc ponere vel erigere presumant: & ad omnes illos & singulos eadem rethia veras vel ingenia ibidem sic ponentes secundum legem ordinationes consuetudines civitatis predictæ editas & edendas justiciand' & amerciand' vel ad fines ponend' aut alias penas sic infligend' secundum ordinationes antedictas & quod habeant omnes fines & amerciamenta exitus & forisfacturas pro predictis transgressionibus qualitercunque assessa & per se ipsos vicecomites aut ministros suos collig' & ponend': Volumus etiam & concedimus & sub gravi forisfactura prohibemus ne quis aliquas trenchias in dictam aquam de Dee infra metas limites & bundas supradictas aut finum vel alia sordida in batellis aut aliis vasis per aquam predictam faciat cariet vel traducat aut facere carieri seu traduci presumat sub pena forisfacture batellorum & vasorum illorum & finem secundum

discretionem majoris & vicecomitum civitatis predictæ quos forisfacturas & fines predict' civibus civitatis predictæ & successoribus suis in relevamen & auxilium solucionis firme sue civitatis predictæ concedimus & haberi ac precipi volumus. Concessimus etiam pro nobis & heredibus nostris prefatis majori & vicecomitibus civibus & communitati heredibus & successoribus suis quod nullus mercator de cetero infra eandem civitatem in suburbiis hamelettis precinctu & circuitu predictis pro piscibus aut carnibus in grosso seu ad retall' vendendis teneatur nisi in loco consueto per predictum majorem vicecomites cives & communitatem assignando sub pena forisfacture dict' piscium & carniū & faciend' finem secundum discretionem majoris & vicecomitum civitatis predictæ pro tempore existen' que quidem forisfacturam & fines volumus converti & applicari ad usum civium civitatis predictæ in auxilium solucionis feodi firme predictæ. Volumus insuper ex nostra gratia uberiori ac pro nobis & heredibus nostris imperpetuum quantum in nobis est concedimus & confirmamus eisdem nunc civibus & successoribus suis quod amodo major & recordator civitatis predictæ & successores sui majores & recordatores ejusdem civitatis imperpetuum ac tam illi aldermanni qui majores dicte civitatis preantea extiterunt quam alii aldermanni qui onus majoratus civitatis illius imperpetuum sustinebunt quamdiu aldermanni ibidem steterint sint conjunctim & divisim per presentes custodes pacis nostre & heredum nostrorum infra & per totam civitatem Cestrie suburbia hamelettos terras precinctum & circuitum ejusdem civitatis ac Justiciarii nostri & heredum & successorum nostrorum ad pacem necnon quod omnia statuta ordinationes & provisiones pro conservatione pacis & de venatoribus operariis artificibus servitoribus hostellariis mendicantibus & vacabundis deliberatis signorum societatis sive pannorum capiciorum minime dand' nec utend', de lollard' communifectura tonsura lotura & alia falsitate monete nostre & de quibuscunque aliis articulis per Justiciarios pacis custodiend' & exequend' editis & edendis tam infra quam per totam civitatem predictam quam libert' suburb' hamelett' terras precinct' & circuit' predict' juxta omnem vim formam & effectum eorundem statutorum ordinationum & provisionum delinquentes invenerunt castigand' & puniend' prout secundum formam & effectum eorundem statutorum ordinationum & provisionum fuerit faciend'. Et quod omnes illos per corpora sua secundum legem & consuetudinem Regni nostri Anglie justiciand' qui aliquibus de populo nostro de corporibus suis vel de incendio domorum suarum minas fecerint ad sufficientem securitatem de pace & bono gestu suo erga nos & populum nostrum iuveniri compellend'. Volumus etiam & concedimus quod iidem Justiciarii vel quatuor eorum quorum hujusmodi majorem & recordatorem pro tempore existentes duos esse volumus sint etiam justiciarii nostri & heredum nostrorum ad inquirendum per sacramentum proborum & legalium hominum tam de civitate predicta quam de libertatibus suburbiis hamelett' terris precinct' & circuit' ejusdem per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit de tempore in tempus quociens & quando eis melius expedire videbitur de omnimodis feloniiis transgressionibus forstallariis & regratariis ibidem de tempore in tempus fact' & perpetratis de quibuscunque conventiculis contra pacem & in perturbationem populi nostri seu vi armata ibidem transeuntibus vel equitantibus, de jacent' in insidiis ad gentem ibidem machinandum vel interficiendum, de utentibus ibidem capiciis & alia liberat', de unica secta per considerationem & pro manutentia contra formam ordinationum statutorum & provisionum inde edit', de hostellariis ac de aliis qui in abusu mensurarum

& ponderum ac in vendicione victualium & de quibuscunque operariis artificibus servitoribus hostellariis mendicantibus & vacabundis ac aliis contra formam ordinationum statutorum & provisionum inde fact' delinquentibus & acceptantibus infra & per totam civitatem libertates suburbia hamelett' terras circuit' & precinet', predict' ac de omnibus & singulis aliis articulis qui coram Justiciariis pacis inquirendi sunt in aliquo com' nostro Anglie & postea erunt per quoscunque de tempore in tempus ibidem fact' aut perpetrat' necnon de omnibus aliis articulis premissa & eorum aliqua qualitercunque concernentibus plenius veritatem. Concessimus eciam prefatis civibus heredibus & successoribus suis quod ipsi omnes subvicomites clericos & officiar' vicecomitum civitatis predictæ & comitatus ejusdem ac in subrubiis & hamelettis ejusdem tales pro quibus respondere voluerunt quociens eis videbitur fore faciendum eligant & eligere possint ad officia illa habenda exercenda & occupanda quamdiu eis placuerit adeo libere sicut in civitate nostra London ad presens existit usitatum aliquibus statutis seu ordinationibus in contrarium factis non obstan'. Quare volumus concedimus & firmiter precipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est quod prefati cives & eorum successores imperpetuum omnibus & singulis concessionibus predictis modo & forma superius expressis gaudeant & utantur. Nolumus tamen neque nostre intencionis existit quod colore seu virtute alicujus concessionis seu ratificacionis per nos aut per aliquem progenitorum nostrorum comitum Cestrie ut predictum est facte iidem cives vel eorum successores de aliquibus eorum libertatibus seu antiquis consuetudinibus civitatis illius aqualiter restringere, sed volumus ac pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris per presentes ordinamus & concedimus quod ipsi cives civitatis nostre Cestrie predictæ & eorum heredes & successores habeant omnes libertates & liberas consuetudines suas illesas & integras sicut eas unquam ante hec tempora liberior habuerunt. Et ulterius de abundanti gratia nostra concessimus & hac presenti carta nostra confirmavimus prefato nunc majori civibus aldermannis ac vicecomitibus civitatis predictæ necnon civibus & communitati ejusdem civitatis heredibus & successoribus suis quod ipsi heredes & successores sui predicti exnunc habeant & teneant imperpetuum predictam civitatem nostram Cestrie hamelettos & suburbia ejusdem cum omnibus terris tenementis proficuis commoditatibus escaetis forisfacturis deodandis amerciametis finibus & cum quadam custuma vocata *murage* ac cum omnibus aliis juribus & rebus predictis universis qualitercunque pertinent' sive spectant' in eadem civitate hamelettis subrubiis & terris ejusdem emergent' & nobis & heredibus nostris comitibus Cestrie & successoribus nostris debit' seu debent' eodem modo & forma sicut nos de jure habere gaudere & possidere debemus aut debuimus ad feodi firmam de nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris comitibus Cestrie reddendo inde nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris predictis comitibus Cestrie annuatim ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie pro premissis habendis viginti libras argenti & non ultra ad festa Pasche & sancti Michaelis archangeli per equales porciones, absque eo quod iidem major aldermanni vicecomites necnon cives & communitas civitatis nostre predictæ habere nec successores sui com' Cestrie sint de cetero de aliqua antiqua firma civitatis illius & de omnibus inde areragiis onerati sed ab eadem antiqua firma cum suis areragiis si que fuerint & qualibet parcella eorundem exnunc penitus exonerati & dimissi sint imperpetuum & quieti absque compoto seu aliquo alio inde nobis reddendo solvendo aut faciendo. Concedimus eciam prefatis majori civibus & successoribus suis quod ipsi omnes

vacuas placeas infra libertatem predictam edificare possint & illas se inde apprivare ac commodum suum inde facere exitusque inde provenientes ad firmam suam predictam civitatis predicte percipere & habere possint. Et quod habeant pro se & heredibus suis imperpetuum Sok' Sak' Toll' & Them' Imfangtheff' Utfangtheff' & essend' quieti per totam terram & potestatem nostram heredum & successorum nostrorum comitum Cestrie de theoloneo passagio lastagio muragio pannagio pontagio & tallagio leve & Dangel'd Gaywic & omnibus aliis consuetudinibus tam in Anglia quam in aliis terris nostris & heredum nostrorum predict'. Et quod expressa mencione de vero valore premissorum aut aliqua inde parcella eorundem aut aliquo acto ordinacione seu aliqua alia re materia vel causa in aliquo non obstant'. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Cestriam sexto die Aprilis anno regni nostri vicesimo primo.

31. 4 May, 1528. Letters Patent of the Vice Admiral.—

To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present letters may come, and whom the within written affect or may affect in any manner in future, Arthur Plantagenet Viscount Lisley Knight of the Order of the Garter, Vice Admiral and Lieutenant of the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Gascony, Normandy and Aquitaine, Greeting in the Author of Salvation. Since our beloved in Christ Master John Wodhall, our Commissary General of the Admiral of England, has seen, inspected, and read through and by our authority examined the privileges and grants of Kings and the liberties granted of old to the Mayor and citizens of the city of Chester and their successors for ever, that the said Mayor and citizens of the city of Chester aforesaid enjoyed from time and for time beyond man's memory as it fully appeared and was made clear before our said Commissary, and as by process held and taken before him it is clear and manifestly apparent, the process and tenor of which is as follows: "Let those present and future know that I John Wodhall, Commissary General and Special of the Lord Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisley, Knight of the Order of the Garter, Vice Admiral and Lieutenant of the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and Earl of Nottingham, High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Gascony, Normandy and Aquitaine, have seen, inspected and read through all and singular the privileges, grants, and gifts granted by the very noble Earl Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, to the Mayor and citizens of the aforesaid City of Chester and their successors for ever, and also all the confirmations of all Kings from the time of the fore-mentioned Earl, together with the confirmation of the most illustrious and most dread Prince and defender of the Faith, the

“present King Henry of that name the Eighth. In virtue of
 “which privileges, the lands possessions and all and singular har-
 “bours within the dominions of the aforesaid liberty as well by
 “land as by water and sea, viz., from Arnold’s Eyre to Eaton Wear :
 “also the tenants, farmers, and all other men, all and singular
 “within the same liberty have been and are fully exempt from all
 “manner of jurisdiction and power of the Admiral of England and
 “his officials whatsoever, so far that all punishments, corrections,
 “Deodands, Waveson’, Flotteson’, Jotteson’, and lagason and
 “wrecks, and all other casualties, contingencies whatsoever when-
 “soever howsoever by land, water, and sea, with all and singular
 “their appurtenances within the aforesaid liberties are found to
 “belong to the foresaid Mayor and citizens of the forementioned
 “city of Chester; used moreover according to custom prescribed
 “from time and for time immemorial. All these matters were
 “treated of as they are written above and recited, in the nineteenth
 “year of King Henry the Eighth the twenty-first day of the month
 “of April before me, John Wodhall Commissary or Deputy afore-
 “said.” Which process, and all and singular contained in the same,
 we holding to be valid and acceptable, by the authority committed
 to us, approve, ratify and confirm. In witness whereof we have
 ordered the seal of our office aforesaid of the Admiralty of England
 to be affixed to these presents. Given in London as far as the
 sealing of this the fourth day of the month of May, the twentieth
 year of our said Lord King Henry the Eighth.—(Signed) J. Wod-
 hall. [Seal, red wax.]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint et
 quos infrascripta tangunt seu tangere poterunt quomodolibet in futurum
 Arthurus Plantagenet Vicecomes Lisley Ordinis garterii Miles prepoten-
 tissimi principis et Domini¹ Henrici Ducis Richemundie Somers’ et Comit-
 is Nottinghamii Magni Admiralli Anglie Wallie Hibernie Gascon’ Norman’
 et Acquietan’ locumtenens atque vice-admirallus salutem in auctore salutis.
 Cum dilectus nobis in Christo Magister Johannes Wodhall Admiralitatis
 Anglie Commissarius noster generalis privilegia et concessionem Regum et
 libertates ab antiquo concessa majori civibus civitatis Cestrie et success-
 oribus suis imperpetuum vidit inspexit et perlegit et auctoritate nostra
 examinavit dictum majorem et civium [sic] Civitatis Cestrie ante dicte
 usum fuisse et esse a tempore et per tempus immemorum prout coram
 dicto nostro commissario plene liquebat et apparebat et prout processu
 coram eo facto liquet et apparet manifeste cujus quidem processus tenor
 sequitur et est talis. Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes
 Wodhall Commissarius Generalis et specialis Domini Arthuri Plantagenet
 Vicecomitis Lisley ordinis garterii Militis prepotentissimi Principis et
 Domini Henrici Ducis Richemondie Somers’ et Comit-
 is Nottingham Magni admiralli Anglie Wallie Hibernie Gascon’ Norman’ et Acquietan’ locum-

¹ Illegitimate son of King Henry.

tenentis atque Vice Admiralli vidi inspexi et perlegi omnia et singula privilegia concessionones ac donaciones concessa per prenobilem Comitem Hugonem Lupus Comes [sic] Cestrie Majori civibus civitatis Cestrie antedictae et successoribus suis imperpetuum necnon et omnes confirmaciones omnium regum a tempore comitis antedicti unacum confirmacione illustrissimi et metuendissimi principis ac fidei defensoris regis Moderni¹ Henrici ejus nominis octavi Quorum quidem privilegiorum vigore[s] terre possessiones et portus omnes et singuli infra dominia libertatis antedicti tam per terras quam per aquas et mare viz. ab Arnolds eyre usque Eaton weyre necnon tenentes firmarii et ceteri homines omnesque et singuli infra ejusdem libertatis [sic] abomnimoda jurisdictione et potestate Admiralli Anglie et Officialium ejus quorumcunque plenarie fuerunt et sunt exempti, in tantum quod omnes puniciones correc'ones Diodandi Waveson' Ffлоттeson' Jotteson' et lagason' ac Wraks et alia omnia casualia contingencia quecunque quandocunque et qualitercunque per terras aquas et mare cum omnibus et singulis suis pertinentibus infra libertates antedictas prefatis Majori et civibus civitatis Cestrie antedictae: Necnon ex consuetudine prescripta a tempore et per tempus immemoratam usitata pertinere dinoscuntur. Acta fuerunt hec omnia prout suprascriptuntur et recitantur anno regni Regis Henrici octavi xix^o vicesimo primo die mensis aprilis coram me Johanne Wodhall Commissario sive deputato antedicto. Quem quidem processum ac omnia et singula in eodem contenta rata et grata habentes auctoritate nobis commissa approbamus ratificamus et confirmamus. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum magnum officii nostri Admirallitatis Anglie predicti presentibus apponi mandavimus. Data London quo ad sigillac'onem hujusmodi quarto die mensis Maii anno dicti domini nostri regis Henrici octavi xx^o. J. WODHALL.

33. 20 Feb., 30 Henry VIII. Pardon for shipping leather.—

Henry the eight by the grace of God Kyng of England and of Fraunce Defender of the faith Lord of Ireland and in erth supreme hedd of the Church of England To oure trustie and right welbeloved Sir William Brereton Knyght Deputie Chamberleyn of our Countie Palantyne of Chester, and to Rauf Worseley our Comptrouller or to his deputie. And to all and syngler our Auditours customers Comptroullers and all other our officers in the said countie as though they specially by us were named gretynge. Where as in our parliament begon at London the thrid day of Novembre in the xxith yere of our reign and from there unto Westm' adjourned, and there by dyvers prorogacions unto the fourth day of February in the xxviith yere of our reign contynued and then holden amongst other thyngs it was enacted that from thens forth no maner of Straunger or Denyzen shold pack or cause to be packed eny maner of leather to be conveyed or shipped over the see or out of this realme Walys or other our Domynione otherwise then in that acte ys expressed, that is to saye that all such lether sholde be after that packed by a packer sworne in every porte where eny lether shold be shipped to be conveyed out of this realme Wales or other our Domynione uppon payne of forfeiture of all suche lether as after shold be packed contrary to the purporte of that acte or of the value therof. And also from thensforth every Straunger and Denyzen which shuld shippe send or convey eny lether over the See out or from eny porte of this realme Wales Chesshere or other our Domynions

¹ This high and mighty Commissary is frequently at sea in his Latin.

shold pay like custome for the same as was used to be paid within the Porte of London, that is to saye, every straunger to pay for every Diker of lether for custome iii^{sh}. ix^d. and every denyzen iii^{sh}. id. as in the said acte more at large it doth and may appere And where dyvers our welbeloved subjects thenhithytaunts [inhabitants] of our city of Chestre that is to saye William Davyson, David Midelton, William Goodman, Hugh Aldersey, Rauff Rogerson, John Thornewton, Richard Grymesdiche thelder, Richard Grymesdiche the yonger, Thomas Aldersey, Richard Sneydd, John Offley, Thomas Longley, William Aldersey, Richard Powele, Adam Goodman, Rauff Goodman the yonger, Rauff Radford, Robert Gytten', Phillipp Costenton, Robart Chalner, Rauff Aldersey, Morys ap William, William Newall, Thomas Martyn, Geffrey Coke, Robert Jones, with other enhabytaunts within the said citie, sithen' the makynge of the said acte, have ignorauntly shipped and conveyed over the see out of our porte of our citie of Chestre aforesaid sundry Dikers of lether without paying eny suche custome unto us as in the said acte is expressed supposyng that they had not ben restrayned by the same, or compellable to paye according to the same they dwellyng within our said citie and nowwe, perceyving their neglygence and oversight, have made their most humble sute and peticion unto us, that we wold vouchsaf to remytt and discharge the above named persons and all other our inhabitaunts within our said citie of their said offences duties debts and demands wiche we by virtue and auctorite of our said acte be entituled unto, Wherefore, we of our speciall grace, mier mocion [mero motu] and certen knowledge, do pardon remytt and release unto the said William Davyson, David Midelton, William Goodman, Hugh Aldersey, Rauff Rogerson, John Thornewton, Richard Grymesdiche thelder, Richard Grymesdiche the yonger, Thomas Aldersey, Richard Sneydd, John Offley, Thomas Longley, William Aldersey, Richard Powle, Adam Goodman, Rauff Goodman the yonger, Rauff Radford, Robert Gitten, Phillipp Costentyn, Robert Chalner, Rauff Aldersey, Morys ap William, William Newall, Thomas Martyn, Geffrey Cooke, Robart Jones And every oon of theym all such penalties, forfeitures, duties and somes of money as may myght or ought in eny case to growe to us of eny other to our use by reason of their said offences, as the said customes and duties shuld amounte unto. Wherefore we wolle and commaunde you and every of you, that ye nor eny other shall charge molest trouble vex or enquyet eny of our said subjects of or for shipping or conveying over the See out of the said port of Chester eny suche leyther, or demaunde of theym or eny of theym eny some or somes of money or other forfeiture dutye or custome for the same leither by theym or eny of theym contrary to the said acte so conveyed from the said fourth day of Ffebruary in the said xxviith yere of our Reign, unto the xviiith day of this present moneth. But that ye and every of you doo discharge and acquyte our said subjects and every of theym agenst us our heirs and successors for the premyssis upon the onely sight and demonstration of thies presents, without eny other writte bill or warraunte to be sued for the same. And thies presents shalbe to you and every of you sufficient warraunte and discharge ayenst us in that behalfe, the said acte or eny other acte, statute, ordenaunce, matter, cause or proclamacon to the contrary heretofore hadd or made notwithstanding. And we wolle and commaunde that our said subjects shall have thies presents under our great seall without eny fyne or fee to be paid to us or to our use in ony hanaper for the same But onely the some of xx^{ti} shillings for our gret seale ffor

that expresse mencion of the certeyntie of the premysses or other gifts or graunts by us to the foresaid William Davyson, David Midelton, William Goodman, Hugh Aldersey, Rauff Rogerson, John Thorneton, Richard Grymesdich the elder, Richard Grymesdich the younger, Thomas Aldersey, Richard Sneydd, John Offley, Thomas Longley, William Aldersey, Richard Powle, Adam Goodman, Rauff Goodman the younger, Rauff Radford, Robert Gitten, Phillipp Costentyn, Robert Charlner, Rauff Aldersey, Morys ap William, William Newhall, Thomas Martyn, Geffrey Cooke, Robert Jones, or to eny off theym before this tyme hadd in thies presents is not made of eny statute, act, ordynaunce, provysion or re-straynt heretofore to the contrary herof hadd, made, provyded, ordeyned or establisshed or eny other thyng cause or matter what so ever in eny wise notwithstanding. In witnes wherof we have caused thies our lettres to be made patents. Witnessyng our self at Westmynster the foure and twentieth day off Ffebruary the thrittieth yere of our Reign. [Per ipsum Regem et de data predicta auctoritate parliamenti. Copia scripta et ex^a per me Thomam Brereton.] [No seal.]

34. 4 June, 38 Henry VIII., Letters Patent of Insuperimus of a decree for election of an Interim Mayor.—

Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie Rex,¹ fidei defensor et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernie supremum caput omnibus ad quod presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Insuperimus quoddam decretum per consilium nostrum in Curia stellata apud Westm' nuper redditum et in Cancellariam nostram de mandato nostro missum et in filaciis ejusdem cancellarie nostre residen' in hec verba—Whereas the Kynges majestye his cytie of Chester within hys countie palatyne of Chester, in the tyme of the moste excellent Prynce of famous memorye Kinge Henry the viiith ffather to our moste dreade sovereign lorde the Kyngs Majestie that nowe is, was by his grace's letters patents made in the xxi year of his grace's reign incorporated by the name of Maier and cytyzens of his cytie of Chester And that by force of the seid letters patents the cytyzens and comynaltie of the seid cytie their heires and successores may yerely the ffryday next after the ffeaste of Seynt Dyonyse at their co'men hall of the seid cytie name and chuse of theym selves a maier in maner and fourme followynge, That is to sey the seid cytyzens and commynaltie or the greater parte of them to name too cytyzens inhabytans within the seid cytie of the moste suffeycent, discrete and honorable personages of the nomber of xxiiii Aldermen within the seid cytie and suburbs of the same either of which too so to be chosen have not byn maier or sheryff of the seid cytie by the space of thre yeres next before the seid elecion of which too so named the greater parte of the seid Aldermen and Shereffs then and their present shall name chuse and ordeyn one of the seid too so named by the cityzens and Comynalty to be Maier. And if in the seid eleccyon by the seid Aldermen it comyth to an equalyte of

¹ Here the King styles himself "Rex," and no longer "Dominus Hibernie." The reason given in the preamble of the Act passed June, 1541, is that "for lacke of namyng the Kinge's Majestie and his noble progenitors Kings of Ireland according to their said true and just title, stile, and name therein haith bene greate occasyon that the Irishe men and inhabitants within this realme of Irland have not bene soo obedient to the Kinge's Highnes and his moste noble progenitours and to their lawes as thei of right and according to their allegiaunce and bounden dueties ought to have bene."

voyses discentynge one from thother, then the voyce of the seid maier to be taken for too voyces which seid maier so elected and chosen shuld be also Excheter and Clerke of the markett within the seid cite as more playnely at large may appere by the seid letters patents. And forsomuche as by the death of William Holcroft late maier of the seid Citey of Chester the same office is become voyde and like so to remayne untill the seid Ffrydaye next after the feaste of Seynt Dionyse beyng their eleccion day, wherby ther myght growe greate perill and daunger as well to the Kinges highnes and his realme for lacke of a good mynyster in thoes parties to directe the thinges addressed unto hyme on the behalfe of his highnes touchinge his greate affaires towards his Realme of Ireland and the North West parties of this his Realme, as also the manyfold damages oppression and dishenson that myght ensue unto his loving subjects inhabityng within seid Citey for lake of due mynstracion of Justice to be mynystred to them within the seid Citey : It is therefore ordered and decreed by the Kinges most prudent discrete and honorable counsell that the seid Cityzens and comynaltie shall the xith day of June next ensuyng in quyet and peaceable manner repaier to their commen hall wher they beinge assembled shall name two citizens inhabityng within the seid cite of the most sufficient descrete and honorable personages of the number of xxiii Aldermen within the said Citey and suburbs of the same either of which so to be chosen hath not byn maier or shereff of the said Citey by the space of thre yeres next before the seid eleccion which two so named the greater parte of the seid Aldermen and Shereffs then and ther present shall name chuse and ordeyn one of the seid two so named by the seid cityzens and comynaltie to be maier. And if in the seid eleccion by the seid Aldermen and Shereffs it cometh to an equalite of voyces then the voyce of the eldest Alderman being at the said eleccion then and ther beinge in such maner and forme as it hath byn heretofore used to be geven by the maier of the seid Citey, whiche seid person so elected and sworne Maier shalbe and continewe maier of the seid Citey of Chester and also Excheter and Clerke of the market within the said city untill the tyme a newe Maier be elected and chosen at the tyme specified in their seid letters patents. And by all the seid tyme and after the seid mairaltie shall use exercise and enjoye all and every such offices, prerogatives, preemynence, privileges, jurisdiccions and auctoriteis as any the maiers hertofore chosen at the seid day hertofore have used by force of the seid chartre. And that the seid Cityzens and comynaltie shall obey repute and take hyme in and by all things as any other maier hertofore made and chosen by vertue of that seid charter hath ben taken reputed and obeied. *Nos autem tenorem decreti predicti ad requisicionem dilectorum et fidelium subditorum nostrorum civium civitatis nostre Cestrie duximus exemplificandum per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westm' quarto die Junii anno regni nostri tricesimo octavo. Ex^d p' nos Ricardum Lyell. [Great seal.]*

36. 14 June, 1574. *Queen Elizabeth's Letters Patent of Inspegrimus and Confirmation of Henry VII's Charter.*—

Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting: Whereas the Mayor and citizens of the city of Chester, by Richard Harpur, Esq., one of our Justices of the bench, and Robert

Snagge, Esq., both aldermen of the same our city of Chester, as also Randle Leech, citizen and merchant of the same city, their qualified attorneys sufficiently authorized in this respect with the assent of Richard Dutton, Esq., now Mayor of the aforesaid city, by virtue of a warrant of attorney given to the same Richard Harpur, Robert Snagge, and Randell Leech for that purpose, have surrendered willingly, freely, and absolutely into our Chancery Court certain letters patent of ours granted to the same Mayor and citizens under our great seal of England and dated at Westminster, the 8th day of April in the 5th year of our reign, containing the confirmation of separate liberties rights and privileges granted them by the Lord Henry the Seventh, late King of England, our dear grandfather, together with our especial grant of certain authorities, privileges and exemptions made and granted by the self-same letters patent to the same Mayor and citizens, that the same letters patent might there be cancelled, made void and of none effect, as by the same letters patent there remaining cancelled and by a certain writing touching the surrender of the same letters patent, inrolled in the aforesaid Chancery Court and there recorded, is most manifest and apparent: Know ye therefore that we, considering the premises, will and by these presents grant that the same Mayor and citizens of our city of Chester may have and shall have certain other our letters patent under our great seal of England made in due form and sealed in the following tenor of words, to wit: We have inspected the letters patent of Henry VII., King of England, our progenitor, made in confirmation in these words: [Here follows Henry VII.'s charter] Now we, accounting the charters and letters aforesaid and all and singular contained and specified therein as valid and acceptable, do for us, our heirs and successors, allow and approve them and ratify and confirm them, as the charters and letters aforesaid do in themselves reasonably witness, to our beloved the present Mayor Aldermen and Sheriffs of the city aforesaid, as also to the citizens and commonalty of the said city and their successors as far as in us lies. And moreover of our abundant grace we grant and by these presents for us our heirs and successors confirm to the aforesaid Mayor citizens and commonalty that, so oft as it shall fall out that the Mayor or Sheriffs of the city aforesaid or any of them do die within the year of office, that so often the aldermen citizens and commonalty of the city aforesaid which shall be present at the new election shall assemble and gather themselves together in the Commonhall of the city aforesaid on the Friday next after the death of the Mayor or Sheriff so deceased, and then and thereafter the death of every Mayor or Sheriff so dying as aforesaid they may and can choose, nominate and appoint one other of the more discreet and fit persons and of the number of the twenty-four aldermen to be Mayor of the City aforesaid in such manner and form as in the yearly election of the Mayor is wont to be done: which Mayor so chosen and appointed shall before all the Aldermen then present take that oath which the Mayors of the city aforesaid were wont beforetimes to take. And if the Mayor so chosen and appointed be not present at the election, then on the next Friday on which it happens that he is present in the city aforesaid, he shall take his oath before the aforesaid Aldermen or four of them at the least in the Commonhall aforesaid. And after the death of every Sheriff, deceasing as is aforesaid, they may elect, name, and appoint for Sheriff one other of the number of the forty who are the Common Council of the city aforesaid, in such manner and form as at the yearly election of Sheriffs it is wont to be done,

which Sheriff so elected shall take his oath before the Mayor then being, and the aforesaid Mayor and Sheriffs shall continue in their offices from the day and time of the election aforesaid until the Friday next after the Feast of St. Denis, on which day the election of new officers is wont to be.

To purchase
£100 in
Mortmain
per annum.

And moreover know ye that we, in consideration that the said Mayor and citizens, &c., may be better able to bear and support the burdens in the city aforesaid from time to time, have of our especial grace, &c., granted and given licence, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors (as much as in us lieth) do give and grant especial licence, free and lawful power and authority to the aforesaid Mayor and citizens, &c., to have, receive and take, as well of us and our successors, as of all our subjects and lieges or of any other person or persons whatsoever, all manors, messuages, tenements, rectories, tithes, rents, reversions, services, and other possessions, revenues, hereditaments whatsoever, which are not held of us *in capite* or by military service, &c., without especial licence from us or from the lord or lords from whom the aforesaid land, tenements, and hereditaments are held, provided that the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rectories, tithes, rents, revenues, and services, or other possessions, revenues, and hereditaments do not exceed the yearly value of £100 a year, the statute of mortmain or any other statute, act, ordinance, proviso, or restriction made, published and ordained to the contrary, or any thing, cause, or matter, in any respect notwithstanding.

Orphans and
Infants.

And moreover desiring to provide for the safety, defence, and government of orphans and infants which hereafter shall be and chance to be in the city aforesaid, and that the goods and chattels of the same may be henceforward and for ever and from time to time kept without waste and destruction and bestowed and disposed to the best use and profit of the same orphans during their minority for the better advantage and benefit of our orphans and infants, we of our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion will and by these presents, &c., grant to the aforesaid Mayor and citizens that the Mayor and citizens may have and hereafter shall have for ever the custody and government of all and singular the orphans of the citizens whatsoever within the city aforesaid and the liberties of the same, and that they have and shall have authority, faculty, and power to receive, levy, collect, seize, keep, and cause to be kept in the common treasury by the city treasurers then being all goods, chattels, debts, and legacies to use, employ, and bestow for the better use, profit, and advantage of the same orphans, and that they be bound concerning the said goods, chattels, debts, and legacies of the aforesaid orphans, and that they pay and redeliver the same goods, chattels, debts, and legacies, together with the increase and profit thereof, to the same orphans at that age and in that manner and form as it is in our city of London now, or heretofore in this part hath been used and accustomed, and that they have all, and such-like actions and remedies for taking away of any infants within the said city of Chester, and for the recovery of the same goods, chattels, debts, and legacies, and all such like duties for the better government and preservation of those infants, their goods, chattels, debts, and legacies as in the aforesaid city of London heretofore they have been accustomed or ought to have, and that they execute and do other things all and singular whatsoever belonging to the orphans, their goods, &c., in such manner and sort as they were wont to be done in our city of London and no otherwise, and these things we will and by these presents

command to be inviolably observed. We have moreover granted, and for us, &c., do grant to the aforesaid Mayor and citizens that they have, hold, use, enjoy, &c., gifts, grants, injunctions, liberties, exemptions, privileges, franchises, quittances, immunities, articles, and customs granted or confirmed by these presents and all and singular in this present charter and our letters contained, declared, set forth and specified, and by these presents granted or confirmed, we accounting them to be valid and acceptable for us, &c., of our especial grace, by the tenor of these presents grant, approve, ratify, and confirm by these presents as this present charter and our letters aforesaid do reasonably testify. Wherefore we will and firmly enjoin for us, &c., that the aforesaid Mayor and citizens have, &c., all liberties, authorities, and acquittances by these presents given and confirmed, after the tenor and effect of these our letters, without let or hindrance of us, &c. We will moreover, and by these presents, for us, &c., grant to the aforesaid Mayor and citizens that this our present charter, so made for them in general terms as it purports, may be and shall be of the same force and effect as if all other things specified above and by these presents granted and confirmed, were more specially, lawfully, and particularly expressed and specified in the same our charter; and that it shall be understood, adjudicated, and determined on the part of the same Mayor, citizens, and their successors towards us, our heirs and successors, so as it may be better known and understood, notwithstanding any omission, defect, repugnance, or contrariety in the same. And also of our more abundant grace, &c., we have pardoned, remitted, forgiven, and quit-claimed to the Mayor and citizens of the said city or any one or more of them by what name or names heretofore called or named, &c., on all actions of every kind whatsoever, or suits of *quo warranto* presented by us for us, or in our names, against the Mayor and citizens, as also all and singular other abuses, non-use of forfeitures, usurpations, and unjust claims whatsoever of liberties, franchises, jurisdictions, pre-eminence, lands, tenements, and hereditaments whatsoever committed, claimed, made, used, before this present day by the Mayor and citizens, by all or any of them, by whatever name or names, under pretence of what incorporation or incorporations soever, as also all and every fine, amercements, and penalties of money, or other forfeits, by means of usurping, not using, or unjustly claiming liberties, franchises, jurisdiction, or hereditaments within the city aforesaid. And that they and every of them to this present day be and shall be freed and exonerated towards us, it not being our will that the said Mayor by reason of the premises, &c., be henceforth troubled, molested or vexed in any thing either by us or our heirs, or our Justices, Escheators, Sheriffs, or other Bailiffs or officers. We will also, and by these presents for us, &c., do grant to the aforesaid Mayor and citizens that they have and shall have these our letters patent under the great seal of England made and sealed, without fine or fee great or less any way to be given or paid to us for them in our hanaper or elsewhere to our use, for that express mention is not made of the true yearly value, and certainty of the premises or any of them, or of other gifts or grants by us or any of our progenitors or predecessors to the aforesaid Mayor and citizens, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, or to the citizens and commonalty of the same or to any of them made heretofore, any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation, or restriction heretofore to this time had, made, or given out to the contrary, or any

other thing, cause, or matter in any respect whatsoever notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made.— Witness ourself at Westminster, the fourteenth day of June in the sixteenth year of our reign. By the Queen herself, and of the aforesaid date, by authority of Parliament.

Elisabeth Dei gratia Anglie Francie & Hibernie Regina fidei defensor, &c. omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint salutem. Cum major & cives civitatis nostre Cestrie per Ricardum Harpur armigerum unum Justiciariorum nostrorum de banco ac Robertum Snagg armigerum aldermannos ejusdem civitatis nostre Cestrie & Ranulphum Leche civem & mercatorem ejusdem civitatis attornatos suos sufficientes in hac parte ac sufficienter auctorisatos unacum assensu Ricardi Dutton Armigeri nunc majoris civitatis predictae virtute warranti attornat' eisdem Ricardo Harpur, Roberto Snagg, & Ranulpho Leche ad intentionem illam facti, quasdam literas patentes nostras eisdem majori & civibus sub magno sigillo nostro Anglie confectas gerentes dat' apud Westmonasterium viii^o die Aprilis anno regni nostri v^{to} continentes confirmationem sepeialium libertatum jurium & privilegiorum eis per dominum Henricum vii nuper regem Anglie avum nostrum precharissimum nuper concessam unacum speciali concessione nostra de quibusdam auctoritatibus privilegiis exemptionibus eisdem majori & civibus civitatis Cestrie predictae per easdem literas nostras patentes factis & concessis in curiam cancellar' nostre pure sponte & absolute sursum reddiderint ut eodem litere patentes ibidem cancellari, dampnari, enervari, & frustrari possint, prout per easdem literas patentes ibidem cancellatas existentes & per quoddam scriptum sursum reddicionem earundem literarum patentium tangentem in dicta curia cancellar' nostre irrotulatum & ibidem de recordo residentem plenius liquet & apparet: Sciatis igitur quod nos premissa considerantes volumus & per presentes concedimus quod iidem major & cives civitatis nostre Cestrie habeant & habebunt quasdam alias literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Anglie debito modo factas & sigillatas sub eo qui sequitur verborum tenore videlicet: Inspeximus literas patentes domini Henrici nuper Regis Anglie septimi quondam progenitoris nostri de confirmatione factas in hec verba: Henricus, &c. [Here follows recital of Charter 30] Nos autem cartas & literas predictas ac omnia & singula in eisdem contenta & specificata rata habentes & grata ea pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est acceptamus & approbamus ac dilectis nobis nunc majori civibus aldermannis ac vicecomitibus civitatis predictae necnon civibus & communitati ejusdem civitatis & eorum successoribus ratificamus & confirmamus prout carte & litere predictae racionabiliter in se testantur. Et ulterius ex habundanti gratia nostra concedimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris confirmamus prefatis majori civibus & communitati civitatis predictae eorum heredibus & successoribus imperpetuum quod quotiens contingat majorem vel vicecomites civitatis predictae vel eorum aliquem infra annum eum quo officium majoratus vel vicecomit' gerunt obire quod tocies Aldermanni cives & communitas civitatis predictae qui electioni nove interfuerint apud communem aulam civitatis predictae ad . . . seipsos congregabunt & assemblabunt die Veneris prox' post mortem majoris vel vicecomitis sic deficientis ac adtunc

The Charter is beautifully written and illuminated, but damaged in parts by fire and water. The initial of Chapter VIII. is copied from the initial letter.

& ibidem post mortem cujuslibet majoris vel vicecomitis sic ut predictum est morientis unum alium ex discretioribus & magis idoneis personis & numero viginti quatuor aldermannorum in majorem civitatis predicte eligere, nominare, & preficere valeant & possint in talibus modo & forma qualibus in annuali electione majoris civitatis predicte fieri solet. Qui quidem major sic electus & prefectus coram omnibus aldermannis adtunc presentibus sacramentum illud prestabit quod majores civitatis predicte preantea prestare solebant. Ac si major sic electus & prefectus electioni predicte non interfuerit tunc die Veneris proximo quo eum presentem in civitate predicta esse contigerit sacramentum suum coram prefatis aldermannis vel eorum quatuor ad minus in communi aula predicta prestabit. Ac post mortem cujuslibet vicecomitis sicut predictum est deficientis unum alium ex numero xl eorum qui ex communi sint consilio civitatis predicte in vicecomitem eligere, nominare, & preficere possint talibus modo & forma qualibus in annuali electione vicecomitum civitatis predicte fieri solet: qui quidem vicecomes sic electus sacramentum suum coram majore tunc existente prestabit: ac predicti major & vicecomites in officiis duratur' [-bunt] a die & tempore electionis predicte usque diem Veneris prox' post festum S. Dionisii quo die novorum officiariorum electio esse solet. Et ulterius sciatis quod nos in consideratione quod dicti major & cives civitatis Cestrie predicte & successores sui onera in civitate predicta de tempore in tempus melius sustinere & supportare possint & valeant, de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris concessimus & licentiam dedimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris, quantum in nobis est, concedimus & licenciam specialem liberamque & licitam facultatem, potestatem, & auctoritatem prefatis majori & civibus civitatis Cestrie pred' & successoribus suis habend' recipiend' & precipiend' eis & eorum successoribus imperpetuum tam de nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris quam de quibuscunque subditis & ligeis nostris aut de aliis personis quibuscunque sive de alia persona quacunque maneria messuagia terras tenementa rectorias decimas redditus reversiones servic' & alia possessiones revenciones vel hereditamenta quecunque que de nobis heredibus vel successoribus nostris non tenentur in capite nec per servicium militare nec de nobis seu de aliquo alio sive aliquibus aliis per servicium militare absque speciali licencia nostra heredum seu successorum nostrorum seu sine licencia domini sive dominorum de quo vel de quibus predicte terre tenementa & hereditamenta tenentur: dummodo dicta maneria messuagia terre tenementa rectorie decime redditus venienc' & servicia seu alie possessiones venienc' & hereditamenta non excedant annum valorem centum librarum per annum statuto de terris & tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis aut aliquo alio statuto actu ordinatione provisione sive restrictione inde in contrarium antehac habito facto edito ordinato seu proviso aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. Et ulterius nos cupientes providere pro tutela defensione & regimine orphanorum & infancium qui imposterum in civitate predicta erunt & fore contigerint & ut bona & catalla eorundem de cetero imperpetuum & de tempore in tempus bene fideliter & juste custodianur sine vasto & destructione & quod eadem bona & catalla conferantur & disponantur ad optimum usum & proficuum eorundem orphanorum durante minoritate eorundem pro uberiori commodo & utilitate nostrorum orphanorum & infancium de gratia nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris volumus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus

nostris concedimus prefatis majori & civibus civitatis predictæ & successoribus suis quod major & cives civitatis predictæ pro tempore existentes & successores sui habeant & habebunt de cetero imperpetuum custodiam & gubernationem omnium & singulorum orphanorum quorumcumque civium infra civitatem predictam & libertates ejusdem & quod habeant & habebunt auctoritatem facultatem & potestatem recipiendi levandi colligendi seisiendi custodiendi & custodiri faciendi in communi Thesaurario civitatis predictæ per Thesaurarios civitatis pro tempore existentes omnia bona & catalla ac debita & legata quecumque infra civitatem predictam suburbia & precinctum ejusdem contingentia emergent' inventa seu existen' quorumcumque orphanorum aliquorum civium civitatis predictæ imposterum obire contingen' ac eadem bona & catalla debita & legata exponend' utend' impendend' & disponend' ad meliora opus & usum commodum & proficuum eorundem orphanorum & quod de eisdem bonis & catallis debitis & legatis erga predictos orphanos onerentur & quod eadem bona catalla debita & legata unacum incrementis & proficuis inde eisdem orphanis solvent & redeliberent ad hujusmodi etatem ac eisdem modo & forma in omnibus prout in civitate nostra London modo aut antehac in hac parte usitata aut consueta existunt aut existit : Quodque habeant omnia & hujusmodi acciones & remedia pro substraccione & raptu aliquorum orphanorum infra eandem civitatem Cestrie evenire contingen' ac pro recuperatione bonorum catallorum debitorum & legatorum eorundem ac omnes tales & hujusmodi officiar' pro meliori gubernatione ac preservatione orphanorum illorum ac bonorum catallorum debitorum & legatorum suorum que & quales in predicta civitate London habere usitatum fuit aut debuit : quodque omnia & singula alia quecumque hujusmodi orphanos aut bona catalla debita & legat' eorundem tangen' exequantur & faciant que in dicta civitate nostra London exequi aut fieri aut peragi antehac usitatum fuit & non aliter nec alio modo que omnia inviolabiliter observari volumus ac precipimus per presentes. Concessimus insuper ac pro nobis & heredibus successoribus nostris concedimus prefatis majori & civibus civitatis Cestrie predictæ & successoribus suis quod iidem major & cives civitatis Cestrie predictæ & successores sui de cetero imperpetuum habeant teneant utantur & gaudeant ac habere tenere uti & gaudere valeant & possint donationes concessionis precepta libertates exempta privilegia franchises' quietanc' immunitates articulos & consuetudines per presentes concessas seu confirmata & omnia alia & singula in presenti carta & literis nostris contenta declarata explanata & specificata ac per presentes concessa seu confirmata rata habentes & grata ea pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris quantum in nobis prefato majori & civibus civitatis predictæ & successoribus suis imperpetuum de gratia nostra speciali tenore presencium concedimus approbamus ratificamus & confirmamus per presentes prout presens carta & litere nostre predictæ rationabiliter testantur. Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus pro nobis ac heredibus & successoribus nostris quod predicti major & cives civitatis predictæ & successores sui habeant teneant utantur & gaudeant ac habere tenere uti & gaudere possint & valeant imperpetuum omnes libertates auctoritates & quietanc' per presentes concessas seu confirmatas secundum tenorem & effectum harum literarum nostrarum patentium sine occasione vel impedimento nostri heredum aut successorum nostrarum Justiciar' vicecomitum & omnium aliorum Ballivorum sive ministrorum nostrarum quorumcunque. Volumus insuper & per presentes

pro nobis ac heredibus & successoribus nostris concedimus prefatis majori & civibus civitatis predictæ & successoribus suis quod hec presens carta nostra sic eis ut prefertur generaliter facta sit & erit ejusdem vigoris & effectus qualis esset si omnia alia superius specificata ac per presentes concessa seu confirmata plus specialiter legitime & particulariter in eadem carta nostra exprimerentur & specificarentur & quod intelligatur adjudicetur & determinetur pro parte ipsorum majoris & civium & successorum suorum erga nos heredes & successores nostros prout melius poterit sciri & non obstante aliqua omissione defectu repugnan' seu contrariositate in eadem. Ac etiam de uberiori gratia nostra ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris perdonavimus remisimus relaxavimus & quiet' clamavimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris perdonamus remittimus relaxamus & quiet' clamamus prefatis majori & civibus civitatis predictæ seu quocunque alio nomine iidem major & cives civitatis illius sen eorum aliqui seu aliquis vocentur nuncupentur appellentur aut nuper ante hac vocabantur nuncupabantur vel omnes omnimodas & quascunque actiones & sectas de quo warranto per nos pro nobis vel nomine nostro versus majores & cives civitatis predictæ prosecutas: necnon omnia et singula alia abusus non-usus forisfacture necnon usurpationes & injusta clamea quecunque libertates franchises' jurisdictiones preheminentias terras tenementa aut hereditamenta per majorem & cives civitatis Cestrie aut per cives civitatis illius sen eorum aliquem vel aliquos per quodcunque nomen sive quecunque nomina vel quamcunque incorporationem sive quascunque incorporaciones aut pretextu alicujus incorporationis ante presentem diem perpetrat' fact' clamat' usitat' seu commiss' ac omnia omnimod' fines amerciamenta ac penas pecuniarum aut alias forisfacturas ratione usurpationis non-usus aut injuste clam' libertates franchises' jurisdictiones aut hereditamenta predictorum infra civitatem predictam & quod ipsi & eorum quilibet inde sint & erunt usque presentem diem quieti & exonerati versus nos heredes & successores nostros imperpetuum, Nolentes quod iidem major & cives civitatis vel eorum successores nec eorum aliquis sive aliqui nec aliqui cives civitatis predictæ ratione premissorum sive eorum alicujus per nos vel per heredes nostros Justiciarios Escaetores vicecomites aut alios Ballivos seu ministros nostros heredum vel successorum nostrorum quorumcunque inde occacionetur molestentur vexentur in aliquo seu gravetur occacionetur molestetur vexetur perturbetur in aliquo seu gravetur. Volumus eciam & per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris concedimus prefatis majori & civibus civitatis predictæ quod habeant & habebunt has literas nostras patentes sub magno sigillo nostro Anglie debito modo factas & sigillatas absque fine seu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in hanaperio nostro seu alibi ad usum nostrum proinde quoquomodo reddendo solvendo vel faciendo: eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo aut de certitudine premissorum sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos seu per aliquem progenitorum sive predecessorum nostrorum prefatis majori civibus aldermannis ac vicecomitibus civitatis predictæ aut civibus & communitati ejusdem civitatis seu eorum alicui ante hec tempora factis in presentibus minime fact' existit aut aliquo statuto actu ordinatione provisione proclamatione sive restrictione in contrarium inde antehac habita facta edita ordinata seu provisiva aut aliqua alia re causa vel materia quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium quarto decimo die Junii anno regni nostri sexto decimo. Per ipsam Reginam & de data predicta auctoritate parlamenti.

City Claims and Customale.¹

Clamea majoris vic' customarii & civium civitatis Cestrie. Major & cives civitatis Cestrie clamant habere libertates subscriptas viz., quod civitas Cestrie libera civitas sit, & quod cives predicti possunt eligere sibi majorem de semet ipsis de anno in annum die Veneris prox' post festum S. Dionisii qui prestito sacramentis de juribus domini principis & libertatibus & juribus civitatis predictae conservandis eisdem civibus juret. Ac etiam quod eligere possunt sibi duo vicecomites de semet ipsis die predicto qui modo predicto ad executiones & mandata domini comitis Cestrie & majoris & civium civitatis predictae fideliter faciendum prestent sacramentum. Et habere Gildam mercalem in civitate predicta, & habere liberam curiam Portmotum in civitate pred' de omnibus placitis & querelis emergentibus infra civit' pred' placitandis, viz., habere placita de terris & tenementis & de nameo vetito infra civ' pred' emergente per querelam in portmotis suis sine breve : & placita de corona in dicta civ' tenenda coram majore & vic' & placita de dote in breve de recto que in predicto portmoto per brevia originalia debent placitari & omnia alia placita tenenda in appenticio civitatis predictae coram vicecomitibus ibidem. Et quod si aliquis in civitate predicta implacitetur de debito per aliquem civem ejusdem civitatis vel per aliquem forinsecum & de debito illo convictetur cognitionem vel alio modo capiatur & imprisonetur quousque satisfaciat querenti. Et si ille defendens civis fuerit & in tanta paupertate quod debitum illum reddere non poterit & jurare voluerit manu sua coram majore & vic' in presencia partis, si interesse voluerit, qui recuperavit quod statim reddet debitum cum possit salva sibi sustentatione sua mediocriter, extunc a prisa delibetur. Et quod aliqui civitatis pred' qui tallias habent illas possunt probare sive fuerint sigillate sive non . . personam & per illam probationem defendentes erunt convicti. Et quod legare possunt terras & tenementa sua de perquisitis suis cuicunque voluerint : Et quod si quis implacitaverit alium in eadem civitate pro compoto statim attachietur defendens per corpus donec manucaptores invenerit ad respondendum querenti ad diem placiti. Et si plegios invenire non poterit aut nolit cum possit, imprisonetur apud Northgate quousque diem placiti. Et si convictatur detineatur ibidem modo supradicto quousque per . . legis computationis de jure satisfecerit, si in arreragio fuerit. Et habere duas ferias per annum viz., unam per unam quindenam prox' ante festum Nat' S. Johannis Baptiste & in die ejusdem festi, & unam quindenam prox' sequent', & aliam feriam, viz., per unam septimanam prox' ante festum Michaelis Archangeli per unam sept' tunc prox' sequentem duraturam : & duo mercata qualibet septimana viz., die Mercurii & die Sabbati & quicquid ad feriam & mercatum pertinetur. Major & Vicecomites civitatis predictae clamant habere libertates & Acquietantias subscriptas, viz., quietanciam & relevac'onem recogn' & proportamenti in predicta civitate imperpetuum pro se habere & successoribus suis : Et quod si cives, &c. [*Here follow the words of Charter 4, p. 453.*] Et quod nullus aliquod genus, &c. [*as in Charter 2, p. 481.*] Item clamant habere predictam civitatem Cestrie cum omnibus suis libertatibus, &c. [*as in Charter 12, p. 492.*] Item clamant habere de custuma de qualibet nave intrante libertatem predictam carcata cum vino, allec, piscibus, salmonibus, blado, seu

¹ The date of this Claim in answer to a Quo Warranto is fixed by the name of one of the witnesses, Henry de Sutton, Abbot 1386-1410.

aliis cuiuscunque mercandisis seu victualibus, viz., de quolibet mercatore excedente valorem v^s. iiii^d. de introitu suo de partibus externis sol' iiii^d. & Clerico i^d. de quolibet dolio vini iiii^d. de qualibet carectata cuiuscunque mercandisis iiii^d. & si plures sint mercatores tunc quilibet ipsorum sol' iiii^d. de quolibet summagio seu fardell equi cuiuscunque mercimonii sive victualium ad eandem civitatem causa negotiationis adducent' & ab eadem educent' pro tol'n' de quolibet equo empto iiii^d. de quolibet bove, vacca, jumento empto i^d. de quolibet tripp' ovium iiii^d. viz., de tribus ovibus iiii^d. & licet sint plures, nisi tantum iiii^d. pro tolneto, & eodem modo de porcis: de qualibet pair' rotarum caret' empt' iiii^d. Item quod nullus franget bulcum sine licencia postulata a vicecomitibus. Item si navis aliqua sit carcata cum aliquibus victualibus quod bene liceat mercatori navis illius omnimoda victualia illa cuicunque vendere voluerit in retallia pro victuallamento & stauro civium & gentilium patrie per tres dies immediate post applicationem earum navium & post tres dies completos in grosso & non in retallio: & quod nullus civium nec aliquis alius ea nullo modo infra illos dies in grosso emat seu emere presumat sub pena forisfacture eorundem. Item clamant quod Customarii civitatis Cestrie custodire solebant civitatem predictam & adhuc custodiunt per tres noctes in anno viz., nocte diei vigilie Nativitatis Domini, nocte diei Natalis Domini, & nocte diei Sancti Stephani extunc proxime sequentis modo & forma quibus major & vicecomites proantea illam custodire solebant. Custodient etiam & adducent felones & latrones dampnatos tam coram Justiciario Cestrie in Comitatu ibidem, quam coram Majore Cestrie in pleno Coronmoto ibidem usque ad patibulum pro salva custodia & occisione eorundem sub pena que incumbit: pro quibus vero serviciis ipsi solebant & debent fore quieti de omnimodis Inquis', Jurat', & Assisis infra civitatem predictam, excepto pro Domino Principe & Comite Cestrie: similiterque reddent Vicecomitibus Cestrie annuatim quilibet ipsorum xvi^d. de redditu ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste & sunt xvi Customarii viz., in Estgate Strete quinque, Hugo Holes Chivaler, Johannes filius Roberti Launceleyn, Maria del Wiche, Johannes de Wygan, & Nicholaus Gyne: in Brugge Strete quinque, viz., Johannes de Whitemore, Rogerus de Dyton, Robertus le Chamberleyn, Johannes le Taverner, & Ricardus de Strangways, pro tenementis in le Seldes: in Watergate Strete quatuor, viz., Henricus [Sutton 19th] Abbas Cestrie, Radulphus Corbyn, Laurencius de Doncaster, & Elizabeth que fuit uxor Johannis de Hawardyn: in Northgate Strete duo viz., Henricus de Bircheles & Johannes de Whitemore.

—*Tib. 26, Pentice Chartulary 76.*

The Dues taken at the City Gates. Inquisition made 14 Edward II.—

De prisas & captionibus portarum Civitatis Cestrie. Edwardus illustris regis Anglie primogenitus, comes Cestrie, Majori & vicecomitibus civitatis Cestrie salutem: Ex parte hominum & tenencium Com' nostre Cestrie & partium adjacentium nobis est graviter conquerend' monstr' quod custodes portarumstrarum civitatis nostre de bonis & rebus que iidem homines ad eandem civitatem causa negociaconis adducunt & ab eadem educunt quasdam prisas & pecunie summas insolitas & superfluas ultra consuetudines & prisas de hujusmodi bonis & rebus ab antiquo captas, auctoritate sua propria, jam de novo levaverunt & ipsos homines & tenentes ad solutionem ejusdem pecunie per res & bona sua predicta ad hoc distringunt minus juste per quod nonnulli hominum & tenentium predictorum cum

bonis & rebus suis ad civitatem predictam ex causa premissi accedere differunt in nostri & eorundem hominum & tenentium dispendium non modicum, & gravamen ac civitatis nostre deterioracionem manifestam Nos igitur volentes tam pro nobis quam pro prefatis hominibus & tenentibus optimum remedium in hac parte adhiberi & ea occasione per vos certiorari quas & cujusmodi consuetudines & prisas prefati custodes de hujusmodi bonis & rebus ad eandem civitatem adductis & ab eadem eductis de jure capere debent, & que & cujusmodi per alios custodes earundem portarum retroactis temporibus capi consueverunt & de quibus bonis & rebus & qualiter & quomodo & quas pecunie summas ultra consuetudines & prisas ab antiquo de hujusmodi bonis & rebus ut premittitur captas prefati nunc custodes jam de novo levaverunt & qualiter & quomodo: Vobis mandamus quod per sacramentum proborum & legalium hominum ejusdem civitatis per quos rei veritas melius scire (for i) poterit in presencia nunc custodum portarum predictarum per vos inde premonendorum. si interesse voluerint, diligenter inquiratis super omnibus & singulis premissa contingentibus plenius veritatem, & inquisitionem inde distincte & aperte captam nobis sub sigillo vestro & sigillis eorum per quos factum fuerit sine dilacione mittatis & hoc breve ut extunc ulterius inde fieri faciamus quod pro nobis & eisdem hominibus & tenentibus per consilium nostrum fore viderimus faciendum. Data sub privato sigillo nostro apud Westm' xxii die Aprilis anno regni predicti Domini regis patris nostri tercio decimo.

Virtute cujus brevis Inquisitio capta et retornata die et anno ut patent in inquisicione huic breve annexa &c.

Inquisicio facta die Veneris prox' post festum Purificationis beate Marie anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi quarto decimo coram majore & vic' Civitatis Cestrie pretextu mandati domini Edwardi illustris regis Anglie primogeniti Comitis Cestrie super consuetudinibus & prisas custodum portarum civitatis Cestrie de bonis & rebus ad eandem adductis & ab eadem eductis que de jure capi debent, & que & cujusmodi per alios custodes earundem portarum retroactis capi consueverunt, & de quibus bonis & rebus & qualiter & quomodo & quas pecunie summas ultra consuetudines & prisas ab antiquo de hujusmodi bonis & rebus ut premittitur captas prefati nunc custodes jam de novo levaverunt qualiter & quomodo prout in breve continetur per sacramentum . . Qui dicunt quod

Eastgate. ad portam orientalem civitatis predictae ab antiquo capi solent consuetudines subscriptas, viz., de qualibet biga salis intranti ad dictam portam quadr' & in Nundinis Cestr' in festo S. Joh'is Baptiste semel de qualibet biga salis ob' & pro illa prisas custodes dicte porte de jure tenentur invenire mensuram, viz., cranocum & busell pro predicto sale mensurando: Item de qualibet biga carbonum venalium intranti ad dictam portam unum colbrond' & in Nundinis predictis S. Joh'is i colpok. Item de qualibet biga bladi venalis quod crescit extra Cestris' ob' & de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum blado, farina & bras' venali que crescit extra Cestris' quadr' set de illis bladis que crescunt infra Cestris' nichil capere debent: Item de qualibet biga magni meremii & longarum bordarum ob': Et de qualibet biga bordarum septem pedum venal' dimidium bordani, & de qualibet biga intrante cum cindulis venal' iii cindulas & eodem modo de lathis: Item de qualibet biga tanni iii rindes tanni. Et de qualibet biga intrante cum plumbo ferro calibe venienti ab extra Cestris' ob', set de hiis que veniunt de infra Cestris' nichil capere debent. Item de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum cultellis i cultellum

precii ob'. Item de quolibet summagio equi cujuscunque mercimonii intrante venal' ab extra Cestris' quad'. Item de qualibet drava bestiarum que ducitur extra Cestris' 4 denarios. Item de quolibet equo, jumento, vel pullano que ducitur extra Cestris' ob'. Item de qualibet biga de crokes ob': & de quolibet summagio equi de crokes tancard' quad'. Item de qualibet biga de ollis terreis unam ollam, & de quolibet summagio equi hominis intrante cum discis ciphis, i discum, & i ciphum precii ob'. Item de qualibet biga intranti cum busca venali i ramum, nec pejorem nec meliorem. Item de qualibet nova biga venali si sit vendita, ob': et de qualibet biga intranti cum herba venali i knuchie, & de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum herba unum manipulum, & de qualibet biga intranti cum turbis venal' 3 turbe, & de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum feno i manipulum: & de qualibet biga cordarum parvi precii venal' unam cordam precii ob': & de summagio equi eorundem quad'. Dicunt eciam quod nullum argentum debet capi ad aliquam aliam portam dicte civitatis nisi ad istam portam oriental's [sic for em] & quod omnes de communitate dicte civitatis quieti sunt de omnibus prisas predictis ad istam portam, & ad omnes alias portas dicte civitatis. Dicunt eciam quod custodes dicte porte jam de novo levaverunt, & capiunt prisas subscriptas ultra prisas & consuetudines ab antiquo captas viz., de qualibet drava quaruncunque bestiarum trans-euntium dictam portam & que non transierint extra Cestris' 4 denarios, ubi nichil capere debent. Capiunt eciam de maseriis, arcubus, vrinalis, tricie alleorum & cepubus poncis canab' cultellis caseis citharis lapidibus Crete, lucus, bremes, anguillis, grossis volatilibus majoribus & minoribus, ovis, corbell', baskettis, crebris & de omnibus aliis hujusmodi rebus que non essent deficiilia numerari que extendunt numerum ternarium intrant' ad dictam portam capiunt i, de quibus de jure nichil capere debent nec solebant. Dicunt eciam quod custodes porte borialis Cestrie de jure &

Northgate.

consuetudine caperesolebant prisas subscriptas, viz., de qualibet biga intranti cum allec' x allec': & de summagio equi allec' 5, & de onere hominis allec' & de qualibet biga intranti cum magnis piscibus i piscem: & de onere equi cum parvis piscibus scilicet merlyng', sparlynges et hujusmodi piscibus 5: & de onere hominis de hujusmodi piscibus unum piscem: & de summagio equi de flokes & places 5, & de onere hominis eorundem unum: & de summagio equi muscullorum duos manipulos, & de onere hominis i manipulum: & de summagio equi ostriorum, whelcorum 5: & de onere hominis i, & de summagio equi de Atterpiles & de hujusmodi piscium [sic] unum parvum discum plenum & de onere hominis minus secundum quantitatem: & de summagio equi de ovis 5: & de onere hominis i: & de qualibet carecta cum pomis 3 manipulos: & de summagio equi i manipulum: & de qualibet biga cum porec' i manipulum: & de qualibet biga cum ollis terreis unam: & de qualibet biga cum bordis dimidiam bordam: & de qualibet cum cindulis 3: & eodem modo de turbis, lathis, & de qualibet biga intranti cum felis et spokes ad faciendum carectam i & de qualibet carecta cum carbone i colbrond: & de qualibet biga cum busco i ramum nec meliorem nec pejorem, pro quibus vero prisas custodes dicte porte semper custodient dictam portam una cum prisonibus in priona dicti domini comitis ibidem incarcerationis. Custodiet etiam claves patibuli, felones eciam & latrones dampnatos suspendet, & faciet bannum domini Comitis infra civitatem: sonabit cornu del portmote & faciet judicium pillorie: Dicunt eciam quod dictus custos capere debet de quolibet prisone ibidem incarcerationo pro feloniam tantum 4 denarios si ibidem moraverit

ultra unam noctem, set de aliquibus ibidem arestatis pro debito vel dampno recuperato aut pro simplici transgressione nichil capere debent nec solebant. Dicunt etiam quod custodes dicte porte borialis jam de novo levaverunt & capiunt prisas & consuetudines subscriptas ultra consuetudines & prisas ab antiquo captas, viz., de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum melewelles & grossis piscibus i quarter' piscis vel capud piscis, aut i denarium & de qualibet nave vel batello venienti ad portam dicte civitatis cum allec' inter le Benewaldesthorn & le portpole dim' c allec' : & de qualibet navi vel batello venienti ibidem cum salmonibus salsitis, lynges & rayes & aliis hujusmodi piscium unum. Capiunt etiam de arcubus, vrmall', caseis, cultellis, citharis, lapidibus crete, lucus, bremes, anguillis grossis, volatilibus majoribus & minoribus, ovis & de omnibus aliis hujusmodi rebus intrantibus ad dictam portam excedentibus ternarium numerum i, de quibus de jure nichil capere debent nec solebant. Dicunt

etiam quod custodes pontis Cestrie de jure & consuetudine capere debent & ab antiquo capere solebant prisas & consuetudines subscriptas, viz., de qualibet preda bestiarum intranti ad dictam portam tempore guerre inter Cestris' & Wall' unam bestiam : & de qualibet biga intranti cum busco i lignum : & de qualibet biga intranti cum carbonibus i colbrond : & de qualibet carecta intranti cum cindulis 3 cindulas, & eodem modo de lathis : & de qualibet carecta intranti cum allec' x allec' : & de sum'agio equi 5 : & de onere hominis i & de qualibet biga cum grossis piscibus intranti i piscem nec pejorem nec meliorem : & de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum witlinges, sparling', plaices, flikes & de hujusmodi parvis piscibus i piscem, & eodem modo de onere hominis i parvum piscem, & de qualibet biga intranti cum caseo venali i caseum : & de summagio equi & de onere hominis i parvum caseum precii ob' : & de qualibet biga boardarum intranti dimidiam boardam : & de qualibet biga intranti cum virgis 3 virgas, & de onere equi i : & de qualibet carecta intranti cum turbis 3 : & de qualibet biga intranti cum tanno 3 cortices tanni : & de quolibet summagio equi tribultorum, brocharum, forcarum ad braccinam, de jugis ad carucas de chiphis precii ob' & discis unum tantum : & de qualibet biga cum feliis ad carectas i, & de spokes 2 & de quolibet summagio equi cum cultellis i precii ob', & eodem modo de onere hominis : & de qualibet biga vel summagio equi intranti cum cribris bussell hopis circulis pro doliis i : & de quolibet summagio equi ostriorum vel whelkorum ; Et de qualibet biga intranti cum nucibus 3 maniplos, & de onere equi 2 maniplos : & de quolibet summagio equi cum herba i manipulum pro quibus vero prisas & consuetudinibus dictus custos debet invenire seruras cum clavibus ad duas portas viz., ad dictam portam pontis Schipyate & ad

portam equorum & unum hominem ad custodiendum semper dictam portam pontis & ad dictas portas claudendum & aperiendum. Dicunt etiam quod dicti custodes dicte porte jam de novo levaverunt & capiunt prisas & consuetudines subscriptas ultra consuetudines ab antiquo captas viz., de quolibet sum'agio equi intranti cum vomeribus & plogschoy [ploughshares] unum & de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum ferris equorum tria ferra. Capiunt etiam de arcubus, vrinall, allec', cepe, pomis, caseis, cultellis, citharis, ovis, volatilibus majoribus & minoribus & omnibus hujusmodi rebus ad dictam portam intrantibus defacili non esset numerare excedent' numerum ternarium i. Dicunt etiam

quod custodes porte aque Cestrie secundum antiquas consuetudines cepere prisas subscriptas de qualibet biga intranti cum busca i ramum : & de quolibet summagio equi cum minutis piscibus

scilicet fokes, sparlinges, whytlinges & consimilibus 5, & de onere hominis i : & de summagio equi cum muscullis attirpill' unum parvum discum, & de onere hominis i manipulum : & de qualibet biga carbonum i colbrond, & de quolibet summagio equi intranti cum allec' venienti a Wallia sive Wyrall 5 : & de discis, ciphis, cultellis, & aliis consimilibus capere debent ad illam portam sicut capiunt ad dictam portam de Northgate. Dicunt eciam quod custodes dicte porte jam de novo capiunt & levaverunt prisas & consuetudines subscriptas ultra antiquas consuetudines captas viz., de onere equi cum grossis piscibus capiunt quarter' piscis vel caput vel unum denarium : & capiunt de qualibet navi vel batello venienti ad dictam portam Cestrie cum grossis piscibus vel salmonibus salsis vel rayes i : & de qualibet navi vel batello venienti cum allec' di' c : & de sum'agio equi cum caseo venienti i, ubi nichil capere debent. Dicunt eciam quod de rebus non venalibus ad nullam portam civitatis Cestrie aliquid capi debet nec eciam de venalibus & non venalibus per aquam ad dictam civitatem venientibus capi debet nec dare consuetum est.—*Tib.* 19, 20, 21 ; *Pentice Chartulary* 72.

Clamea Petri de Thornewton. Claim of Peter de Thornton.—¹

Petrus de Thornewton summonitus fuit ad respondendum domino comiti de placito quo warranto clamat pro se & heredibus suis esse soluti, liberi & quieti de omnibus sectis, comitatu, hundredo, portmote, & hallemote, de theolonio, passagio, stallagio, frithewico, tallagio, de assisis & summonicionibus & pro se & heredibus suis quietanciam de servientes Forestarios et Bedellos dicti domini comitis Cestrie pascendo, & operacionibus castelli & pontium & de omni consuetudine & exactione seculari & opere servili & etiam quo warranto clamat pro se et heredibus quod non respondeat de aliquo placito vel debito coram aliquibus nisi coram domino comite vel capitali iusticiario suo nisi placita & delicta [que] ad curiam ecclesiasticam pertineant, & pro se & heredibus habere unum liberum batellum in fluvio de Dee ad piscandum in eodem fluvio subtus pontem Cestrie & supra pontem & apud Etonam, & ubi aliquod liberum batellum piscatur die ac nocte cum flokenettes, draghnettes et stalnettes cum omni genere rethium & quod de piscibus quos ceperint voluntatem suam faciant & etiam pro se, &c., habere quandam furnum in terra sua infra civitatem Cestrie ad furnandum, capiendum & quietandum multuram in molendinis comitis de Dee ad usus suos proprios & familie sue in cujuscunque manus fuerit : & pro se & successoribus suis & hominibus suis omnibus in terris suis infra civitatem Cestrie ementibus & vendentibus, maxime autem in eisdem terris manentibus libertatem theolonii per aquas aut per terram totius comitatus infra civitatem Cestrie & extra de omnibus que emerunt aut vendiderunt & maxime de sale emendo in Wycis suis & quietanciam de auxiliis dandis & pro se heredibus et successoribus suis habere curiam suam liberam de omnibus placitis & querelis que in predictis terris & de hominibus in eis manentibus emergerunt nisi de placitis gladio domini comitis pertinentibus de quibus coram comite vel capitali iusticiario suo respondent . . . nullo placito respondere neque vic' Comitis neque alicui ballivorum suorum nisi coram Comite vel coram capitali Iusticiario suo ut predictum est. Et eciam pro se et heredibus suis quietanciam sect' port' Com' & judiciis inveniendis ad portas

¹ Descendant of Peter Clericus, Secretary of Earl Randle Blundeville, and ancestor of the Roters, Lords of Thornton-le-Moors.

in vigilia faciend' & hospicii alicui inveniend' & pro se et heredibus suis habere quietanciam theolonii & multure de blado suo ad victum suum & familie sue in molendinis Comitibus Cestrie contra gladium & dignitatem domini Comitibus, &c. Et predictus Petrus venit & quo ad predictas libertates viz., esse quietus de sect', com', hundred', portmot', hallemote, & de theolonio, passagio, stallagio, frithwico, & de assisis & sumonicionibus & de servient' forestar' & bedell', &c., pascend' & de operationibus castellorum & pontium & de omni consuetudine & exactione seculari & opere servili dicit quod Ranulphus quondam comes Cestrie per cartam suam concessit cuidam Petro clerico, proavo ipsius Petri de Thornton cujus heres ipse est, libertates illas tenendas sibi & heredibus suis in perpetuum, & profert hic eandem cartam sub nomine predicti Ranulphi que hoc testatur, &c. Et quo ad hoc quod clamat quietus esse de multura in molendinis predicti comitis Cestrie de omnibus bladibus suis ad opus suum proprium & familie sue, & quo ad omnes alias libertates superius clamas, excepta libertate habendi unum liberum batellum in fluvio de Dee ad piscandum in eodem, &c., dicit quod predictus Ranulphus quondam comes, &c., per aliam cartam suam concessit predicto Petro clerico heredibus & assignatis suis illas libertates in perpetuum, & profert hic cartam que hoc idem testatur : & quo ad predictam libertatem habendi predictum liberum batellum ad piscandum in forma predicta, dicit quod idem Ranulphus per aliam cartam suam concessit predicto Petro clerico & heredibus suis libertatem in forma predicta habendam, &c., reddendo inde annuatim ipsi Ranulpho & heredibus suis tres denarios argenti ad festum S. Joh'is Baptiste & profert hic cartam illam que hoc testatur et istis Warantis clamat omnes libertates predictas & super hoc dies datur ei.—*Tib* 22. ; *Pentice Chartulary* 76.

Claim of Robert de Bradford.—

Robertus de Bradford summonitus fuit ad respondendum domino comiti Cestrie de placito quo warranto ipse clamat pro se & heredibus suis habere piscariam in aqua de Dee juxta Bruardeshalgh, & etiam habere ballivam & exitus porte orientalis Cestrie cum domibus & edificiis superius & inferius ad portam illam spectantibus. Ac etiam molere bladum suum dominicum ad molendinum domini comitis Cestrie quieti de multura & de prestacione theolonii per totum comitatum Cestrie & servisie que vocatur "tolcester" dando Castro Cestrie, & similiter esse quietus de omni servicio seculari, sectis curie & comitatu & de omni alia actione, consuetudine & demanda, reddendo inde domino comiti Cestrie ad scaccarium suum ibidem unum denarium per annum ad festum Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptiste contra gladium & dignitatem domini comitis Cestrie, &c. Et predictus Robertus venit & quo ad omnes predictas libertatis dicit quod quidam Edwardus quondam rex Anglie, avus domini regis nunc, per cartam suam concessit easdem libertates quibusdam Henrico de Bradford & Roberto filio, avo ipsius Roberti, cujus heres ipse est habendum & tenendum sibi & heredibus suis imperpetuum, qui quidam Robertus filius fuit seisisus de eisdem & obiit seisisus, & de ipso Roberto descend', &c., cuidam Johanni filio & heredi, &c., de Johanne descend' jus, &c., ipso Roberto filio & heredi, &c., & profert hic eandem cartam sub nomine predicti Edwardi qui hoc idem testatur in hec verba : Edwardus, &c., Archiepiscopis, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod in recompensam duorum messuagiorum ducentarum & quindecim acrarum terre, sex acrarum prati & dimidietatis, viginti &

septem acrarum vasti, trium gardinorum, unius molendini, quarundem pisciarum, communis pasture, & aliorum aysiamentorum que Henricus de Bradford & Robertus filius ejus habuerunt in Bradeford in Foresta de la Mare: & que quidem mesuagia, terras, pratum, vastum, gardina, molendina, piscarias, pasturam cum aysiamentis & aliis pertinentiis suis ad triginta & unam libras, undecim solidos, & decem denarios per annum extenduntur. Et etiam que mesuagia, terras, pratum, vastum, gardina, molendina piscarias, pasturam cum aysiamentis & aliis pertinentiis suis sine aliquo retenemento iidem Henricus & Robertus pro se & heredibus suis quiet' reddiderunt in manus nostras, dedimus, concessimus & hac carta nostra confirmavimus eisdem Roberto & Henrico ducentas & quindecim acras terre & sex acras & duas partes unius acre prati cum pertinentiis & dominicis terris Castri nostri Cestrie in Bruardeshalgh, Marleston, & Lache infra divisas subscriptas inter fossatum nostrum quod vocatur Grendiche, & terram Ran' de Pincerna ex una parte & fossatum de Marleston, & metas & divisas de lyth ex altera parte & quandam piscariam de aqua de Dee juxta Bruardeshalgh & quandam seperalem pasturam que vocatur Saltgrees [Saltgrass] & communem pasturam per totam meram & marescum de Salteney, cum libero introitu & exitu ad eandem pasturam; & ballivam & exitus custodie porte nostre orientalis Cestrie cum domibus & edificiis superius & inferius ad portam illam pertinentibus, que quidem exitus & balliva ad quindecim marcas extenduntur per annum: & tres marcas redditus singulis annis percipiendas per manus Ricardi de Pulford tenentis nostri & heredum suorum, & quandam vacuam placeam terre in civitate Cestrie juxta domum Willelmi Organ habendum & tenendum ejusdem Roberto & Henrico & heredibus suis de nobis & heredibus nostris libere, quiete, bene, & in pace imperpetuum, reddendo inde nobis & heredibus nostris ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie in festo Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptiste unum denarium per annum pro omni servicio seculari, secta, curia, & comitatu & omni alia exactione, consuetudine & demanda. Concessimus etiam eisdem Roberto & Henrico & heredibus suis pro nobis & heredibus nostris gratia nostra speciali husbold & haybold in foresta nostra predicta, & quod habeant dominicos porcos suos in eadem foresta tempore personis quiete de panagio, & dominicum bladum suum ad molendina nostra de Dee molandum quiete de cultura: & quod de prestacione theolonii per totum comitatum nostrum Cestrie & servisie, que vocatur *Tolcester*, dando Castro nostro Cestrie imperpetuum sint quieti. Quare volumus & firmiter precipimus pro nobis & heredibus nostris quod predicti Henricus & Robertus & heredes sui habeant & teneant predicti terram, pratum, seperalem pasturam & communem pasturam cum libero introitu & exitu, ballivam exitus custodie orientalis porte predictae cum predictis domibus superius & inferius, & vacuam placeam, libere quiete bene & in pace imperpetuum reddendo inde nobis & heredibus nostris ad scaccarium nostrum Cestrie unum denarium per annum pro omni servicio seculari secta, curia, & com', &c. (ut supra). Hiis testibus Venerabilibus Patribus R[obert] Bathonwell' & A[nthony] Dunelmen', & Thoma Meneven' Episcopis, Edmundo, fratre nostro, comite Northff' & Marescallo Anglie, Humfredo de Bohun, comite Herfordie & Essex, Will'o de Bello Campo, comite Warrewek, Joh'e de Vescy, Ric'o de Brus, aliis. Dat' per manum nostram apud Bristol secundo die mensis Januarii, anno regni nostri terciodecimo. De quibus quidem libertatibus ipse & antecessores sui seisiti fuerunt a tempore quo non extitit memoria & eo warranto clamat ipse habere

libertates predictas, &c. Et Johannes de Delves, qui sequitur pro domino Comite, petit quod predictus Robertus ostendat & declaret Curie quomodo ipse & antecessores sui usi fuerint libertates illas & que & cujusmodi proficua ipsi clamant percipere virtute custodie ballive & exitus porte predictæ. Qui dicunt quo ad piscariam predictam ipse clamat pro se & heredibus suis piscare in aqua predicta cum omni genere rethium & instrumentorum ad pisces ibidem capiendum de quodam loco vocat *le Hulegh* usque *Wylkynspole* omni tempore anni. Et virtute ballive & exitus porte predictæ clamat habere de qualibet caretta cum sale intrante villam Cestrie per portam predictam quad' [¹_d] & in duobus nundinis civitatis Cestrie, viz., per duas septimanas ante festum Nativ. S. Joh'is Baptiste & per duas septimanas post idem festum, & per unam septimanam ante festum S. Michaelis & per unam septimanam post idem festum capiend' ad predictam portam duplicationem totius argenti quod capit ad eandem portam per annum extra predictas duas nundinas : et similiter ad habendum ad quamlibet portam trium aliarum portarum unum hominem durantibus predictis duabus nundinis capere idem feodum quod predictus Robertus capit ad portam sicut predictur, de qualibet drova bestiarum intrante vel exeunte ad dictam portam orientalem in dictis duabus nundinis iiii^d & si plures sint mercatores, quilibet eorum dabit iiii^d : de quolibet equo vel jumento pullano ob' : de qualibet caretta carbonum intrante ad dictam portam unum colebrond & in duabus nundinis unum colpogh : de quolibet summagio equi intrante ad dictam portam orientalem cum blado frumenti ad vendendum crescente extra comitatum Cestrie quad' : de qualibet caretta maeremii & longarum bordarum intrante ad dictam portam vendend' ob' : de qualibet caretta intrante cum cindulis tres cindulas, & eodem modo de lathis : de qualibet caretta tanni tres ryndes tanni : de qualibet caretta intrante cum plumbo, ferro, calibe ob' : de qualibet caretta bordarum unam bordam : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum cultellis unum nec pejorem nec meliorem : de quolibet summagio equi intrante vel exeunte ad dictam portam cujuscunque mercimonii ob' : de qualibet caretta intrante cum crokes ob', & de quolibet equo intrante cum crokes ob', vel tancard', de qualibet caretta cum ollis terreis unum ollam nec pejorem nec meliorem : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum ciphis unum ciphum nec pejorem nec meliorem : de qualibet caretta intrante cum busco unum ramum nec pejorem nec meliorem : de qualibet caretta rotarum intrante ad vendendum ob' : de qualibet caretta intrante cum herbis ad vendendum unum knyche : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum herbis unum botell : de qualibet caretta intrante cum turbis tres turbas : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum feno unum botell : de qualibet caretta intrante cum feno ad vendendum ob' : de qualibet caretta cordarum unam cordam : de quolibet summagio eorundem quad' : de qualibet caretta intrante vel exeunte cum aliquibus mercimoniis ob' : de qualibet caretta intrante cum polles unum nec pejorem nec meliorem : de quolibet homine intrante cum anguillis si numerus transeat sex unum, & si plures, nisi unum : de quolibet homine intrante cum pykes, bremes, luces, baars & quibuscunque piscibus marium seu stangnarum si numerus transeat sex unum, & si habeat plures nisi unum, & eodem modo de quibuscunque piscibus maris : & similiter de pertriciis, wodecokkes, teles, mandelardes (mallards), curlewes, herons, & de quibuscunque volatilibus. De quolibet summagio equi intrante cum baculis arcuum unum : de qualibet caretta intrante cum baculis arcuum unum, & similiter de arcubus que sunt

facte : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum discis tres : de quolibet homine intrante cum sarcina sua de discis, si numerus transeat sex, unum & si habeat plures, nisi unum : sic de doblers saucers : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum spones unum : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum baskettes unum : de quolibet homine intrante cum sarcina sua de pomis unum respon : & sic de piris, prunis, cerasis, nuces (sic), bolaces, blakberes streberes & acche-chornes, de qualibet caretta intrante cum pomis seu aliis predictis nominatis tres respons : de quolibet summagio equi intrante cum cepis vel allea unam raconam : de qualibet caretta cum cepis vel allea duas raconas : de quolibet homine intrante cum sarcina sua de cepe vel allea, v cepas vel v capita alii : de qualibet caretta intrante cum carbonibus maritimis unum carbonem : de quolibet homine intrante cum vangis si numerus transeat sex, unum, & si habeat plures, nisi unum, & sic de yeneles, shelles : de quolibet homine intrante cum baculis si numerus transeat sex, unum ; sic de panyars : de quolibet homine intrante cum summagio casei, unum : de quolibet homine intrante cum pygynes, costerels, tornels, homes, cartsadles, male-sadels, sheres, ciphis de veer, laumpes, urinals, pinchers de verro, ploghomes, yocwythe, tychewyth, felys, spokes, axultres, rongstaves, marles, & oxebowes, si numerus transeat vi, unum : de quolibet summagio lapidum crete, unum lapidem : de qualibet caretta de hoptrey, comptrey, si sint integre, nnum, si sint separatim, duo. De quolibet summagio equi intrante cum taseles de v clove, unum clove : de quolibet summagio hominis de taseles de qualibet clove, v cloves : de quolibet carnifice extra libertatem civitatis predictae commorante & veniente ad civitatem Cestrie cum carnibus ad vendendum quolibet die lune cum aliis ballivis unum denarium : de qualibet sarcina Wallenc' allec' vel panis super dorsum suum transeuntis versus Walliam cum aliis tribus ballivis ob' : De qualibet sarcina mulieris allec' vel panis super capud suum transeuntis versus Walliam, quad'. De qualibet seisina infra civitatem predictam facta cum aliis tribus ballivis iiiiid. Et ad molendum bladum suum dominicum ad molendinum domini Comitis Cestrie quietum de multura & de prestacione theolonii per totum comitatum Cestrie & servisie que vocatur *Tolcester* dando Castro Cestrie, & similiter esse quietus de omni servicio seculari, secta curie & comitatu & de omni alia exactione consuetudine & demanda, ita quod ipsi nec heredes sui ad aliquam curiam ipsius domini comitis vel Comitatus Cestrie non venient. De quibus quidem libertatibus & captionibus ipse & antecessores sui a tempore confectionis carte predictae seisiti fuerunt & eo warranto clamat ipse libertates predictas.—*Tib. 23 ; Pentice Chartulary 73.*

Duties granted 27 Edward III. for repair of the Walls and Pavement.—

Edwardus illustris, &c., dilecto et fideli suo Thome de Ferrariis justiciario suo Cestrie vel ejus locum tenenti ibidem ac dilecto clerico suo Johanni de Burnham Juniori Camerario suo Cestrie salutem. Quia ad reparac'onem et emendac'onem defectuum murorum et pavimenti civitatis nostre Cestrie concessimus dilectis nobis majori Ballivis et probis hominibus civitatis nostre Cestrie, quod a vi die Decembris anno Regni, &c., Anglie xxv^{to} usque ad finem quatuor annorum proxime sequentium plenarie doplet' capiant de rebus venalibus ad predictam civitatem venientibus consuetudines subscriptas, viz., de quolibet crannoco frumenti fabarum et pisorum et cujuslibet alterius bladi venalis unum obolum ; de quolibet crannoco farine et bras' venalis unum quadrantem ; de quolibet

crannoco salis venalis i quadrantem; de qualibet caretta salis venalis i denarium; de quolibet crannoco waide venalis ii denarios; de quolibet crannoco tanni venalis i quadrantem, de quolibet crannoco de Corkr' venalis i obolum; de xii crannocis quorumcumque carbonum venalium i denarium; de quolibet crannoco de Warreddo venali i quadrantem; de xii crannocis calcis venalis i obolum; de quolibet equo, equa, bove, vel vacca venali i obolum; de quolibet carcoss' bovis, vacce venali i obolum; de x ovibus, capris vel porcis venalibus i quadrantem; de quinque baconibus venalibus i obolum; de decem velleribus lane venalis i denarium, de quolibet coreo equi vel eque, bovis vel vacce, frisco salsito aut tannato ven' i quadrantem; de centena pellium omnium lanatarum, caprum cervorum, bissarum, damorum et damarum ven' i den'. de centena pellium agnorum capriolorum leporum cuniculorum vulpium catorum et squirellorum ven' i ob'; de qualibet mola ad molendinum ven' id; de quolibet sacco lane ven' iv denarios, de qualibet maisa allecis venalis i quadr'; de viginti grossis piscibus marinis ven' i ob'; de centum anguillis grossis aque dulcis ob'; de qualibet lampreda ven' ante pascha i quadr'; de quolibet salmone frisco venali i quadr'; de quolibet dolio vini et omeru ven' 2d; de quolibet dolio mellis ven' 3d; de quolibet summagio cinerum ven' i ob'; de quolibet summagio pannorum ven' i ob'; de quolibet panno de assisa integro ven' i ob', de viginti ulnis pannorum Hibernicorum gailwerth et Worthsted ven' i ob'; de viginti ulnis linei telii et cavenacii venalium i quadr'; de decem capellis de fulcro i quadr'; de quolibet tapeto ven' i quadr', de quolibet panno de serico cum auro, de samite diaspre et haudekyn i ob', de quolibet panno de serico sive auro et chef de cendale afforc' ven' i quadr'; de quolibet fallyngo hibernico ven' i quadr'; de qualibet navi venienti ad predictam civitatem carcata rebus venalibus iiii^d; de quolibet trussello pomorum venalium ducto per caretta ad eandem civitatem 2d; de quolibet summagio tanni vel aliarum rerum diversarum minutarum venalium ad eandem civitatem venientium i ob'; de benda ferri venali i ob'; de qualibet caretta ferri venalis id; de centum libris picee et resine ven' i ob', de pisa cepi, vucci, butiro et caseo ven' i ob'; de decem libris seminis de oyngenet ven' i ob'; de decem libris seminis porretti ven' iiii^d; de duobus millibus coparum ven' i quadr'; de octo shavis allei ven' i quadr', de quolibet millar' cindularum minutarum ven' i ob'; de qualibet caretta meremii ven' ad predictam civitatem veniente i ob'; de qualibet caretta cariante buscam ad eandem civitatem per ebdomadam i ob', de quolibet summagio busce per ebdomadam ven' i quadr', de duodecim fasciculis busce ven' venient' per aquam ad eandem civitatem id; de qualibet flota meremii ven' veniente ad eandem civitatem per aquam valoris v solidorum i ob', et valoris x solidorum id; de qualibet caretata tanni venalis i ob'; de quolibet milliar' clavorum ad crinilium domus ven' i quadr', de duobus milliaribus omnimodorum clavorum exceptis clavis ad caretta et ad crinilium domus ven' i quadr', de qualibet centena ferri ad equos et cloutorum ad caretta ven' i ob', de una loda de lodeware ven' i ob'; de quolibet pari bendarum ad rotas carette ligandum ven' i ob', de qualibet nona archa ven' i quadr', de quolibet milliar' discorum et platell' ven' lignorum i ob', de qualibet duodena cordarum ad apparatus navium ven' i quadr'; de quolibet milliar' cardinum ven' i quadr'; de quolibet trussello cujuscunque mercimonii excedente valorem ii solidorum ven' ad predictam civitatem veniente i quadr'; de qualibet duodena cordewainii, corneici et bascemii ven' i ob', de qualibet centena

stanni, eris et cupri ven' duos denarios, de qualibet carecta plumbi ven' duos denarios, de qualibet centena gladdorum aceri ven' i ob', de qualibet centena duri piscis marini ven' i ob'; de x petris canabi et lini ven' i quadr', de x lagenis olei et sagminis allecis ven' i ob'; de averio de pondere scilicet de centena id.; de duabus solidatis uniuscumque mercimonii quod non nominatur in istis literis i quadr'. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod dictos majorem Ballivos et probos homines civitatis predictae prefatas consuetudines usque ad finem dicti termini capere et denarios inde receptos in usus reparacionum et emendacionum predictarum per visum et testimonium vestrum fideliter convertere permittatis: Ita quod completo termino dictorum quatuor annorum predicto consuetudines omnino cessent et penitus deleantur. Et tu prefate camerarie noster sub sigillo nostro in custodia tua existente literas nostras patentes sub data dicte sexte diei super premissis dictis majori ballivos et probis hominibus habere facias in forma predicta. Et vos per presentes assignamus firmiter injungendo mandantes, quatenus ad hos quod denarios de prefatis consuetudinibus pervenientes in usus predictos fideliter convertantur supervideatis diligenter. Et hoc nullatenus omittatis. Data sub privato sigillo nostro London, vii die Februarii, anno, &c., Anglie xxvii^o et Francie xliii^o—*Miscell. Books—Augm. Off. Vol. 65. 25-39 Edward III.*

Sergeancy of Watergate granted by Agnes Balle to Richard de Stanlowe, 1316.—

Omnibus, &c. Agnes filia Will'i Balle de Cestr' salutem in domino Novoritis me remisisse . . . Ricardo filio Johannis de Stanlowe civi Cestrie totum jus meum & clameum quod habui vel aliquo modo habere potui in custodia porte aque civitatis Cestrie & in serjantia dicte porte pertinente cum universis pertinenciis suis habendum &c., Ric'o & heredibus suis vel suis assignatis libere, &c., cum universis libertatibus com'oditatibus & pertinentiis . . . serjancie spectantibus ubique imperpetuum. Ita quod . . . heredes mei iterum jur' aut clamium in custodia dicte porte aut in dicta serjancia dicte porte pertinenc' . . . vel vindicare potuerimus . . . Testibus Will'o de Doncaster tunc maiore Cestrie Ric'o le Lewet', Will'o Blound tunc vic', Hug' de Brichull, Alex' Hurel, Ric'o Rossel, Joh'e de Derisbur', Ric'o Reymound, & aliis. Data Cestrie die Mercurii prox' post festum S'i Cedde episcopi anno domini MCCC sexto decimo & anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi ix.

Sergeancy of the Watergate granted by Richard de Stanlowe to William, son of William de Doncaster, Sen., 1334.—

Sciant presentes & futuri quod ego Ric'us filius Johannis de Stanlowe civis Cestrie dedi concessi & hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Willelmo filio Will'i de Doncaster senioris & Alicie uxori sue omnes terras & tenementa subscriptas, viz., totam serjantiam meam de Watergatestrete civitatis Cestrie cum custodia porte de Watergate predictae civitatis & totam terram meam cum pertinentiis in Norgatestrete jacentem in latitudine inter terram Rogeri de Macclesfeld ex una parte & terram Ric'i de Whetelegh ex altera & extendit se in longitudine a regia strata de Norgatestrete pred' usque ad terram ejusdem Ric'i de Whetelegh in eadem civitate; & quatuordecim solidos annui redditus cum pertin' exenutes de toto illo tenemento cum pertin' quod Thomas le Marshall de ut . . . ather de me tenet ad feodi firmam extra portam orientalem, &c., habend' & tenend' omnes terras tenem' redditum & serjantiam & custodiam porte cum

omnibus suis libertatibus commoditatibus aisiamendis & pertinenciis supradictis tenementis redditui serjancie & custodie porte ubique spectantibus prefatis Will'o & Alicie & eorum legitime inter ipsos procreatis de capitalibus d'nis feodorum illorum libere quiete bene & in pace per servicia inde deliberar' de jure inperpetuum. Et si contingat quod predicti Will'us & Alicia obierint sine heredibus inter ipsos legitime procreatis quod absit omnes terre & tenementa redditus serjantia & porte custodia cum omnibus suis pertinen' ut predictum est remaneat rectis heredibus ipsius Alicie tenend' in feodo & hereditate imperpetuum. Et ego prefatus Ric'us fil' Johannis de Stanlowe & heredes mei omnes predictas terras & tenemen' & redditum & serjantiam & custodiam porte cum omnibus pertin', &c., prefatis Will'o & Alicie & eorum heredibus, &c., ac eciam rectis heredibus ipsius Alicie in forma supradicta contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In cujus, &c. Hiis testibus Will'o filio Petri Brichull clerico tunc majore Cestr', Ric'o le Bruyn & Will'o de Basingwerke tunc vicecomitibus Cestrie, Ric'o le Lewede, Ric'o Russel, Rogero le Blunt, Johanne de Deresber', Henrico Hurel, Warino le Blound, Rogero de Macclesfeld, Alano de Whetelegh, Will'o de Boneye, & aliis. In dorso, Ista carta irrotulata in placitis Portmote Cestrie tentis die Lune prox. post festum S. Petri ad Vincula a^o regni regis E. filii Regis Edwardi xviii., 1324.

ADDENDA

REFERENCE has been made (page 250) to the reeds gathered on Stanlaw Marsh for the purpose of covering the sheds set up in front of the Abbey during the Midsummer Fair. In the Charter granted by John de Lacy, Constable of Chester, who founded Stanlaw Abbey, it is directed that reeds were not to be gathered without the express permission of the Convent of Stanlaw.—“Nullus vicinorum prefati cenobii in pastura “marisci quod dicitur Ryshemersch co'ione' de jure vel debito “sine gratuita voluntate Abbatis aut fratrum predicti Loci habere “debet. Scil. *neque Abbas vel monachi Cestrie in festivitate sancti “Johannis ad Nundinas in predicto marisco herbam vel juncum ad “logus suas tegendas ex jure vel debito vel aliqua consuetudine sine “bona voluntate aut gratuita permissione Abbatis aut fratrum loci “Benedicti habere debent; quia nunquam temporibus meis aut “antecessorum meorum alio modo hoc habuerunt.”*¹

In a grant to Stanlaw Abbey, 1^d. is to be given as Londegable. “Reddendo pro predicto custilagio unum denarium ad Londegable “pro omni servicio seculari et demanda,”² and this is explained as a kind of land-tax or ground rent.

¹ Whalley Coucher Book, page 6. Chetham Society, Vol. X.

² Whalley Coucher Book, page 360.

The following extracts from the Treasurers' Books and Muragers' Accounts will be interesting as specimens:

37-38 Henry VI. [1458-9]. Compotus Ricardi Raynford et Radulphi Marshall Thesaurariorum civitatis Cestrie factus coram Bartholomæo Loyalton, Rogero Ledesham, Roberto Bruyn, Henrico Hirn, Thoma Cotyngnam, Thoma Fernys, Johanne Herford et Thoma Waltham auditoribus assignatis per Johannem Sotheworth maiorem eiusdem civitatis, pro anno sui maioratus ibidem, et per xxiii^{or} et xlvi^{io} homines dicte civitatis ad compitum predictum audiendum de omnimodis receptis in eodem officio a die Veneris proximo post festum Sancti Dionisii, anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti 37, usque eundem diem Veneris anno regni ejusdem Regis xxxviii. Arreragia - - - - -

OMNIS COMPITUS.—In primis onerant se de xiii^{li} vs. iij^d. de communi redditu dicte civitatis recepto per tempus predictum prout patet per Rentale eiusdem; Item onerant se de xlⁱ xiii^s. iij^d. de personis intrantibus franchisesiam dicte civitatis infra tempus predictum; Item de vi^s. viii^d. de denariis receptis pro errore corrigendo de Johanne Dymock infra idem tempus; Summa totalis Recepte per tempus predictum, xxv^{li} vs. iij^d.

PETITIO ALLOCANDI.—Idem computantes petunt allocari de Solucionibus subscriptis factis per tempus predictum; Nicholao Danyell maiori per idem tempus, xliⁱ vi^s. viii^d.; Item Joh'i Hawardyn pro consilio per idem tempus, xl^s.; Item Rad'o Bold pro consilio suo per idem tempus, xx^s.; Item Ric'o Carlyle pro consilio suo per idem tempus, xiii^s. iij^d.; Item Thome Godefelow pro consilio suo per idem tempus, xli^s. iij^d.; Item Hugoni Dutton gladifero per idem tempus, xl^s.; Item Johanni Styche sergeant per idem tempus, xl^s.; Item eisdem Thesaurariis pro labore suo per idem tempus, xiii^s. iij^d.; Item pro reparacione domus Thesaurarii eiusdem civitatis, xx^s.; Item pro vino domino Stanley, vs. iij^d.; Item pro tenementis Johannis Maynwaryng in decasu in . . . lane, xvii^d.; Item pro Philippo Aldersey, iij^d.; Summa totalis petitionis allocandi, xxliⁱ xiii^s. viii^d.; Et remanet in manibus Thesaurariorum, iij^{li} x^s. viii^d.

38-39 Henry VI. [1459-60]. Compotus Ricardi Raynford et Radulphi Marshall Thesaurariorum, &c. Arreragia - - - - -

OMNIS COMPUTANT'—In primis onerant se de communi redditu dicte civitatis, xiii^{li} iiii^s. xi^d.; Item de redditu de novo assess', ix^s. ix^d.; Item arrerag' hominum intrantium franchisesiam, ix^{li}.; Item de xii hominibus intrantibus franchisesiam hoc anno iiii^{li}.; Item de erroribus per Joh'em Byrom et Henricum Kynge, vi^s. viii^d. et iij^s. iij^d.; Summa totalis, xxviii^{li} iij^s. viii^d.

ALLOCACIO.—In feodo majoris, xliⁱ vi^s. viii^d.; Item, Joh'i Hawardyn, xl^s.; Item Ran'o Bold, xx^s.; Item Ric'o Carlyle, xiii^s. iij^d.; Item Thome Godefelow, xiii^s. iij^d.; Item Hugoni Dutton, xl^s.; Item Joh'i Stich, xl^s.; Item pro ferro pro Gridelo, iiii^s.; Item Thesaurariis, xiii^s. iij^d.; Item pro factura de Gridele, iij^s. v^d.; Item Roberto Lokker, ii^s. x^d.; Item pro iij^{li}. plumbi, ii^d.; Item pro ceresio, iij^{li}.; Summa Allocat', xxliⁱ xvii^s. iij^d.

Recepta Muragii civitatis Cestrie per Will^m. Thomsson et Will^m. Snede, Muragiatores a die Veneris prox' post festum Si Nicholai Episcopi [6 Dec.], 17 Edward IV., usque eundem diem Veneris per unum annum integraliter revolutum.

[The amount taken at the Eastgate is put first, followed by that taken at the Bridgegate.]

Die Sabbati prox' post festum S^c Lucie Virginis, 13 Dec., Eastgate ii^d.

Bridgegate xii^d. ; in Vigilia S. Thome Apostoli, 21 Dec., iii^d, x^d. ; in festo S. Joh'is Evangeliste et post festum Natalis domini, 27 Dec., —, —; prox' post festum Circumcisionis, 1 Jan., —, ii^d. ; S. Hillarii, 13 Jan., ii^d, ii^d. ; in Vigilia Conversionis S. Pauli, 25 Jan., —, vi^d. ; in Vigilia S. Brigide, 1 Feb., xi^d, viii^d. ; prox' post festum Purif., 2 Feb., v^d, x^d. ; Mercatores, vii^s. viii^d. ; in prima Septimana x^{le} [quadragesime] Eastgate viii^d, Bridgegate viii^d. ; Watergate xx^d. ; Mercatores ix^s. iiiii^d. ; Invenç. S. Crūcis, in secunda septimana, 3 May, Eastgate —, Bridgegate xv^d. ; Mercat. xvi^s. ii^d. ; Vigilia Pentecoste —, xv^d. ; Vigilia S^e Trinitatis —, xviii^d. ; prox' post festum Corporis Christi —, xiii^d. ; S. Augustini, 26 May, iii^d, ii^s. iiiii^d. ; S. Bonifacii, 5 June, iii^d, ii^s. vi^d. ; S. Barnabe, 11 June, v^d, ii^s. x^d. ; prox' ante Nativ. S. Joh. Bapt., 24 June, xv^d, ii^s. ; prox' post festum Nat. S. Joh. Bapt. cum feriis iiiii^d,⁽¹⁾ viii^s. viii^d.⁽²⁾ ; Watergate ii^s. x^d. ; prox' post festum Ap'lorum Petri et Pauli, 29 June, Eastgate iiiii^d, Bridgegate ii^s. iiiii^d. ; Watergate ix^d. ; Translacionis S. Thome, 7 July, Eastgate iiiii^d, Bridgegate ii^s. iiiii^d. ; S. Swithinii, 15 July, ii^d, xviii^d. ; S. Jacobi Ap'li, 25 July, —, ii^s. ; S. Petri ad Vincula, 1 Aug., ii^d, xx^d. ; ante festum S. Laurencii, 10 Aug., —, xx^d. ; Assumpcionis S. Marie, 15 Aug., —, xxi^d. ; festum S. Barthante Ap'li, 24 Aug., —, xi^d. ; post festum S. Barth'ei —, viii^d. ; ante Nat. Beate Marie, 8 Sept., —, xii^d. ; post ditto, ii^d, x^d. ; prox' post festum Exalt' S. Crucis, 14 Sept., ix^d, viii^d. ; S. Math'i Ap'li, 21 Sept., —, x^d. ; S. Mich. cum feria, 29 Sept., ii^s, ii^s. x^d. ; S. Dionysii, 9 Oct., —, viii^d. ; S. Mich. in Monte Tumba, 16 Oct., iii^d, vi^d. ; Northgate iiis. iii^d. ; S. Simonis et Jude, 28 Oct., Eastgate iii^d, Bridgegate xiii^d. ; ante festum Omnium Sanctorum, 1 Nov., —, vi^d. ; post ditto, vi^d, vi^d. ; S. Martini in Yeme, 11 Nov., iiiii^d, iiiii^d. ; S. Edwardi Regis —, x^d. ; S. Andree, 30 Nov., —, xii^d. ; ante festum S. Nich. Episcopi, 6 Dec., —, x^d. ; post festum S. Nich. Episcopi —, i^d. ; S. Lucie, 13 Dec., —, ii^d. ; Stephani, 26 Dec., i^d, —; Circumcisionis, 1 Jan., ii^d, —; Ep'hie domini, 6 Jan., iiiii^d, ii^d. ; Hillarii, 13 Jan., nil, nil ; Fabiani, 20 Jan., ii^d, ii^d. ; Convers' S. Pauli, 25 Jan., —, —; Purificationis, 2 Feb., ii^d, iiiii^d. ; S. Scolastic, 10 Feb., —, ii^d. ; S. Valentini, 14 Feb., ii^d, v^d. ; ia Septimana x^{le} (quadragesime) ; ii^a Septimana x^{le} vi^d, viii^d. ; iii^a Septimana x^{le} iiiii^d, iii^d. ; iv^a Septimana x^{le} ii^d, iii^d. ; v^a Septimana x^{le} ii^d, iii^d. ; Vigilia Pasche ii^d, ii^d. ; post clausum Pasche —, —; ante festum Tiburcii, 23 April, —, —; Philippi et Jacobi, 1 May, iiiii^d, vi^d. ; ante festum Ascencionis ii^d, ii^d. ; post festum Ascencionis i^d, ii^d. ; in Vigilia S. Trinitatis ii^d, iiiii^d. ; post festum S. Trinitatis —, —; S. Barnabe, 11 June, —, —; in festo Nat. S. Joh'is Bapte, 24 June, ii^s, iii^s. ; post festum S. Petri, 29 June, xvi^d, viii^d. ; post festum Translationis S. Thome, 7 July, iiiii^d, iiiii^d. ; in festo S. Swithini, 15 July, viii^d, vi^d. ; S. Marie Magdalene, 22 July, iii^d, iiiii^d. ; S. Jacobi Ap'li, 25 July, i^d, iii^d. ; S. Oswaldi, 5 Aug., —, —; S. Laurencii, 10 Aug., iii^d, vi^d. ; Assumpcionis Beate Marie, 15 Aug., vi^d, vi^d. ; S. Bartholomei, 24 Aug., xiii^d, xv^d. ; S. Egidii Abbatis, 1 Sept., ii^d, iii^d. ; S. Mich. Archangeli, 29 Sept., ii^d, iii^d. ; S. Fidis Virginis, 6 Oct., —, —; Transl. S. Edwardi, 13 Oct., i^d, i^d. ; S. Luce Evangeliste, 18 Oct., ii^d, iiiii^d. ; S. Crispini et Crispiniani, 25 Oct., i^d, ii^d. ; S. Martini, 11 Nov., iiiii^d, ii^d. ; S. Hugonis, 17 Nov., iiiii^d, —; S. Nicholai, 6 Dec., —, viii^d. ; Northgate ob. ; Joh'es Wilkynsone pro firma portarum de Watergate et Northegate per totum annum vi^s. viii^d.

(1) De feria ii^s. et de feria Ap'lorum Petri et Pauli ii^s. ; (2) de feria iii^s. et de feria Apostolorum Petri et Pauli vi^s. viii^d.

The weekly receipts for another year of the same reign are as follows, the first sum being for the Eastgate, the second for the Bridgegate :—

Die Sabbati prox' post festum Sⁱ Edwardi, Eastgate ii^d, Bridgegate xxiii^d ; die Sabbati, &c., Sⁱ Luce iiii^s iii^d, xxiii^d ; in festo Simonis et Jude iiii^s ii^d, xxiii^d ; Omnium Sanctorum iis^s vi^d, iis^s i^d ; Sⁱ Martini in Yeme iiii^s vii^d, xxiii^d ; Sⁱ Edi Archiepiscopi iiii^s ii^d, iis^s v^d ; in Festo S^e Katerine iiii^s viii^d, xxiii^d ; prox' post festum S. Andree iis^s v^d, xx^d ; Conceptionis Beate Marie iiii^s vi^d, xxvi^d ; S^e Lucie iis^s vii^d, xx^d ; in vigilia Natalis Domini iiii^s, xx^d ; in festo Epiphanie v^d, xiv^d ; post festum Epiphanie iiii^d, xiv^d ; S^e Prisce xiv^d, xiv^d ; Conversionis S. Pauli xx^d, xiv^d ; Purificationis Beate Marie xix^d, xiv^d ; ante festum S. Valentini xx^d ; no further particulars given of the takings at the Bridgegate. Post festum S. Valentini iis^s ; Cathedre S. Petri iiii^s ii^d ; in festo S. Cedde iis^s ; in prima septimana quadragesime, scilicet ix die Marcii iv^s ; secunda septimana iv^s ; 3^a Sept. iiii^s vi^d ; 4^a Sept. iiii^s ii^d ; 5^a Sept. iiii^s ii^d ; in vigilia Pasche — ; prox' post clausum Pasche — ; prox' ante festum App. Philippi et Jacobi iiii^s ; post festum Inventionis S^e Crucis iis^s iii^d ; post festum S. Joh'is ante Portam Latinam xiv^d ; ante festum Dunstani, viz., xviii die Maii viii^d ; post festum Ascensionis viii^d ; in vigilia Pentecoste, i Junii, iis^s vi^d ; in vigilia Trinitatis, 8 Junii, ii^d ; prox' post festum Corporis Christi xv^d ; in vigilia S. Joh'is Baptiste xvii^d ; die Lune in festo Nativ' Joh'is Baptiste vs. viii^d ; in festo App. Petri et Pauli iiii^s ; prox' post festum Petri et Pauli ii^d ; post festum Translationis S. Thome Martini ix^d ; in festo Margarete iv^d ; post festum Sⁱ Jacobi Apostoli, viii^d ; post festum S. Petri quod dicitur ad Vincula, nil ; in festo S. Laurencii, ix^d ; post festum Assumpcionis, xiv^d qd. ; in festo Bartholomei Apostoli, vi^d ; post festum Decollacionis S. Johannis Baptiste xii^d ; in vigilia Nativitatis Beate Marie—in festo exaltacionis Crucis, xxii^d ; in festo S. Matthei, xxi^d ; in vigilia S. Michaelis iiii^s ; Ante festum S. Dionisii, xxi^d.

The following deed is interesting as giving the name from which Bunce Street is derived, the name of Randle Blundeville's nurse, and amongst the witnesses an early mayor, and William of Coventry, probably a relation of Walter of Coventry, mayor in 1260 :—

Omnibus, &c., Andreas Bunte salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse, &c., Deo et beate Marie et Abbati et conventui de Deulacres ad opus vestiarii de Deulacres totam terram meam in civitate Cestrie jacentem juxta vicum qui ducit versus castellum de feodo Rad'i filii Simonis in latum et longum, scilicet a terra que fuit Reginaldi fabri usque ad terram que fuit Anketil de Pulford juxta chiminum qui ducit versus castellum, quam terram Ric' Bunte frater meus senior emit de Alexandro clerico filio Wymarce quondam nutricis Ranulphi [comitis] Cestrie, et mihi dedit, &c., habendum, &c., quiet' ab omni servicio seculari preter vi^d. domino David de Monte Alto ad quem sp——m Rad. fil. Simonis quondam domini predicti feodi annuatim reddend', &c. Hiis testibus Ric'o clerico tunc majore Cestrie, Adam Godweyt, Will' de Covintre, Rob. Russel, Nichol' pellipar' et aliis.—*Eaton MSS., Hen. III., 21.*

Another deed (Hen. III., 24) is a grant by Richard de Hellesby to Roger de Molendinis of land lying between the land of Alexander Harre and the land of Reginald Erneis in Bruge Stret towards the bridge, extending to the land of Robert de Pulford. The witnesses are Richard Clericus, then Mayor, Robert Mercenar', Sheriff, Philip, then Clerk of Chester, Robert de Molendinis, Alex'. Hurel, Thomas de Bouhton, Peter le

Roter, Lord of Thornton, Matthew de Moldeworth, Robert Corbyn, and many others. In C. A. J., 2, 160, Mr. H. Taylor mentions in a deed *Alexander Lone Harre*, which would be a lane or passage belonging to the above-mentioned Alexander Harre. See also Whalley Coucher Book, 351, Charter of Roger de Douneville, and that of John de Bacford, where the land of Alexander Harre is stated to be in *venella que se extendit de Brugge Strete versus ecclesiam S. Martini*.

The large map of Chester is from G. Braun's "*Civitates Orbis terrarum*," published at Cologne in six volumes (in three) between 1572 and 1618, with notes in Latin. He was assisted by Remigius Hogenburg, who engraved many of Christopher Saxton's Maps of English Counties. In a later edition, with notes in French, certain figures are introduced similar to those in Blaeu's Maps. This map presents a bird's-eye view of the city, sketched from the south-west. 1. One special feature is that it represents the Dee as sweeping round close up to the Watergate, and thence running parallel to the wall as far as the New or Water Tower, which is shown as surrounding it completely and passing under the two arches of the wall connecting the Tower with the main wall. In this, Braun's Map corresponds, to a certain extent, with that drawn by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, 1580, but differs from that by Speed, a native of Farndon, who published his map in 1610. 2. It shows the "town ditch," or fosse (so often referred to in Elizabethan times) made during the Barons' Wars (cf. page 17). Commencing below the Newgate, it extends along the line of the North Wall to the Water Tower. In deeds of 1312, buildings are mentioned as being "*extra fossatum muri*"; St. John's Lane, in 1321, extends "*usque ad fossatum subtus murum*." 3. It shows the "faire stone-bridge, built upon eight arches," spoken of by Speed, "at eyther end whereof is a gate with portcullis," eight watch towers and three posterns, the Ship-gate, the Bars, and an archway through which it has been supposed that water is flowing, but which on comparison with other maps is seen to open out on to the pathway along the river side. There is a clear way round inside the Walls, except in the Abbey Quarter and between the Eastgate and Newgate, and the Walls are embattled. 4. The Rood Eye has on it the rood or cross on a base of four steps (see also Speed's Map), and the High Cross is shown plainly in front of St. Peter's. 5. It marks, what is proved abundantly by entries in the Chester Records, the large number of gardens and open spaces within the circuit of the Walls. It may here be noted that one garden in Foregate Street, "near a lane called Edeslone," was called a vineyard, 20 Richard II., 1396, "*parcellum gardini vocatum le vyneyard*." 6. The gallows at Boughton, the enclosures round St. Giles' Hospital, St. Michael's, St. Bride's, St. John's, and the Earl's ruined house in Handbridge, are carefully set forth. 7. In St. Werburgh's Quarter, which is walled off, the Bishop's house and the Dean's House are given. 8. The ruined Church of the Friars, with its tall spire, is figured in White Friars, but there are no traces of St. Chad's, showing that it had disappeared before Elizabeth's reign.

p. 4.—William, Baron of Halton and Constable of Chester, was son of Nigel, first Baron of Halton, and founded Runcorn Priory, 1133. Eustace who was slain at Coleshill in 1157, married his elder daughter, Agnes, and succeeded in right of his wife as fourth Baron of Halton. Eustace's grandson, John, was the founder of Stanlaw Abbey, and his great grandson, Roger, (nicknamed "Hell" by the Welsh) effected the remarkable

rescue of Earl Randle at Rhuddlan, described on page 12. Roger took the name "de Lacy" in 1194 on the death of his kinsman, Robert de Lacy. His son John, by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Hawisia, Randle Blundeville's sister, succeeded to the Earldom of Lincoln on his mother-in-law's death.

p. 11.—Walter de Lasci, described by Matthew Paris as "the most eminent of all the Nobles of Ireland," was the sixth Baron Lacy, and son of Hugh, fifth Baron, "one of the conquerors of Ireland." Hugh went over to Ireland in 1171 with Henry II., and was appointed to assist Prince John in his government of Ireland (pages 6 and 7). He was killed in 1186, and his Irish possessions were divided between his two sons Walter and Hugh. Walter did not, however, take possession of Meath until 1194. Some trouble arose between him and King John; his English and Irish estates were taken from him, but the English lands were restored in 1213, and the Irish property (except Drogheda) in the following year. He died 1241.

pp. 17 and 256.—Bagg-lane is thus referred to in King's Vale Royal, p. 23:—"Nearer to the North-gate on the same side lyeth Barn-lane, from which goeth another towards the West wall of the city, called Oxe-lane, and from it towards the Northgate is Bagg-lane."

p. 51.—The law prohibiting liveries was enforced against certain citizens of Chester in 1583, when the following presentments are recorded in the Mayor's Book of that year: Robertus Leche et Joh'es Watkin, cives Cestrie, quia utuntur tunicis vocatis *Liveries* Decani Cestrie: Robertus Horne civis quia utitur tunica vocata *liverie* de Archdeacon Rogers: Thomas Carter, tailor, Joh'es Halliwall, Robertus Smith quia utuntur tunicis Henrici Comitis Darby. Thomas Mercer, Robert Poole, William Fletcher, Alex. Colde, are presented for wearing the liveries of Sir Christopher Hatton, K^t; John Jeffrey that of Richard Calveley, gentleman: Robert Browne, Ralph Calveley, Hughe Lloid that of John Dutton, Esquire: Another person that of John Poole, Esq. The Justing Croft is mentioned in Arley deeds of 21 Edward IV., 1462, and 20 Henry VIII., 1529.

p. 99.—William Muntor received from Randle Blundeville a grant in fee, under the same conditions as those recited in page 99, of the Garden and Orchard at the Castle with their messuages and appurtenances and livery for one man in the Earl's house at Chester, "suum resting tre," and the residue of the apples after the shaking of the trees "in my garden and the garden *to be made* in the castle ditch." The witnesses are Randle de Meyngaryng, Philip de Orreby, Robert son of Pigot, Robert Patric, Peter Clerk and Ronald of Chester.—*W. R. R.*, 1, 357.

Robert de Raby received as Gardener iii^d. per diem, amounting in the year to £4 11s. od.—*Ministers' Accounts*, 771.

The same accounts inform us that two Welsh hostages were confined in the Castle for several years—their names appear in the accounts of 29 Edward I., and as late as 2 Edward III., Traherne ap Howel ap Rys, and Lewelin ap Gronou ap Helin. They received a daily allowance of 2^d. each for their food, and Traherne ap Howel who was still in prison, 5-6 Edward III., is allowed x^s. for his robe at Christmas, while Adam de Swinesherd, *narrator*, and John de Lancaster, *narrator*, have at the same time two robes each or 40^s. It is noteworthy that other prisoners, Patrick de Monte Alto, Hugh de Loghore, Andrew de Morrunia, and Matthew de

Hay, Scotsmen taken in Dunbar Castle and imprisoned in Chester Castle, received each the higher rate of iii^d . a day, amounting in the year to £13 7s. 3d.

p. 100.—Item for timber bought at Overton for certain work to be done in the great kitchen of the Castle to hang up the Earl's larder, with brushwood in great quantity to burn under the same to dry it, xxviii^s viii^d . Item for divers expenses in repairing the roof of the great chapel of the Castle destroyed on the Vigil of the Pentecost, in the thirtieth year; Wages of Carpenters and Plumbers; Wood from Ewlowe; New lead used with the old; the work carried on under the superintendence of Richard the Engineer, xiii^l xiv^d . Item for great beams of timber to be placed in the roof of the said Chambers, viz., the great new chamber and another great chamber between the Chapel and the Hall, to strengthen the same roofs now fallen (*in casu nunc existencium*). Mason's wages making stone corbels in the walls of the same for tenons to support the beams, cxv^s iii^d . Item for work in strengthening the Chapel in the inner bailey, xlvi^s viii^d . William de Kentesdale, carpenter and other workmen for cleansing the well in the outer bailey, and making a new bucket for the same well—iron and carpentry.

Et pro emendacione cooperture claustrii juxta magnam capellam et reparac'one tabularum dormiencium magna aula, sperarum et lectionum in capella et aliorum hujus defectuum et pro bordis et clavis et meremio et pro clavibus et serruris pro diversis cameris et pro mundacione earundem camerarum contra adventum consiliar' domini principis, et pro reparac'one diversorum defectuum cementar' in magna capella et in parva capella et super magnam novam cameram et pro reparac'one plumbarie super eandem magnam cameram, xxxvi^s ij^d .

For the carriage of stones from the Quarry outside the Northgate to the Castle, lime, and making iron bars for the window of the Great Kitchen of eighteen pieces of iron out of the Prince's store, iii^l x^s xix^d ob. Benedict de Staundon and Humphrey de Cestria for different timber bought of them *de prisâ Castri Cestrie* for the different steps (p. 100), and for shingles and other timber by Master John Burgoillon for the roofing of the Hall and chambers and kitchen, and for the carriage of the same by water from Overton to Chester. De aqua usque infra castrum et pro portag. et custodia ejusdem meremii, iv^l ii^s o^d $\frac{1}{2}$. To Brother Thomas le Plumer, Monk of Cumbermere, removing the old lead torn and perforated in several places, over the great tower in the inner bailey, and placing (*fundanti et ponenti*) new lead on the same tower, xiv^s . For his wages (*pro vadiis suis et garcionis sui per xxi dies Novemb—Dec.*)

Humphrey de Cestria for various nails (*diversis clavis ferri vocat' spikyng, bord-nail, schingel-nail, last-nail, and led-nail*), xxvi^s xi^d $\frac{1}{2}$. For a great cord for drawing water from the Castle well, vii^s . To Robert the Coppersmith, making a bucket for drawing water from the well, iiii^d .—*Ministers' Accounts*, 771, 29-32 Edward I.

For various expenses in repairing the bridge of the outer bailey of the Castle, and making good various defects in the chamber above the Treasury, wages of Carpenter, &c., iii^l xvii^s .—*Ministers' Accounts*, 13-14 Edward I.

p. 146.—Add to list of Priors of the Dominicans, *Matthew Eves*, 1473.—*W. R. R.*

p. 155.—*Ministers' Accounts*, 771-11., 29 Edward I., give — Byrk-henede as *custos* of St. John's Hospital.

p. 160.—For *valde innem* (?) read *valde juvenem*.

p. 196.—The court of portmote is mentioned in a Charter of Stanlawe Abbey temp. Henry III. "*me in pleno portmoto Cestrie remisisse*," and the Abbot's hallmote, between 1228 and 1240, during the Abbacy of Walter Pynchebeke (*in pleno hallimote domini Abbatis Cestrie*).

p. 231.—Howel ap Oweyn Voil was kinsman and heir of William Boydell, and owner of the manor of Dodleston.—*IV. R. R.*, 1-499.

p. 242.—Richard of St. Edmunds was the eminent Richard de Bury, Rector of St. Mary's-on-the-Hill, and afterwards Bishop of Durham, Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor of England.

p. 244.—Read in Note 2. *Hec indentura facta die Jovis prox' post festum S. Gregorii . . . Ricardum le Lewode . . . turri de Benewaldesthorn usque in filum aque . . . qui quidem murus super tur . . . collocatus — defendere possint atrobique*. Page 245 note, *Rogerum de Daresbury . . . qui simul cum predicto Joh'e et eodem . . . majore et civibus hiis scriptis . . . posuerunt*.

p. 349.—**Corpus Christi Light.** 14 Edward IV. Mem. that controversies have arisen between the bowers and the fletchers of the City of Chester on that one partie, and the cowpars on that other partie, for the beryng lights in procession with thaire lights on Corpus Day. Referred to John Sotheworth, Mayor, for decision. Whereupon, 3 September the said Corpus Day ye next ensuyng, he hath herde the grevaunce and complaynts of aither of the said parties by gode deliberacion, and the said maire by the advice of dyvers of the brethern hath ordenet, demed and awardet the saide parties to be gode frendes of and for all the premysses. Also he hath ordenet and awardet that the saide Cowpers and their successors shall bere thaire lights yerely, iii lightes on that on side of the pavement and iii on that op' from Saint Marie Kirke upon ye hill of ye Cety unto the Colege of Saint Johns, next before the lights of the said Fletchers and Bowers, and the said Bowers and Fletchers evenly to bere thair lights next to the said Cowpers by the said award. Yeven the thiridde day of September in the yere aforesaid.

p. 368-9.—In addition to the surnames and names of trades given, the following are found among Chester deeds: Thomas le Sauterer, Hugh le Panyermaker, William le Cappemaker (4 Ric. II.), Roger Hobbessone (22 Ric. II.), John de Hebbe, Sporiour, John Crethyn, Margareta la Smale, Alicia de Hunkylowe, Robert le Stedemaker, Thomas Swordes, Johanna Sartynant, Margareta le Wolf, Roger le Goldyng, John Goddeshelpe, Matthew le Suke de Northgate Street, Johanna le Spencer, John Grey-stoke, Margeria le Ferrou, Hopkyn le Ferrou, William Boge, barbour (all of Henry IV.). A tailor of 1475 has the suggestive name of John Pyncheware. In 27 Henry VI., Janyn Frenshmon, Pynchebek, Wildgreffe. In 15 Edward IV., Johanna Accavite, Margareta Swartebank, Margeria Shotilworth, Cecilia Thomasdoghtur, William Maceskrymer, Katerina Stayner, John & Eliz. Sawyer, Elizabeth Ireland, Agnes Neleson. 16 Edward IV., Oliverus Dogge de Stokport, and Elizabeth Huggynsdoghter are found. Still earlier we have in Randle Blundeville's time a family of Sarracens (Robert Sarracenus, Ralph, Gilbert, William, Stephen), pointing to a connection with the Crusaders, and several with the name Paganus. The names of pardoners occur in connection with assaults and evil living in the reign of Edward IV. and Richard III. Thus Robert Barco, pardoner, is bound over 12 Edward IV., to keep the peace to Richard Harper, and

2-3 Richard III. Robert Willesone and David Johnsone, pardoners, and in 12 Henry VII., John Broghton are similarly bound. Robert White, pardoner, is fined xii^d. for an assault upon Thomas Lewis, and also convicted of keeping a common brothel (commune lupanar) in 15 Edward IV., and again, with twelve others, in 16 Edward IV. He is also indicted for forestalling salt, eggs, cheese and butter.

These pardoners paid the churchwardens for the privilege of selling their indulgences to the parishioners, and in the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary-on-the-Hill in 1536, 1537, are entries of such payments—Received of two pardoners, viii^d.; of a pardoner of St. Chad, ii^d.; of a pardoner of our Lady Rounsevale (Rouncevall, a priory near Charing Cross), iii^d.; of a pardoner of St. John's Friary, iii^d. In 1564, Thomas Stapleton, Mayor of Macclesfield, complains to the Queen's Commissioner for Causes Ecclesiastical in the diocese of Chester, that a pardoner came, who, contrary to the Queen's majesties pleasure and the word of God, blessed the people and used such ceremonies as are now forbidden and abolished.

p. 495.—The grant of the fee farm of the city to the Earl of Arundel with £100 from the issues of Dee Mills was in lieu of 500 marks received from the Exchequer of Carnarvon for the offices of Justice, Constable of the Castle and Sheriff of Carnarvon granted by the then King Edward. He also held the office of *Poterwyk* of Holt Castle, 1397.

Number of Ships entering the Port of Chester, 1 Hen. VI.—44 Eliz.

	Chester	Neston	Hilbre	West Kirby	Heswall	Wallasey	Liverpool	Dublin	Troghda (Drogheda)	Spain	France	Number of Ships
1 Hen. VI.	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	3	1	..	..	49
6 Hen. VI.	..	9	..	..	..	..	1	12	..	..	..	36
8 Hen. VI.	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	9	3	..	..	52
27 Hen. VI.	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	5	2	..	..	20
30 Hen. VI.	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	11	3	..	..	59
33 Hen. VI.	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	12	5	..	..	39
36 Hen. VI.	..	9	..	..	..	..	1	3	4	..	..	37
49 Hen. VI.	..	3	..	..	1	..	3	1	2	..	..	32
2 Ed. IV.	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	24
3 Ed. IV.	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	5	1	..	..	29
4 Ed. IV.	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	7	..	..	..	34
7 Ed. IV.	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	11	5	..	..	39
9 Ed. IV.	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	31
15 Ed. IV.	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	6	6	..	..	40
16 Ed. IV.	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	8	5	..	..	38
2-3 Ric. III.	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	5	..	4	..	40
8 Hen. VII.	..	2	..	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	..	43
10 Hen. VII.	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	3	..	46
12 Hen. VII.	..	4	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	2	..	33
13 Hen. VII.	..	9	..	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	48
14 Hen. VII.	..	10	..	..	1	..	3	3	..	3	..	41
16 Hen. VII.	..	32	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	4	..	102
18 Hen. VII.	..	20	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	45
20 Hen. VII.	..	17	..	..	4	..	..	1	..	2	..	44
21 Hen. VII.	..	24	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	40
24 Hen. VII.	..	11	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	20

2 Hen. VI., 35 ships; 5 Henry VI., 25; 5 and 14 Ed. IV., 33; 5 Hen. VII., 25; 9 Hen. VII., 41; 15 and 19 Hen. VII., 40; 22 Hen. VII., 29.

Shipping in the Port of Chester

	Chester	Neston	Hilbre	West Kirby	Heswall	Wallasey	Liverpool	Dublin	Troghda (Drogheda)	Spain	France	Number of Ships
1 Hen. VIII. ..	4	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	18
2 Hen. VIII. ..	16	..	..	..	5	..	1	2	1	1	..	42
4 Hen. VIII. ..	8	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	4	..	28
5 Hen. VIII. ..	19	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	39
6 Hen. VIII. ..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	4	..	35
17 Hen. VIII. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	57
24 Hen. VIII. ..	13	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	53
25 Hen. VIII. ..	17	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	50
28 Hen. VIII. ..	19	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	49
30 Hen. VIII. ..	10	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	19
32 Hen. VIII. ..	25	..	14	8	..	..	4	2	1	..	..	89
33 Hen. VIII. ..	46	..	19	5	..	1	5	1	..	..	..	108
34 Hen. VIII. ..	29	..	11	5	..	3	9	1	..	..	..	85
35 Hen. VIII. ..	34	..	38	12	..	3	12	6	..	..	..	157
36 Hen. VIII. ..	29	..	11	6	..	1	7	5	..	..	..	98
37 Hen. VIII. ..	22	8	29	8	..	4	18	2	1	..	..	119
1 Ed. VI. ..	9	1	11	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	29
2 Ed. VI. ..	26	4	13	3	..	2	13	1	..	..	..	102
3 Ed. VI. ..	7	3	8	2	..	3	7	..	..	..	..	52
5 Ed. VI. ..	20	6	34	5	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	81
5 Ed. VI. ..	29	17	33	10	1	..	4	1	..	..	1	128
— Ed. VI. ..	18	5	11	4	..	2	8	..	..	..	..	77
— Ed. VI. ..	10	7	23	..	..	1	8	1	..	..	..	73
1 Mary ..	19	5	58	11	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	145
1 P. & Mary ..	21	9	31	5	..	1	9	1	..	..	..	140
2 P. & Mary ..	9	6	20	3	..	..	5	1	..	..	..	48
2 P. & Mary ..	24	12	41	6	1	5	20	..	..	..	..	162
3 P. & Mary ..	14	4	31	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	80
3 & 4 P. & Mary	29	19	62	9	1	..	17	..	1	..	..	189
4 P. & Mary ..	2	1	12	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	28
— P. & Mary ..	6	13	34	2	..	..	7	1	1	..	..	79
— P. & Mary ..	4	2	16	..	..	..	7	1	..	..	..	51
4 & 5 P. & Mary	21	9	36	4	..	..	25	2	..	..	..	135
5 & 6 P. & Mary	22	6	28	..	..	2	13	..	..	..	..	109
2 Elizabeth ..	29	16	32	2	..	1	13	..	..	..	1	111
5 Elizabeth ..	22	6	34	1	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	118
6 Elizabeth ..	25	7	38	2	..	1	10	..	..	..	..	138
7 Elizabeth ..	11	1	22	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	57
10 Elizabeth ..	9	1	7	..	2	..	5	12	..	..	..	60
12 Elizabeth ..	15	4	26	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	95
15 Elizabeth ..	14	5	21	..	1	..	4	4	..	..	..	105
— Elizabeth ..	4	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
19 Elizabeth ..	17	1	25	..	1	..	2	13	..	..	..	91
20 Elizabeth ..	20	3	16	..	3	..	..	4	..	..	..	76
21 Elizabeth ..	11	1	19	..	1	..	3	6	..	..	..	84
22 Elizabeth ..	24	4	12	..	3	..	1	10	..	..	..	91
23 Elizabeth ..	9	1	9	1	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	39
24 Elizabeth ..	28	..	9	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	74
25 Elizabeth ..	30	..	11	..	..	..	4	3	..	..	5	84
26 Elizabeth ..	31	..	14	..	..	1	2	4	..	1	8	84
27 Elizabeth ..	31	..	7	..	..	1	9	5	..	..	..	96
29 Elizabeth ..	24	1	8	..	..	3	6	2	..	..	..	65
33 Elizabeth ..	32	..	11	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	3	71
34 Elizabeth ..	22	..	18	..	..	..	4	9	..	..	2	87
35 Elizabeth ..	21	5	23	..	1	1	5	..	..	2	..	86
36 Elizabeth ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	1	..	..	103
42 Elizabeth ..	14	1	7	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	54

16 Hen. VIII., 90 ships; 27 Hen. VIII., 64; 31 Hen. VIII., 101; — Elizabeth, 25;
43 Elizabeth, 47; 44 Elizabeth, 73.

The following list has been carefully revised, and all the original documents available have been consulted, with the result that numerous corrections have been made of the lists as given in Ormerod and Hemingway.

	MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Henry III. (1216—16 Nov., 1272)		
1202-31 ..	William Clerk ²	Stephen Ffrenell ¹
c. 1251 ..	No Mayor mentioned	William Saracen, Roger Clerk
1256-57 ..	{ [Rd. Clerk, Assembly Book] }	27 May—Stephen Saracen, John Hulkel ³
1257-8 *42	Walter Lynnet ..	Robert Fitz-Ernes, Adam Venator
1258-9 43	" " ..	
1259-60 44	" " ..	Stephen Saracen, Robert le Mercer
1260-1 45	Walter de Coventry	Richard Clerk, Gilbert Marshall
1261-2 46	Richard Clerk ..	Richard Apoticary, Robert le Mercer
1262-3 47	" " ..	
1263-4 48	" " ..	Robert Mercen', ⁴ Richard Apoticary
1264-5 49	" " ..	Stephen Saracen', Richard de Rothelan ⁵
1265-6 50	" " ..	Oliver de Trafford, Robert de Terven
1266-7 51	" " ..	Oliver de Cotton, Robert de Terven
1267-8 52	" " ..	Willm. de Hawardyn, Oliver de Trafford
1268-9 53	John Arnewey ..	
1269-70 54	John Harnwey ..	Ric. le Spicer, ⁷ Matthew de Derisbury
1270-1 55	John Arnewey ..	Matthew de Deresbury, William Cusin
1271-2 { 56	{ " " ..	" " "
{ 57	{ " " ..	" " "

* Regnal year.

¹ Stephano Ffrenell tunc vic. Cestrie, Will'o clerico, Thoma camerario, Germano Dumbleday, Rob. fil. Hern, Waltero Pynce, Waltero Balistario, Basseto clerico, witnesses in a grant of land by Rad. Sarracenus.—*Whalley Chart.*, p. 339.

² Will'o clerico Maiore, Will'o Sarraceno, Germ. Dumbleday, John Okkel, Rob. Herneys, Rad Exon, Alex. Harre, Ric'o Sarraceno, Thurstan de Stanlowe, Gilberto Sarraceno, in a grant of Amaurica, widow of Reg. Bras.—*Whalley Chart.*, p. 29.

³ Witnesses to an Arley deed with William Clerk, — Dobeldai, Ran. de Exon, Rob. fitz Hugh, Richard bis brother, Rob. fitz Thurstan, Hugh de Leu, Simon de Kent.—*Arley*, 25, 24. Will. Sarracen as *camerarius* witnessed a deed with Will. de Vernon, Justice, Hamo de Masey, Will de Maupas, Ric. de Sonbache, and Thomas Camerarius.—*W.*, p. 361.

⁴ In a grant dated May 27, 1257, with the above as witnesses, and Rob. de Pulford, Hugh de Wavertun, Symon de Hattun.—*Eaton Charters, Henry III.*, 19.

⁵ Witnesses with Philippo tunc clerico Cestrie, Rob. de Molendin', Alex. Hurel, Thom. de Bouhton, Petro de Roter de Thornton, Mattheo de Moldeworth, Rob. Corbyn.—*E.*, *Henry III.*, 24, 25.

⁶ Witnesses with Domino Alano de Zuche tunc Justic. Cestrie, d'no Nich. de Valliby, Constab. Cestrie, Ran. de Exon. tunc Camerario Cestrie, Mag. Andrea Phisico, Nich'o Harald, Will'o Harald, Rob'to Russel, Nich'o Ulkel, Will'o Aquario, Galfrido Bunce, Philippo Clerico.—*W.*, p. 347. Alan de la Zuche is not given as Justice in 1264. Stephen Saracen is called Stephen de Russeton in the Chronicle of St. Werburgh.

⁷ Witness with Jacobo de Aldileg' tunc Justic' Cestrie, Sim' tunc Abbate S. Werburg. Rob. de Stokeport Constab. Cestrie, Mag. Joh^e de Stanley, Alex. Hurel, Nich. Pellipario. *E.*, *Henry III.*, 29, and in a grant to Dieulacres with Adam Godweyt, Will'o de Covintre, Rob. Russel, Nich. Pellipario.—*Eaton, Henry III.*, 21.

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Edward I. (20 Nov., 1272—7 July, 1307)			
1272-3	1	John Arnewey	Matthew de Deresbury, William Cusin
1273-4	2	" "	Robert le Mercer, Richard Apothecary
1274-5	3	John de Arnewey ¹	Alexander Hurel, Richard le Spicer ²
1275-6	4	John Arnewey	Philip Clerk, Randle de Derisbury ³
1276-7	5	" "	Adam Gothewyte, Ric. the Apothecary
1277-8	6	Randle de Derisbury	Hugh de Moles, Robert de Terven
1278-9	7	" "	Matthew de Derisbury, Ran. Dubleday
1279-80	8	" "	Hugh de Moles, Robert de Terven
1280-1	9	Rob. le Proud Mercer	Hugh de Moles, Robert Ernes
1281-2	10	Robert Mercenar ¹	Alexander Hurel, Robert Erneis
1282-3	11	Alexander Hurel	Hugh de Moles, Robert de Hole
1283-4	12	Robert Mercenar ⁴	Alexander Hurel, Jun., David the Miller
1284-5	13	Robert le Mercer	Alexander Hurel, Robert Ithel or Ulkel
1285-6	14	Robert de Terven	" "
1286-7	15	Hugh de Moellis	Robert Erneys, Hugh de Brichull ⁵
1287-8	16	Robert de Terven	Nicholas Payne, Robert Ernays
1288-9	17	Hugh de Moellis	Hugh de Brichull, Nicholas Payne
1289-90	18	Robert de Terven	Hugh Payne, Robert Harald ⁶
1290-1	19	Robert le Mercer	" "
1291-2	20	" "	Robert Erneis, Robert Caudry
1292-3	21	Hugh de Brichull	Nicholas Payn, Roger Dunfoul
1293-4	22	Robert le Mercer	" "
1294-5	23	Hugh de Brichull	Alexander Hurel, Robert Ythel (Ulkel)
1295-6	24	" "	Roger Dunfoul, David the Miller
1296-7	25	" "	John de Warwick, Robert de Macclesfield

¹ Witnesses to a deed—Joh'e Hernwey tunc Majore, Ric. Clerico tunc Cestric, Ric. le Spicer vic', Hugone de Meles, Job'e Hurkel, Mattheo de Derisbury', Hugone Clerico.

² D'no Reg. tunc Justic. Cestr., Job'e de Arnewey tunc Majore, Alex. Hurel, Ric. le Spicer Vic., Ric' clerico quondam Majore Cestr., Matt. de Deresbur', Steph. Sarraceno, Rad'o Dubleday, Job'e Norman, Rob. Harald, Joh'e Grund, Phil. Clerico, tunc judicibus Portmoti Cestric, Regin' Erneys et multis aliis.—*Whalley Chart.*, 357.

³ Witnesses in Doncaster, Arley, and Whalley deeds.

⁴ The following Mayors and Sheriffs should in all probability come here :—

(a) *Hugh de Meles*, witness to a grant by Ralph de Montalt, with Reg. de Grey Justice, d'no Rogero de Montalt, Will'o Gerard, d'no Hugone de Meles Majore Cestric, Ran. de Deresbury, Alex. Hurel, Roberto Harald.—*W.*, p. 355.

(b) *Hugh de Meles*, witness to a grant, D'no Hugone de Meles tunc Majore Cestric, Roberto Erneys tunc vic. Cestrie, Alex' Hurel, Roberto le Mercer, Rob. Harald, Roberto de Terven.—*W.*, p. 355

(c) Hugh de Brichull Mayor, Rob. Ernays, Nicholas Payne Vic., witnesses with Rob de Tervyn and Hugh Payne.—*Doncaster deeds penes Mr. H. Taylor.*

(d) Hugh de Brychull M., Alex. Hurel, Nich. Payne, Vic., with Robert de Tervyn, Ran. de Derisbury, Rd. len Genour, Roger Dunfoul, Hugh Payne, Gilbert the Clerk.—*Doncaster deeds.*

(e) Hugh de Brychull Majore, Hugh Payne, And' de Stanlowe Vic.—*D.*

(f) Rob. de Hola tunc vic., with Alex. Hurel, Ran. de Derisbury, Meles, Alan Tannator, Geoffrey clerk, in a grant of Alicia de Perpunt.

(g) Robert de Tervin.

⁵ 3 Plea Roll, 15 Edward I.

⁶ Witnesses to a deed with Hugh de Meles, John Ulkel, Rand. de Deresbury, Rob. Ernays, Hugh de Brichul, Magister Richard de Manchester, William de Novo Castro, Hugh the Tanner.—*Arley Deeds*, 25, 4.

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
1297-8	26	Alexander Hurel ..	Roger Dunfoul, Robert Ythel
1298-9	27	" ..	Richard Candelan, Rob. de Macclesfield
1299-300	28	" ..	Robert Ythel, ¹ Andrew Stanlowe
1300-1	29	Hugh de Brichull ..	Richard Candelan, Robert Ythel
1301-2	30	[Hugh de Brichull] ²	Robert Ythel, Richard Candelan
1302-3	31	Alexander Hurel ..	Richard Candelan, Magr. John de Terven
1303-4	32	Hugh de Brichull ..	Robert de Macclesfield, Roger Dounfoul
1304-5	33	" ..	Henry de Blackrode, William Clerk
1305-6	34	Richard L'Engenour ..	Benedict de Stanton, John de Warwyk
1306-7	35	Hugh de Brichull ..	Richard Candelan, William Clericus

Edward II. (8 July, 1307—20 Jan., 1327)

1307-8	1	Hugh de Brichull ..	Gilbert Dunfoul, Roger le Sparks
1308-9	2	" ..	{ William fil. Petri clerici de Brichull, Robert de Maclesfeld
1309-10	3	Benedict de Stanton	Richard de Quetelegh, Hen. de Blakerod
1310-1	4	Hugh de Brichull ..	Gilbert Donfoul, Richard de Quetelege
1311-2	5	" ..	John le Blound, Richard de Quetelege
1312-3	6	" ..	Robert de Macclesfield, William Clerk
1313-4	7	" ..	Richard Russel, Will. de Doncaster, Jun.
1314-5	8	Benedict de Stanton	Gilbert Dunfoul, William del Peake
1315-6	9	John le Blound ..	Richard le Wode, William le Blunde
1316-7	10	Will. de Doncastr'	" .. "
1317-8	11	{ John Blound, <i>died.</i> .. Will. de Doncaster, <i>successor</i>	{ William Clerk (fil. Petri de Brichull), William de Mulneton
1318-9	12	Willm. de Doncaster	Richard de Whetelegh, Richard le Bruyn
1319-20	13	" ..	Gilbert Donfoul, Rob. de Strangeways
1320-1	14	Wm. Clerk ..	John de Deresbury, Roger le Blound
1321-2	15	John de Brichull ..	Gilbert Dounfoul, R ^d . de Whetelegh
1322-3	16	" ..	Richard Russell, Richard de Whetelegh
1323-4	17	William fitz Peter ..	Roger le Quit (White), John de Deresbury
1324-5	18	" ..	R ^d . le Bruyn, Wm. de Basingwerk
1325-6	19	Richard le Bruyn ..	Richard Erneis, Roger de Norley
1326-7	20	Richard le Bruyn ..	Richard Erneis, Roger de Norley

Edward III. (25 Jan., 1327—21 June, 1377)

1327-8	1	Richard Erneis ..	Roger de Macclesfield, Madoc de Capen- hurst
1328-9	2	Richard Herneys ..	Warin Blond, Roger le Harper
1329-30	3	Wm. de Brichull ..	Henry Hurel, Madoc de Capenhurst
1330-1	4	" ..	Roger de Morton, Henry Wade
1331-2	5	Roger Blound ..	Wm. de Basinwerk, Roger le Harper
1332-3	6	" ..	Roger de Northlegh, Madoc de Capen- hurst
1333-4	7	R ^d . de Whetelegh ..	Madoc de Capenhurst, John Bars
1334-5	8	Roger Blound ..	David Russel, Robert de Ledsham
1335-6	9	John le Blound ..	Henry Torrand, William Kelsall
1336-7	10	Roger Blound ..	Robert de Ledesham, David Russel
1337-8	11	John le Blound ..	Henry Hurell, Madoc de Capenhurst
1338-9	12	" (le White) ..	John de Hawarthyn, Edmund de Water- fall

¹ Alex. Hurel, Mayor, witness with Robert de Tervin, Roger Dunfoul, Rob. Ythel, John Dunfoul, 28 Edward I., but no mention of Sheriffs.

² Hugh Brichull and Alex. Hurel mentioned as witnesses, preceding the Sheriffs, but no Mayor named, 6 May, 30 Edward I., 1302.—*Doncaster Deed*.

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Edward III.—Continued			
1339-40	13	Robert de Ledesham	John de Hawardyn, John de Stoke
1340-1	14	Ric. de Capenhurst	Madoc de Capenhurst, Thos. de Hegreve
1341-2	15	Ric. de Capenhurst	Hugh de Rycroft, Madoc de Capenhurst
1342-3	16	John Blound	William de Doncaster, Richard le Bruyn
1343-4	17	R ^d . de Capenhurst	Madoc de Capenhurst, Richard de Waynflete
1344-5	18	John Blound	Will ^m . de Whytmore, Alan de Waleye
1345-6	19	Ric. de Capenhurst	Madoc de Capenhurst, Barth. de North- worthyn
1346-7	20	"	John Barrow, William Hadleigh
1347-8	21	{ Henry Corot [Tor- rand]	{ Hugh de Milton, Richard de Ridgeley
1348-9	22	{ John le Blound	{ W ^m . de Capenhurst, Richard de Ditton
1349-50	23	{ Barth. de North- worthyn— <i>slain</i> { Ric. le Bruyn (<i>succ.</i>)	{ Alan de Waley, William de Derwoldes- hagh
1350-1	24	John Blound	Rob. del Castel, John fil. Adam de White
1351-2	25	"	Stephen de Kelshall, W ^m . de Huxelegh
1352-3	26	"	Thomas Wyss (Wyss), Adam del Hope
1353-4	27	Richard le Bruyne	William Braas, Adam Ingram
1354-5	28	"	William Braas, Roger de Ledesham
1355-6	29	{ Alan de Whetelegh { John Blound	{ John de Dalby, Thomas de Aldeford
1356-7	30	"	Benedict de Rydelegh, Hamo de Tuddes- bury
1357-8	31	"	John Colle, Alexander le Belleyetter
1358-9	32	"	William de Beaumarreys, Thomas de Apelton
1359-60	33	"	John Colle, William de Meculfen
1360-1	34	Alan de Whetelegh	John de Tranemol, Henry le Walsh
1361-2	35	"	Henry Donne, Hugh de Stretton
1362-3	36	"	William de Burlegh, Thomas Pecok
1363-4	37	"	Richard de Manlegh, Geffrey de Fflynt
1364-5	38	Roger de Ledsham	John Colle, William Bercroft
1365-6	39	"	David de Eulowe, John de Cotton
1366-7	40	John de Dalby	Robert Fox, Henry Stapey
1367-8	41	"	John Chamberlain, William del Hope
1368-9	42	Richard le Bruyn	Nicholas de Troghford, Richard de Hawardyn
1369-70	43	"	William fitz Radulf, John le Armorer
1370-1	44	{ John de Whytmore vice Bruyn	{ John le Armorer, Thomas Donne
1371-2	45	John de Whytmore	Thomas del Frere, Richard Dounfole
1372-3	46	"	Ralph Throp, Robert Colle
1373-4	47	{ John de Whytmore, Jun.	{ Robert del Broughton, Richard de Birkenhed
1374-5	48	Alex. le Belleyetter	Robert le Marshall, Hugh de Dutton
1375-6	49	Richard Bryne	Richard Bradburn, William Savage
1376-7	50	Richard Dounfoul	Robert Collie, Hugh de Dutton
1377-8	51	Alex. le Belleyetter	John le Barbour, John de Bebynton
(21 June, 1377)			

Richard II. (22 June, 1377—29 Sept., 1399)

1377-8	1	Thomas de Bradford	Thomas de Apelton, John le Armurer
1378-9	2	"	Henry le Bruyn, Stephen de Chorleigh
1379-80	3	John le Chamberleyn	Roger le Potter, Ralph de Hylton

¹ "1346, Rad, Davenport, Will. Coke, Vic., Min. Accounts, 20-21 Ed. III."—*Helsby*.

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Richard II.—Continued			
1380-1	4	John le Chamberleyn	Gilbert le Belleyetter, John de Hatton
1381-2	5	David de Ewlowe ..	John Coly, William de Barton
1382-3	6	" " ..	Roger de Dutton, Richard le Hewster
1383-4	7	" " ..	Roger de Dutton, Robert Launcelyn
1384-5	8	John le Chamberlain	Thomas Dodde, John de Preston
1385-6	9	John le Chamberlain	John del Wyche, Richard Strangeways
1386-7	10	John L'Armorer ..	John de Moseley, William Blackrode
1387-8	11	John L'Armurer ..	Henry Yate, John del Hall
1388-9	12	" " ..	Thomas Hurell, John de Arowe
1389-90	13	Robert le Marshall ..	Radulph de Pycton, John de Madylegh
1390-1	14	John Le Armorer ..	Ralph de Hatton, John de Bebynton
1391-2	15	Gilbert Trussell ..	Robert Danyell, Roger le Potter
1392-3	16	Gilbert Trussell ..	Robert Launcelyn, John de Preston
1393-4	17	John Le Armorer ..	Richard le Heuster, Thomas Pigot
1394-5	18	" " ..	Hugh de Dutton, Roger de Dytton
1395-6	19	John de Capenhurst	Roger de Dytton, W ^m . de Prestbury
1396-7	20	" " ..	John Madylegh, W ^m . del Heth
1397-8	21	" " ..	Ric. de Strangeways, John de Hawardyn
1398-9	22	" " ..	John fitz David (de Hawardyn), William Stalmyn
1399	23	John de Whytemore [Henry de Capenhurst	John de Hawardyn, Robert de Bradley 4 June, 1 Henry IV.]

Henry IV. (30 Sept., 1399—20 March, 1413)

1400-1	1	John de Bebyngton	William del Heth, Richard Stalmyn
1401-2	2	{ John Mareschal .. } <i>died</i>	{ John de Hawardyn, Thomas de Acton, } <i>died</i> —John de Arowe, <i>succ.</i>
1402-3	3	Roger le Potter ¹ ..	Innocent de Chesterfield, Willm. Kempe
1403-4	4	Rad. de Hatton ..	John del Hall, John de Arowe
1404-5	5	John de Preston ..	W ^m . de Rachedale, Thomas Aleyn
1405-6	6	John de Ewlowe ..	Robert Chamberlain, John de Hatton
1406-7	7	" " ..	John de Hatton, Thomas de Cotyngham
1407-8	8	" " ..	John le Walsh, Elyas Trevour
1408-9	9	" " ..	John le Walsh, Hugh de Molton
1409-10	10	John de Ewlowe ² ..	John de Torpurley, Hugh de Molton
1410-1	11	Roger le Potter ..	John Browne, Elyas Trevour
1411-2	12	John le Walsh ..	Richard de Hatton, W ^m . del Hope
1412-3	13	John de Whytemore	John del Hope, Hugh de Molton

Henry V. (21 March, 1413—31 Aug., 1422)

1413-4	1	John de Whytemore	John del Hope, Richard le Spicer
1414-5	2	" " ..	John del Hope, John de Overton
1415-6	3	John le Walsh ..	John de Hatton, Robert del Hope
1416-7	4	Willm. de Hawardyn	John de Hatton, Richard le Spyce
1417-8	5	John Horton ..	Robert Hale, Thomas Cliffe
1418-9	6	Willm. de Hawardyn	Alex. de Henbury, John de Bradlegh
1419-20	7	John del Hope ..	Robert Hale, Stephen le Bellyetter
1420-21	8	" " ..	William de Malpas, Nicholas Wyrvyn
1421-2	9	" " ..	Richard Massey, William de Malpas

¹ John de Stanley, Guardian.² Removed, John de Preston *locum tenens* W. Brereton custodis et Gubernatoris.

List of Mayors and Sheriffs

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Henry VI. (1 Sept., 1422—4 March, 1461)			
1422-3	1	John Walshe ..	Robert Hewster, Nicholas Russell
1423-4	2	John de Hatton ..	Hugh Wodecok, Richard Weston
1424-5	3	John Hope ..	Richard Massie, Adam de Weton
1425-6	4	" " ..	Richard Massie, William Stanmere
1426-7	5	" " ..	Roger de Walsall, Thomas de Wotton
1427-8	6	" " ..	Thomas de Madeley, John Flynt
1428-9	7	John de Bradley ..	William Hulme, Thomas de Bradford
1429-30	8	John Walsh ..	Edward le Skynner, Hugh del Grene
1430-1	9	Robert del Hope ..	John Freeman, Richard Hankey
1431-2	10	Richard Massey ..	John de Pylkynton, Richard Vykers
1432-3	11	" " ..	Thomas Walley, David White
1433-4	12	Thomas Wotton ..	William Rogerson, John Hickling
1434-5	13	Adam Wotton ..	Barth. Lyalton, Thomas Hamon
1435-6	14	John Walsh ..	John de Cottingham, Robert de Eaton
1436-7	15	William Stanmere ..	John Minor, John Layott
1437-8	16	Richard Massey ..	John Flint, John Wood
1438-9	17	Richard Westyn ..	John Coupland, Thomas Clerke
1439-40	18	Nicholas Danyell ..	Robert Gill, Peter Savage
1440-1	19	John de Pylkington ..	Hugh de Wylaston, Barbour, William Masey de Codyngton
1441-2	20	Hugh Wodecok ..	Thomas Lylly, Hugh Nele
1442-3	21	John Flint ..	Philip Hewster, Robert Walley
1443-4	22	Nicholas Danyell ..	John Loker (Lothar), John Rothley
1444-5	23	" " ..	" " " "
1445-6	24	" " ..	Richard de Barowe, William Barker de Overton
1446-7	25	Edward le Skinner ..	Rad. Hunt, Richard Echilles
1447-8	26	" " <i>died</i>	{ John Walley, Roger Ledsham
1448-9	27	{ Wm Rogerson, <i>succ.</i>	
		William Rogerson ..	John Erdeley, Robert Bruyn
1449-50	28	William Massey ..	John Sotheworth, Henry Hyrne
1450-1	29	William Whitemore ..	Richard Hawarden, James Hurleton
1451-2	30	John Dutton ..	Richard le Massey, Richard Rayneford
1452-3	31	William Stanmere ..	Robert Rogerson, Thomas Gerard
1453-4	32	{ Nicholas Danyell, armiger	{ Rad. Marshall, John Troghford
1454-5	33	" " ..	
1455-6	34	John Cotyngham ..	John Barowe, John Gosenour
1456-7	35	" " ..	Thomas Kent, William Hankyn
		" " ..	John Runcorne, Richard Bower
1457-8	36	{ Nicholas Danyell ..	{ William Tricket, Richard Bulkeley
		{ [William in <i>Min. Acc.</i>]	
1458-9	37	" " ..	Thomas Munkeffeld, Robert Acton
1459-60	38	John Sotheworthe ..	William Lylle, Nicholas Munkeffeld
1460-1	39	" " ..	Roger Warmyncham, Henry Deye

Edward IV. (4 March, 1461—9 April, 1483)

1461-2	1	David Ferrou ..	Thomas Cotyngham, John Chambour
1462-3	2	Robert Bruyn ..	John Goldsmith, Hugh Frere <i>died</i> , Wm. Gogh <i>succ.</i>
1463-4	3	Robert Rogerson ..	John Spencer, Alexander Staney
1464-5	4	Roger Ledsham ..	Richard Green, William Runcorn
1465-6	5	Richard Rainford ..	James Norris, John Fenton
1466-7	6	William Lely ..	William Ranson, William Thomason
1467-8	7	John Sotheworth ..	Richard Sharpe, William Sherman
1468-9	8	John Dedwode ..	Richard Gerard, Robert Notterville

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Edward IV. — <i>Continued</i>			
1469-70	9	Thomas Kent ..	John Smyth, Henry Ball
1470-1	10	Thomas Cotyngnam ..	Thomas Fernys, William Richemond
1471-2	11	Robert Rogerson ..	Henry Port, Richard Harper
1472-3	12	John Spencer ..	John Evans, Nicholas Hopkin
1473-4	13	William Whitmore ..	John Barowe, William Snede
1474-5	14	John Sotheworth ..	Roger Hurlton, Robert Waley
1475-6	15	" ..	Richard Smith, Thomas Eccles
1476-7	16	Hugh Massey ..	Henry Wermyngham, Roger Lightfote
1477-8	17	John Sotheworth ..	George Bulkley, Thomas Hurleston
1478-9	18	Robert Notterville ..	Robert Elswick, John de Macclesfield
1479-80	19	William Snede ..	Robert Walker, Matthew Johnson
1480-1	20	John Sotheworth ..	Ralph Davenport, William Heywood
1481-2	21	Roger Hurleston ..	John Dedwode, Henry Fraunces
1482-3	22	" ..	Roger Taylor, Roger Burgess
1483-4	23	John Dedwode ..	Peter Smith, John Runcorn

Richard III. (26 June, 1483—22 Aug., 1485)

1484-5	1-2	Sir John Savage ..	John Norris, Hugh Hurlton
1485-6	3	" ..	Thomas Barrow, Richard Gardner

Henry VII. (22 Aug., 1485—21 April, 1509)

1486-7	2	Henry Porte ..	Randal Sparowe, Henry Harpur <i>died</i> , Rd. Spencer <i>succeeded</i>
1487-8	3	Hugh Hurlton ..	Randal Sparowe, Nicholas Loker
1488-9	4	George Bulkley ..	Thomas Bunbury, Thomas Barowe
1489-90	5	Ralph Davenport ..	John Clyffe, Thomas Manering
1490-1	6	John Barowe ..	Richard Wright, Richard Wirehall
1491-2	7	Randal Sparowe ..	Edmund Farrington, Richard Hockenel
1492-3	8	Roger Hurlton ..	Richard Godemon, Richard Barker
1493-4	9	Ralph Davenport ..	Ralph Manley, Richard Grosvenor
1494-5	10	George Bulkeley ..	Henry Belfront, John Waley
1495-6	11	Richard Wirehall ..	Nicholas Newhouse, Randal Smith
1496-7	12	Thomas Barowe ..	Thomas Smyth, Tudor ap Thomas
1497-8	13	Thomas Ferrour ..	John Grimsditch, Ralph Eaton
1498-9	14	Richard Godemon ..	Richard Fletcher, Thomas Thornton
1499-1500	15	John Clyffe ..	Roger Smyth, John Walley
1500-1	16	Thomas Ferrour ..	James Manley, Roger Walton
1501-2	17	Ralph Davenport ..	William Rogerson, Richard Lowe
1502-3	18	Richard Wryght ..	William Balle, Thomas Gyle
1503-4	19	Richard Godemon ..	John Tatton, John Rathbone
1504-5	20	Thomas Smyth ..	Thomas Hawardyn, Wm. Snede, jun.
1505-6	21	Thomas Thorneton ..	Hamon Godeman, John Bradfeld
1506-7	22	Thomas Barowe ..	Robert Barowe, Hamo Johnson
1507-8	23	Richard Wirrall ..	John Harper, Robert Golborn
1508-9	24	Thomas Hawardyn ..	Edward Smith, William Davidson

Henry VIII. (22 April, 1509—28 Jan., 1547)

1509-10	1	Richard Wright ..	Thomas Croke, Richard Broster
1510-1	2	William Rogerson ..	Thomas Hoghton, Henry Radford
1511-2	3	Thomas Smith ..	Hugh Clerke, Charles Eaton
1512-3	4	Piers Dutton ..	Thomas Middleton, David Middleton
1513-4	5	Sir Piers Dutton, Kt.	John Brickdale, Robert Aldersey
1514-5	6	{ " " <i>superseded</i> by John Rathbone	{ Willm. Hurlton, John Loker, <i>superseded</i> by Wm. Godemon, Ric. Grymesditch

List of Mayors and Sheriffs

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Henry VIII.—Continued			
1515-6	7	Sir Thos. Smith, sen.	Thomas Smith jun., Robert Wright
1516-7	8	William Snead ..	Hugh Aldersey, Randal Done
1517-8	9	William Davison ..	William Offley, Nicholas Johnson
1518-9	10	Thomas Barowe ..	Piers Smith, Robert Middleton
1519-20	11	John Rathbone ..	John ap Griffith, Richard Anyon
1520-1	12	Thomas Smith, sen.	Thomas Golburne, Christopher Wermyncham
1521-2	13	Thomas Smith, sen.	Ralph Rogerson, Thomas Bamvill
1522-3	14	William Davidson ..	Roger Barrowe, John Woodward
1523-4	15	Edward Middleton	Roger Pike, Stephen Crosse
1524-5	16	Richard Golburne ..	Richard Evans, John Dimmock
1525-6	17	Richard Aldersey ..	John Walley, Henry Heyton
1526-7	18	Robert Barrowe ..	Henry Davenport, Foulk Dutton
1527-8	19	Thomas Smythe ..	Thomas Hall, Henry Gee
1528-9	20	Hugh Aldersey ..	Edward Davenport, Robert Barton
1529-30	21	Henry Bradford ..	Thomas Rogerson, Ralph Goodman
1530-1	22	Thomas Smith ..	Lawrence Dutton, William Massey
1531-2	23	William Sneyde ..	Robert Brerewood, Thomas Barrow
1532-3	24	William Godemon ..	William Bexwik, Richard Hunt
1533-4	25	Henry Gee ..	Randal Mainwaring, Hugh Hankey
1534-5	26	Ralph Rogerson ..	John Thornton, Thomas Martin
1535-6	27	Sir Thomas Smyth	Robert Walley, Richard Wrenche
1536-7	28	William Godemon ..	George Leech, George Lightfoot
1537-8	29	Foulk Dutton ..	William Glaseor, Robert Whitehead
1538-9	30	David Middleton ..	Thomas Aldersey, Richard Dicon
1539-40	31	Henry Gee ..	William Aldersey, William Whiteleghe
1540-1	32	Lawrence Smith ..	John Smythe, Thomas Longley
1541-2	33	Hugh Aldersey ..	{ Richard Sneyde <i>died</i> —Ralph Aldersey succ., Randal Bamvile
1542-3	34	William Bexwike ..	Adam Godemon, Edmund Gee
1543-4	35	William Sneyde, jun.	Ralph Radford, John Rosengreve
1544-5	36	Robert Barton ..	William Leche, John Offley
1545-6	37	{ Wm. Holcroft <i>died</i> , John Walley <i>succ.</i>	{ Richard Pole, Richard Grymesdiche
1546-7	38	{ Hugh Aldersey, <i>died</i> John Smyth, <i>succ.</i>	{ William Bridde, Thomas Smyth

Edward VI. (28 Jan., 1547—6 July, 1553)

1547-8	1	Ralph Godemon ..	Richard Rathbone, Thomas Bavand
1548-9	2	Foulk Dutton ..	John Webster, Robert Johns
1549-50	3	Thomas Aldersey ..	Richard Masey, Morris Willyams
1550-1	4	{ Edmund Gee <i>died</i> Wm. Goodman <i>succ.</i>	{ Ralph Godemon, Piers Street
1551-2	5	William Glaseor ..	Ralph Rogerson, Thomas Grene
1552-3	6	Thomas Smith ..	Thomas Sanders <i>alias</i> Steward, William Brownshank

Mary (6 July, 1553—17 Nov., 1558) (**Philip and Mary**, 1554-1558)

1553-4	1	John Offley ..	Henry Hardware, William Balle
1554-5	1-2	Foulk Dutton ..	Robert Amery, John Couper
1555-6	2-3	John Smyth ..	Thomas Wetherall, John Rees
1556-7	3-4	John Webster ..	John Hanky, Thomas Bellyn
1557-8	4-5	William Brydd ..	John Newall, Thomas Burges

		MAYOR	SHERIFFS
Elizabeth (17 Nov., 1558—24 March, 1603)			
1558-9	1	Sir Laurence Smyth	John Yorwurth, William Jewet
1559-60	2	Henry Hardware ..	Christopher Morvill, Simon Mounford
1560-1	3	William Aldersey ..	Robert Dryhurst, Richard Boydell
1561-2	4	John Cowper ..	Richard Dutton, Thomas Pyllyn
1562-3	5	Randal Bamvill ..	William Hamnett, John Harvey
1563-4	6	Sir Lawrence Smyth	Hugh Rogerson, Gilbert Knowles
1564-5	7	Richard Pool ..	Henry Leche, Evan Denevet
1565-6	8	Thomas Green ..	Edward Thompson, William Dod
1566-7	9	Sir Wm. Sneyd ..	William Bird, Robert Brerewood
1567-8	10	Richard Dutton ..	Edward Marten, Oliver Smith
1568-9	11	William Ball ..	Edward Hanmer, Roger Ley
1569-70	12	Sir John Savage ..	Richard Massy, Peter Lytherland
1570-1	13	Sir Lawrence Smith	John Middleton, William Styles
1571-2	14	John Hankey ..	Richard Bavand, William Wall
1572-3	15	Roger Ley ..	Richard Wright, Robert Hill
1573-4	16	Richard Dutton ..	William Massy, Paul Chauntrell
1574-5	17	Sir John Savage ..	John Allen, William Goodman
1575-6	18	Henry Hardware ..	William Golburne, David Dymock
1576-7	19	John Harvey ..	Thomas Lynyall, John Barnes
1577-8	20	Thomas Bellin ..	Valentine Broughton, John Tilstone
1578-9	21	William Jewet	David Montford, Randal Leche
1579-80	22	{ Wm. Goodman <i>died</i> Hugh Rogerson, <i>succ.</i>	{ Richard Bird, Wm. Cotgreve
1580-1	23	William Bird ..	Richard Bird, Wm. Cotgreve
1581-2	24	Robert Bavand ..	Robert Wall, John Fitton
1582-3	25	William Styles ..	Thomas Cowper, Richard Rathbone
1583-4	26	Robert Brerewood ..	{ Thomas Fletcher, Wm. Mutton <i>died</i> — Nicholas Massey <i>successor</i>
1584-5	27	Valentine Broughton	Wm. Aldersey, Henry Anion
1585-6	28	Edmund Gamul ..	Thomas Tetlow, Thomas Lynaker
1586-7	29	William Wall ..	Robert Amery, Richard Knee
1587-8	30	Robert Brerewood ..	Thomas Harebotell, John Williams
1588-9	31	{ Robert Brock <i>died</i> .. Wm. Hamnet <i>succ.</i>	{ Richard Spencer, William Meo
1589-90	32	Wm. Cotgreve ..	Thurstan Hollinshed, Godfrey Wynne
1590-1	33	William Massy ..	John Ratcliffe, Thomas Warden
1591-2	34	Thomas Lynyall ..	Ralph Allen, Richard Broster
1592-3	35	John Fitton ..	Peter Newall, John Taylor
1593-4	36	David Lloyd ..	John Littler, John Fraunces
1594-5	37	Foulk Aldersay ..	William Knight, ¹ Henry Hamnet
1595-6	38	William Aldersay ..	Philip Philips, Wm. Leicester
1596-7	39	Thomas Smith ..	John Aldersey, Roland Barnes
1597-8	40	{ Sir John Savage <i>died</i> .. Thos. Fletcher <i>succ.</i>	{ Wm. Throp, Robert Fletcher
1598-9	41	Richard Rathburne	John Brerewood, Lewis Roberts
1599-1600	42	Henry Hardware ..	John Owen, John Moyle
1600-1	43	{ Rob. Brerewood <i>died</i> .. Rich. Bavand <i>succ.</i>	{ Edward Dutton, Edward Bennett <i>died</i> — Thomas Wright <i>successor</i>
1601-2	44	John Ratcliffe ..	John Ratcliffe jun., Owen Harris
1602-3	45	Hugh Glaseor ..	William Gamul, William Johnson

¹ Clerk of the Pentice.

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